

Colophon
Writing on Yü-k'o's Carving Bamboos

The carving on the bamboo is in the style of the

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A HISTORY OF EARLY CHINESE PAINTING

from the Han Dynasty to the end of the Yuan Dynasty

BY
OSVALD SIRÉN



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THE present work is a history of the development of Chinese painting from the Eastern Han (First Century A.D.) to the end of the Yuan dynasty (circa 1368 A.D.). It thus covers a period of some 1,400 years of intense artistic activity and the work gives a much broader and fuller account of Chinese painting previous to the Ming dynasty, than is to be found in any existing publication.

The historical records of painters and their ideals have been gathered entirely from original Chinese sources, of which a great number have been consulted and many important passages of biographical and æsthetic interest have been translated for the benefit of Western students. The views of contemporary critics bring the works of the old painters vividly before the reader.

The philosophical and religious ideas which formed the sources of inspiration for the painters are analysed with a view to the fact that many of these painters were not only great men of the brush but also scholars, philosophers, and poets who played important rôles in the intellectual life of their time. The book will thus be a source of information for all who take an interest in the artistic culture of China during its greatest historical epochs.

The illustrative material for this publication was collected by the author during several years of travel and study in various parts of the world. Most of the principal collections of Chinese painting not only in Europe and America but also in China and Japan have been visited, and photographs of important paintings have been obtained from various places. Of particular importance in this respect are the numerous reproductions from the two great museums in Peiping and from private collections in China, but besides these many of the finest examples belonging to Japanese temples and the museums in Boston and Washington have been reproduced. The 228 plates which have been executed in Stockholm by a grant from a public fund (Humanistiska Fonden) form a unique series of illustrations to the history of Chinese painting and should alone make this book indispensable to all students and lovers of Chinese art.

The text is completed by a condensed bibliography of Chinese and foreign books dealing with the history of painting in China and an index of names in Chinese characters.



KUO HSI, A VILLAGE IN THE HIGH MOUNTAINS. Palace Museum, Peiping.

The above is a much reduced reproduction in half-tone of one of the 228 collotype plates. The average size of the plates is 9 × 7 inches.

SOME OPINIONS OF THE PRESS

The cause of the book as Professor Siren declares, " was primarily the spiritual appeal exercised by certain kinds of Chinese painting "; and, although it is in the main a work of scholarship and information, it really does help the reader to feel and understand this appeal. Professor Siren's own criticism is often excellent, though seldom very elaborate ; but, what is of particular value, he quotes copiously from the treatises of Chinese critics and painters and he relates these quotations to the particular works of art illustrated in the admirable plates of which there are over two hundred. Professor Siren has carefully abstained from illustrating works that are already well known in reproduction, and he has chosen a collection of paintings many of which will be new to any but professed students of the subject . . . —*The Times*.

... One may not always agree with Siren's judgment ; but he has earned our cordial gratitude. His book is the fruit of immense labour and world wide journeys ; probably no one has seen so much in Eastern and Western collections ; and he has reproduced more than has ever been brought together before in one work.—Laurence Binyon in *The Observer*.

Strictly speaking it may be said that the two massive volumes of Dr. Siren's new book constitute the first history of Chinese painting. . . . Dr. Siren's work is not complete, since it deals with painting up to the end of the Yuan Period (1368), but it includes the finest achievements of Chinese painting under the Tang and Sung Dynasties, and within this limited period, Dr. Siren has dealt comprehensively with all forms of painting. The particular merit of his method is that he has systematically combined with a study of surviving works all the relevant information which can be obtained from the Chinese historians of painting. The result is a more complete survey of the development of Chinese art than has previously been presented. Although art lovers will turn with most curiosity to Dr. Siren's illustrations, the text, apart from its lucid account of the history, is indeed particularly interesting by his long quotations from the critics, giving sometimes their receipts for making of pictures, which are often of a disconcerting naivety.—*The Spectator*.

This new History of Chinese Painting means no doubt, an immense progress beyond all its predecessors . . . Siren is the first who approaches Chinese Painting with the eyes and the instruments of a European art-historian. He has seen much and collected still more information, thus bringing together with untiring perseverance more important materials than hitherto ever have been included in one publication . . .

The text is, as may be expected from the author, strictly informative and quite free from the common aesthetic jargon. . . . He always characterizes briefly and intelligibly the evolution of Chinese painting and the individualities of the various artists as far as it can be done on the basis of the surviving traditions. His presentation is also from a literary point of view rather better than those of his predecessors ; it is supported by long and often very interesting extracts from Chinese records.

Among the author's contributions to Chinese art-history, which all are indispensable, this, the latest one, which is devoted to the central art of China, is no doubt the most valuable. Its place is certainly in the foremost rank of European contributions to the history of art in China.

(Translated from a review by Professor Otto Kummel in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Nr. 3-4-1934, Director General of the German Art Museums.)

From the 畫學心印 Hua Hsüeh Hsin Yin.

T'ung-p'o says that ancient and modern artists in painting water, paint it level in the distance and finely shaded near. Even the good artists did no more than show the wave crests rise and fall, so that an onlooker might desire to touch the painting to feel the heights and depths, and they considered the painting fine. These paintings are but little better than prints. In the 廣明 Kuang-ming period of T'ang, there was a non-official 孫位 Sun Wei (another name was 遇 Yü), a man from 東越 Tung-yüeh), who first conceived a new idea. He painted rushing torrents and great waves, breaking against rocks and twisting around mountainous shores, taking shape from their contact with obstacles. His painting of water may be called 神逸 divine.

After him, there were the artists from Shu called 黃筌 Huang Ch'uan (tzu, 要叔 Yao Shu) and 孫知微 Sun Chia-wu (tzu, 太古 T'ai-ku), both painted in Sun Wei's style. At first when Chia-wu was about to paint lakes, rapids, rivers and rocks on the four walls of the 壽寧院 Shou-ning Yuan of 大慈寺 Ta Tsü Ssu, he planned and schemed for a whole year without daring to paint a stroke. Then one day in a hurry, he came to the temple and demanded brush and ink on the instant; his sleeves flew furiously hither and thither as fast as the wind, and in a short time all was finished. The shapes of still pools, flowing streams, breaking waves and water forced backward by obstacles rose from his brush; the roaring of the waters, in their turbulence, was enough to knock down the house. About fifty years after the death of Chia-wu, a certain 蒲永昇 Po Yung-sheng arose at 成都 Cheng-tu, whose nature and talents were eminently suited for painting. He also was able to make his water living and may be said to have comprehended the idea of the two Suns.

Colophons by Su Tung-p'o.

About Wang's picture in the Eastern Garden at Fêng-hsiang. *(Lan-tien festival)*

In the Chia-yu period (1056-64), ^{on the 15th of} ~~in~~ the first month of the kuei-mao year (1063) I went to see Wang Mo-ch'i's work. It was late at night and I had only an old lamp at my disposal, but in the flickering light the figure of the monk seemed to move, ^{and} I remained quite dazed for a while.

Writing on Mo-ch'i's picture: ^{and} Mist-Rain at Lan-tien.

When enjoying Mo-ch'i's poems I find in them pictures, looking at Mo-ch'i's pictures I find in them poems. The poem runs: "In the Lan-tien stream the white pebbles appear, on the jade ^{green} river the red leaves are scarce. No rain has fallen on the mountain paths; ^{but} the air ^{in the woods lays} ~~is moist and~~ ^{moist on} ~~wets~~ the clothes." - This is Mo-ch'i's poem, though someone objected and said that an amateur had completed Mo-ch'i's poem.

In a poem Su Tung-p'o writes:

In studying the pictures of old I found among their masters only two men of genius: Tao-tz'i was truly brave and strong, mighty as the ocean waves. He worked swiftly as the wind; already before the brush had touched (the paper) the spirit was there. Mo-ch'i was a true poet; he carried the fragrant orchid at his belt. Now when I see his picture on the wall, I find it like his poems pure and honest. Master Wu was wonderful, indeed, but he was only a painter. Mo-ch'i reached beyond the visible shapes; he was like a bird of immortality who refused to stay in a cage. I look at these two men, both superior geniuses but before Wang Wei I bow down without a word of dispraise.

v

Colophon on Yü-k'o's Ink-Bamboos.

In his earlier years Yü-k'o painted his bamboos whenever he found some pure white silk or good paper. He grasped the brush quickly, ^{and moved} ~~brushing~~ ^{it with ease} ~~and scattering about with it.~~ He simply could not ^{do otherwise.} ~~help (doing it).~~ All the people who came to ^{see him vied in obtaining some of his} ~~his house seized and carried away with them some pictures,~~ and Yü-k'o ^{made no difficulties} ~~did not care about them.~~

In later years when he saw people placing brushes and ink-stone on the table,, he recoiled and went away. And those who came to beg for pictures waited until the end of the year but did not obtain anything. When someone asked Yü-k'o about his reasons for this (change of attitude), he replied: "In former years I studied Tao but could not reach it; ^{my thoughts} ~~I found no~~ ^{were never at ease;} ~~I could not free myself from this state, but kept on expressing it~~ ^{peace of mind and could not accomplish it.} Therefore I simply went on ^{by painting} ~~painting~~ ink-bamboos, expressing through them my restlessness. It was like an illness. Now, this illness is cured, ^{and I can do nothing more.} ~~nothing more is to be done.~~"

As far as I can see, Yü-k'o's illness is not yet cured. Is it not possible that it will develop again? I will ^{watch} ~~wait~~ for its development and take him by surprise. He considers it an illness, but I find advantage in this illness; perchance, I too may be ill.

Hsi-Ning, ^{K'ang} ~~Ch'ing~~-hsü year, 7 month, 21 day. (A.D. 1070). ^{Composed} ~~Written~~ by Tzu-chan, ^(Su Shih)
Copied in seal characters ^{Tung} ~~by~~ Tung-shu.

Li Yüan-chih from Chang-an, a descendant of T'ang Jang-ti, studied Chuan shu ^{with utmost care} (model writing) during many years and learned the classical manner. He used ^a ~~pointed~~ brush and wrote very quickly without ^{any previous preparation.} ~~measuring the size~~ of the characters. When he saw Yü-k'o's ink bamboos in my possession, he asked permission to write a colophon on them and wrote a few hundred words. His tzü was Tung-shu.

_____ / _____

Yü-k'o's ink paintings of bamboos and their expressiveness in relation to the character of the artist are treated by Su Tung-p'o in several colophons and poems, among which the following have been selected:

Writing on Wen Yü-k'o's Ink Bamboos

My regretted friend Wen Yü-k'o was a genius in four different ways: 1. in poetry; 2. in ancient ballads (Chu Tz'u); 3. in "grass writing"; 4. in painting. Yü-k'o often said: "There is nobody in the world who knows me except Tzu-chên; he recognized at first sight my finest qualities." - Seven years have passed since Yü-k'o died, but only now I saw this work of his and wrote the following poem:

The brush and yourself are both gone. Who can now pour fresh life into poetry? No one is there to swing the hatchet; the materials (like myself) alone are left, I mourn the man, and break my strings.

Colophon on Yü-k'o's Ink Bamboos

My friend Yü-k'o painted bamboos in ink for the Taoist master Wang Chih-chung and said to him: "Do not let anybody else write on the picture but wait until Su Tzŭ-chan arrives; ask him to compose a poem on it." - Eight years have passed since Yü-k'o died, but only now I came back from the capital, saw the picture and wrote a poem:

Who was this man who found happiness in strolling about, chanting poems as the careless Sage ^{and} ~~penetrating~~ ^{ed} into the mysteries of the bamboos? From time to time he did a tree or a stone, wild and strange beyond all rules. The whole world considered them as precious, but I am the one who appreciates them most. It has always been difficult for close friends to remain together. The death comes suddenly without waiting. Who can say that the dead and the living are separated and do not communicate like Kung and Wei? (Two men of the Chin period, Wei died and communicated to Kung where he could find some money)

7.
His artistic genius and all absorbing love of bamboos, which was transmitted to so many of his friends, are beautifully brought out in the following poems.
Write Three poems on a picture by Yü-k'o belonging to Ch'ao Pu-chih.

When Yü-k'o painted bamboos he was conscious (perceived) only of the bamboos and not of himself as a man. Not only was he unconscious of his human form, but sick at heart he left his own body and this was transformed into bamboos of inexhaustible freshness and purity. As there is no more a Chuang-tzū in the world, who can understand such a concentration of the spirit.

This man is already dead; how can the bamboos still be here? Who painted with the spring worm brush-strokes^{x/} the willows in the wind? You see (the bamboos) on the slope of the rugged mountain, their gaunt joints winding like dragons and ~~serpents~~ snakes. When did these frost-covered bamboos fall again into the hands of a hermit?

Ch'ao-tzū was poor in things of the world; I heard that his family ate nothing but gruel. One morning however he was roaring with joy! he had received the frost-covered bamboos in exchange for a tombal inscription. What a pity that the morning sun shines only on some clover in his plate! Yet, as I said in a poem: one may live without meat (but not without bamboos).^h *sid 10-*

Writing on Chao-Wu's screen with bamboos painted by Yü-k'o

Wherever Yü-k'o went he sang his poems and painted his bamboos. He had not stayed for a year in the capital, before he asked leave to return to the country, and as he left, the poems and the bamboo paintings all went with him to the West.

x/ An expression used by T'ang T'ai-Tsung about Hsiao Tzu-yün's brushwork in writing

If he was not seen for a day, the people missed him. His mien was stern and cold, but he smoothed the ~~side~~ ^{heart} and the quick-tempered, and turned the vile and the mean into kind and generous men. Now he is far away. One may still ask for his poems and beg for his bamboos, but the kind and peaceful man is no longer to be found. In looking at his bamboos I can not help moaning.

Su Shih, Discussion of bamboo painting (Pei Wen Chai Shu Hua Pu, vol.13)

- - - Painters of today draw joint after joint and pile up leaf on leaf. How can that become a bamboo? When you are going to paint a bamboo, you must first realize the whole thing completely in your mind. Then grasp the brush, fix your attention, so that you see clearly what you wish to paint; start quickly, move the brush, follow straight what you see before you, like the hare which jumps out, or the buzzard which shoots down. If you hesitate one moment, it is all lost.

Yü-k'o taught me thus; but I could not do it, though I knew it should be so. I knew it in my heart, but could not do it; the inner and the outer (faculty) were not as one; the heart and the hand did not cooperate. That is the fault of not having studied sufficiently. Those who perceive things within themselves but do not grasp them completely, they may understand them in a general way but when the matter is at hand, ~~they loose~~ they lose the whole thing. And this applies not only to bamboos.

Colophon on Yü-k'o's ^{Twisted (distorted)} Curving Bamboos

The ^{twisted} curving bamboos growing on the northern slope of the Ling-yang prefect's home are ^{bamboo from the Ch'i} mountain bamboos. One has not yet thrown off its sheets; ^{because it} it ^{was damaged by scorpions} is eaten by worms. The other is ^{squeezed} growing in a crevice of the mountain - this being the reason of its appearance.

II Colophon of Lu-hung's (trick) writing (Yen Chên-ching, duke of Lu)

In observing the writing of a man one can grasp him and ^{from it} see whether he is a superior man or a small man. It was seem impossible, because if it is not possible to judge a man from his appearance, how could one do it from his ^{manner of} writing? But (yet) when I saw ^{before} ~~the~~ ^{Yen Chên-ching's} writing I could help seeing before me his manner of appearance and I did not suddenly grasp the ~~character~~ of the man but saw how stern he was in scolding Lu Chên and in ^{abusing} (honouring) Li Hsi-lieh. The reason for it is the same as ~~the reason~~ ^{the} stealing of the axe in the story of Han Fei (d. 233). There is indeed a significance ⁱⁿ (in man's writing) how and the more skill (or lack of skill) in the handling of the brush by (from) which one can see, judge, in a sense, say, whether the man was a straight or crooked character.

** 1133 (d. 782). Yen Chên-ching (769-785) (p. 246)
a stern & upright statesman

Thung p.c. Te B. vol. II. l. 6

Note shown on Wen Yü-k'ang's discussion of grass writing.

Yü-kei says, "I ~~have~~ studied grass writing, ~~about~~ 10
years ~~but could not~~ ^{without being able to} the old masters' brush-work
(such as it has been transmitted) but then I
saw some snakes fighting on the road & grasped the
wonder of it and realized that T'ien ~~was~~ ^{is} in
(Hwai-shu) must have been inspired (moved) before they
could do such things."

could do such things.
The observation of things in nature often lead to results
- sometimes there was a ^{man} ~~discovery~~ of a new invention
tion for grass-writing; at night he dreamed that he saw
young scaly dragons intertwining and then he saw
also saw them in the day time and that he was
very skilled in grass-writing. He then wrote a
book great trouble. I wonder how far I saw real
snakes or were they simply the spirits of grass writing?
While Yü-ho was alive he used to talk together and
laugh at many things, but I regret that I never
consulted him about this story which would have
made him hold his belly and loose his breath for
laughter.

Wen Yü

When my regretted friend, ^{the} prefect of Ling-yang saw these bamboos he was much impressed and made a picture of them in ink. I obtained a copy of it and left it at Yü-tso kung asking Chi Yung to engrave it on a stone, so that amateurs who look at it may feel their hearts moved and their eyes startled by the extraordinary ^{appearance of the bamboos} ~~sight~~ and also may remember the character of my regretted friend, which was curving but never flinching like these two bamboos.

Writing on Huang Chüan's painting of birds

Huang Chüan painted his flying birds with necks and feet all extended. But someone remarked: "When the birds fly, they draw in the neck and extend the feet, or they draw in the feet and extend the neck, but they do not extend both." On examination I found this remark correct. From this ^{it may be known} ~~may be known~~ that looking at things without proper attention, is not enough to make a painter, still less a great painter. The superior man attaches the greatest importance to ^{proper} ~~right~~ study and investigation.

Writing on Tai Sung's painting of bulls.

In Shu there lived a retired scholar who loved calligraphy and painting. He collected hundreds of specimens, among them a scroll of bulls by Tai Sung. He loved it above everything, had it mounted on a jade roller, and preserved it in a brocade cover. ^{anywhere} ~~Wherever~~ he went he ^{took it with him} ~~took it along~~. One day, when he aired his pictures and books in the sun, a cow-herd saw this picture. He laughed at it loudly and said: "Is this a picture of bulls fighting? When bulls are fighting, all their strength is in the horns, and their tails are drawn in between the legs, but these bulls are fighting with extended tails; that is quite wrong." The old scholar laughed and nodded assent.

An old proverb says: 'For plowing one must turn to the farmer; for sewing one must ask the maid.' This cannot be altered.

When Su Tung-p'o was drunk in the house of Kuo Hsiang-cheng, he painted on the wall some bamboos and stones. Kuo wrote a poem of thanks and presented him with two bronze swords.

Su Shih replied: "When my dry bowels are refreshed with wine, the rapid strokes begin to flow and from the flushed liver and lungs the bamboos and stones are born. They grow in abundance and cannot be suppressed. I painted them on the snow-white walls of your house. All my life I loved poetry as well as painting; I scribbled my poems and defiled the walls (with my paintings) often being cursed in return. You are not angry, nor do you curse me, for which I am more than glad. Is there anybody else like you in the whole world?"

x/
Writing on Chu Hsiang-hsien's painting

Chu Hsiang-hsien from Sung-ling was a learned man but he did not try to pass the examinations, ^{and aged for 70 but did not seek} ~~nor did he want~~ to sell his pictures. He said: "I write in order to express my heart, I paint in order to satisfy my mind; that is all. In former times Yen Li-p'en rose through his learning to a high official position but finally he ^{became known simply as the Hermit of the West Lake} ~~was called the painter boy~~."

^{that Master} Someone said ~~to~~ Chu ^(in this) ~~that he~~ was wrong, but it seems to me that he was right. Hsieh An-shih wanted Wang Tzū-ching ^{xx/} to write an inscription board for the T'ai-chi-t'ien and tried to stir him with the story of Wei Chung-chiang. Tzū-ching said: "Chung-chiang was a great official of the Wei dynasty, he could not, ^{very well} ~~according to reason~~, have been treated in such a fashion. If

x/ Chu Hsiang-hsien, tzū Ching-chu, from Sung-ling. Active c:a 1094-1100. Recorded as a painter but no works of his are mentioned. According to tradition he used either to rub his paintings with small stones, so as to make ink and colours enter into the silk or to wash and paint them over. Also known as the Hermit of the West Lake.

xx/ Hsieh An-shih (320-365), a distinguished scholar and nature lover, who even after he entered official service "never lost his love for Tung-p'ao", Governor of Yang-chou in Kiangsu, known as "the Refined minister". Giles, 724.

Wang Tzū-ching, ^{=(Wang Tzū-ching (344-388), friend of Hsieh An-shih)} ~~probably the same as Hsieh Tan-shih who together with Hsieh An was guardian of the young emperor Hsiang-shih of Chin. Fond of playing wei-ch'i. Became a close friend of a Buddhist priest. Giles 2271~~

Wei Tan, Tzu Chung-chiang, served under Ts'ao Ts'ao. Famous calligraphist. When Ming Ti built the Ling-yün palace, the workmen placed by mistake the board over the gate before it was inscribed. But as the inscription had to be made, Wei Tan was hauled with a rope to a height of 250 feet; when he had done the writing, his hair was white. He was also known as a maker of ink and brushes.

~~such~~ that had been the case, it ~~seems to me~~ ^{would indicate} that the virtue of the Wei ~~dynasty could~~ ^{was not of a lasting kind} not have lasted long." If Yen Li-p'en was as great as Tzū-ching, nobody would have dared to call him ^{simply an artist} ~~"the painter-boy"~~.

^{x/} Yüan Ch'ian-li was skilled in playing the ch'in; he played for everybody, the noble men as well as the common people, the young as well as the old. And (when he played) his spirit became so kind and harmonious that one hardly recognized the former man. ^{His} ~~my~~ ^{Pan Ho^{xx}} brother in law had him play the whole day, he continued until ^{late at} ~~the~~ night without ^{the least irritation} (loosing his kind manners). People who knew him realized that he could not be disturbed either by ^{glory} ~~honor~~ or ^{shame} ~~injuries~~. If Yen Li-p'en had been as great a sage ^{as} ~~like~~ Chien-li, who would then have insulted him by calling him ^{simply an artist?} ~~"the painter-boy"~~?

^{Master} Now, ~~Mr~~ Chu does not ask anything of the world; even princes, dukes and noble men have no means ~~by which~~ to engage him. When he takes off his clothes and seats himself crosslegged (in order to paint) even I can ^{creep and peep} ~~place myself at~~ ^{the things} his side.

Yüan Yu, 5 year 9 moon 18 day - 1020.

Colophon on a landscape by Mr Yen, ^{xx} belonging to Pu Chuang-ch'eng.

Paintings representing human figures are ch'ên (spiritual or divine);

x/ Yüan Chan, tzū Ch'ien-li, 3-4 cent. an "exceedingly pure and simple-minded man who found his chief pleasure in playing the guitar. In 310 he was secretary to the Hear Apparent", Giles, 2542.

xx/ Pu Tzung-mêng, tzū Chuang-ch'eng, a Han-lin scholar who served as minister of the right under Shen Tsung (1068-1095). Lived in a lavish fashion; said to have ordered that 10 sheep and 10 swine should be slaughtered every morning and 300 candles lighted every night. Su Shih wrote him a letter recommending economy. Yen Su, tzu Mu-chih from Peking (Yen-chi). Vice president of Li-pu, prominent in literature and painting. "His heart was pure and as a cold forest." Followed as a painter in the footstep of Wang Wei. Executed wall paintings in several temples and palaces. Was appointed Great Marshal (Ta yü) in 1040.

xx I saw Yü, tzü An, in 4 cent. ^{later} ~~after~~ under the Chin dynasty. A handsome youth & a good late scholar. Giles, 1613

xx I saw Yen Wen-hua, who was active in the reign of Hsü-p'ing-tsun

Whether (placed) ^{crosswise, or on a slanting or a level} ~~cross, diagonally or straight~~ on an even plane, they all ^{had the right} stood in mutual proportions (by decrease and increase). He ^{gave} ~~gave~~ their natural appearance without the least deviation. He expressed new ideas by his principles of proportions and ^{wonderful artistic balance} ~~gave the mysterious (inherent) reason~~ (of things) beyond all boldness and freedom. It may thus be said of his works (with Chuang-tzū) there is room for the ^{edge} knife to move, or, the revolving hatchet raises the wind. He was the foremost among old and modern painters.

As to pictures by other artists, I may not be able to distinguish their masters, but Tao-tzū's paintings I recognize ^{at} in a glance. Nowadays the true ones are very rare; I have, in my whole life, only seen one or two like the one belonging to Shih Ch'uan-shu. Written in the Yüan era, ^{Feng} 1 year, 11 moon, 7 day - 1035.

Colophon on Wu Tao-tzū's picture of the Torments of Hell.

Tao-tzū was an Immortal among painters. He expressed new ideas by his ^{wonderful} ~~manner of proportions~~ and a ~~mysterious~~ reason (fitness) ^{of the world} ~~boldness~~ and freedom. It may be said (in regard to his works): "There is room for the knife to move, and the hatchet is swung so that it raises the wind."

In looking at his picture ^{of the torments} of Hell, one cannot see the causes of the ^{tribulations} ~~tribulations~~ but one can see the results of the ^{of the world could keep at length} ~~tribulations~~. What a pity! What a pity! If ^{only} the people had kept some clean and honest thoughts, they ^{am afraid} ~~have~~ ^{escaped} ~~been~~ saved, but I ^{am afraid} ~~fear~~ they are like the grass at the roadside, which is burnt but not exterminated; it comes again with the wind of the spring. Yuan Feng, 6 year, 7 moon, 10 day, 1033, Chi-an, ^{Ching-tai} ~~Ching-tai~~.

Writing on General Li's picture of ^{the three-man horse} ~~the horses with three manes~~.

The picture by General Li of T'ang, whose name was Ssu-hsün, representing King Huang picking melons, showed the Chia-ling mountains and streams and the emperor ^{sitting on a} ~~seated on a~~ so-called three-maned red horse ^{with three manes} ~~amongst~~ the princes' court ladies and servants, of whom more than a dozen were on horseback. They ^{came out of the} ~~came out of the~~ Fei-hsün ling mountain. When moving at the place, the

~~and palace ladies. More than ten riders came galloping down from the Hsien-ling mountain, in arriving at the flat country,~~ ^{all} the horses seemed afraid and the emperor's horse refused to pass the small bridge in front of him.

I did not know what the words "three maned" meant, but afterwards I ~~did~~ ^{then I saw the governor of} ~~read the poems by Chia-chou among which was the song~~ ^{Chia-chou} called the Red Horse of ^{Governor} ~~officer~~ Wei, in which it is said: "A barbarian with red beard and ^{metal} ~~gold~~ scissors cut one morning the ^{high mane in three parts} ~~three high manes of the horse~~". From this I understand that most of the imperial horses in the T'ang period had their manes cut in three divisions (^{parts} ~~portions~~) for ornamental reasons.

Poem on Han Kan's Fourteen Horses.

Two horses are galloping, their eight hoofs brought together. Two are curving their necks, their manes and tails are quite equal. One is running in front and kicks with the hind legs, and one stands neighing by the side. The old, bearded groom who is riding looks behind; in a previous life he was a horse himself and understands the language of the horses. Behind are eight horses drinking (as they are walking in the stream), one can hear the water gurgling in their mouths. Those in front, which have passed the stream, are like cranes running out of the forest (with stretched necks) while those behind still passing the stream, are like cranes with lowered beaks. The last one is like a dragon among horses, it does not neigh, nor move, only its tail is moved by the wind. When Han Kan painted horses he truly was a horse, when Su-tzu makes a poem, it is like seeing the picture. Nowadays there is no Po-Yüeh and no Han Kan in the world. Who will see this picture and read this poem?

^{x/}
Colophon on Chao Yün-tzu's painting.

In Chao Yün-tzu's paintings the brush-work was quite sketchy but the

x/Chao Yün-tzu was a prominent painter of Taoist subjects. His name meaning "son of the Clouds", is evidently hinted at in the last sentence, implying that he was like a wind driven cloud.

ideas were fully expressed. He was not able to produce finished pictures, though he pretended that he used a rough and vulgar manner in order to startle (or make ~~fun~~ ^{fun} of) people who came to see him. He acted like Liu Hsia-hui, who was lacking in respect, and Tung Fang-so who amused himself at the expense of the world. He was the foremost among the jokers. Someone said that Yü-tzū was saving the world, but in Shu the clouds which are driven by the wind are called crazy clouds (kuang yün).

x/
Colophon on a painting by Ai Hsüan.

Ai Hsüan from Chin-ling painted birds and animals, flowers and bamboos, and was the foremost in recent years. The older he grew, the more wonderful became his brush-work. Although it was no longer ~~clear and even~~ ^{reference well understood}, the spirit of it was most uncommon. He is still alive but his eye-sight is dimmed and he can no longer move the brush. When I saw these pictures I wrote a poem for each of them.

x/ Prominent painter of flowers and birds. Member of the Academy in the reign of Shên Tsung. Followed the style of Chao Chang.

^{How some} ^{in a wall was}
Writing about a wall painting ~~in~~ exchange for a stone.

The stores which come from Ling-ni have usually only one face. In Mr Liu's garden, under the brick terrace is a stone, ^{which is turning its head} ~~rising~~ ^{which is turning its head} ~~crit~~ ^{which is turning its head} ~~along~~ ^{which is turning its head} ~~on both sides~~. It is like a deer ^{which is turning its head} ~~with curving neck~~. Tung-t'ao, the official, wanted to obtain it and ^{Painted therefore} ~~made a picture~~ on the wall of the Li ^{evill} ~~evil ^{Strange} ~~He painted~~ ^{Strange} ~~and~~ wind-swept bamboos. The master of the house was well satisfied and gave it to me. I took it on a cart and went back to Kiang-hsien. - Yüan-feng, 8 year, 4 month, 6 day - A.D. 1075.~~

Writing on the portrait by Ch'ên Huai-li.

The difficult point in portrait painting is in the eyes. Li Hsüan said: The expression in portrait painting is all in the eyes, the second point (of importance) is in the cheek-bones and the chin. I have often looked in the

lamplight on the shadow of my chin on the wall and asked someone to make ^{of} it into a picture on the wall without putting in the eyes and eye-brows. Everybody who saw ^{it} could not help laughing, as they knew that it was I. Then the eyes as well as the cheek-bones and the chin are like, then the rest is also resembling. Because the eye-brows, the nose and the mouth may be modified so as to obtain re^semblance.

Portrait painting and physiognomy are the same art. In order to grasp the character of a man, one must observe him and his manners secretly in a crowd. But nowadays the painters make (their models) put on official clothes and caps and sit down with their gaze fixed on an object; their faces are mute and their manners restrained. How could such a man's character still be seen?

There is some part in every man where his particular disposition resides. Some have it in the eyes and eye-brows, some in the nose and the mouth. Hu-to said: 'By adding three hairs on the cheek I gave it (the portrait) a superior expression. In this case the man's characteristics were in the cheek and the beard.

Yu Mêng (the actor) imitated Sun Shu-ao by clapping his hands, talking and laughing to such a point that the people said: "the dead have returned to life"! Did he do it by imitating the whole body of the man? No; he did it by grasping the peculiar characteristics (ideas) of the man.

If the painters understood this principle, each one of them could be called a Ku (K'ai-chih) or a Lu (Tan-wei). I have often seen the monk Hui-chên's portrait of Tsêng Lu-kung. At first it was not very like, but one day the monk went to see the gentleman. When he came home, he was very glad and said: "I have got it!" Then he added three wrinkles behind the eye brows. Such wrinkles can hardly be seen except when the head is lifted to look up, the eye brows raised, and the temples wrinkled; and then the portrait became a very good likeness.

Ch'ên Huai-li from the Southern Capital made my portrait. Everybody thinks that it is ~~quite complete~~ ^{thoroughly like me}. Huai-li's manners are those of a first class scholar. He is very respectful and his ideas reach beyond the brush-and-ink-work. That is why I have ~~made him known by~~ ^{noted} down the above traditions ^(which may be useful to him).

Colophon on an album of paintings.

Chün Hou's album of paintings does not fill a trunk when he stays at home, nor does it make a load for oxen or horses when he goes travelling. When looking at it before a bright window, ^(one may sit or lie down, and things) on a clean table ⁱⁿ the large hall ^{with} ~~the bare walls~~ ^{there is no need to go into}, it does not require the trouble of unrolling ^{rolling and} scrolls. The figures, the birds and fishes, ⁱⁿ with all their (transformations) ^{multitudinous} ~~changing~~ aspects the mountains and streams, the flowers and trees in all their original beauty, are brilliantly displayed to the enjoyment of amateurs. - Yüan-yü, 2 year, 2 moon, 8 day - 1087. Ping-shu borrowed it for study and Tzu-chen wrote it.

Colophon on Sung Han-chieh's painting.

I used to be a friend of Sung ^{Fu} Han-ku. After I had looked at his ^{representing an evening view of Hsiao & Hsiao} picture of bamboo in an evening landscape, I wrote three poems and said in them: The path ^{leads far in} ~~is reaching~~ to the mountains ~~rising~~ in the background; the waters ^{flow} ~~slow~~ together into the foreground-stream. ^{Fu} Han-ku said: 'Are you as good in painting?' Nowadays his nephew Han-chieh possesses the same skill; if heaven still gives him some years, he will not be inferior to ^{Fu} Han-ku. - Yüan Yüer, 3 year, 4 moon, 5 day - 1088.

x/ Sung Tzū-fang, tzū Han-chieh from Ch'eng-chou was a nephew of Sung Tzū ^{Fu} Han-ku. He served as a ch'eng-lang in the palace; wrote an essay on the Six principles of painting. ^{Tzū Han-ku was a pupil of Li Shih & famous for his painting of trees. It was severe. He is said to have been the first who painted the 8 views of the mountains.}

Another colophon on Han-chieh's picture of mountains.

^{Tzū Han-ku's style was as} Han Mo-ch'i and Li Ssu-hsün ~~of Tzū Han-ku~~ painted the mountains and streams, the peaks and the slopes in all their changing aspects. By their serene beauty (serenity) we are carried out of the dust of the world. Often ^{They} represented

the floating clouds and ^{the} dark vaporous skies, the lonely swan and the setting sun disappearing beyond the river at the horizon. They were the ancestors of the whole world (of landscape painters) and perfected the ^{art} mode of the T'ang period. In later years Fan K'uan was the only painter ^{to some extent} who preserved ~~something of~~ the ancient style but his spirit was a little ^{vulgar} coarse. Han-chieh's picture of mountains is neither old-fashioned nor modern but rather original. If he continues without stopping, he may paint mountains in colour.

The third colophon on Han-chieh's picture.

Looking at pictures by scholars is like examining horses; one finds that they grasp the points which carry expression and life, whereas ordinary painters often grasp only the riding-whip, the hairy skin, the stable ~~anger~~, the fodder and ^(all the superficial details) but nothing of their beauty. After having seen a few feet of such pictures one feels tired. ~~The pictures by Han-chieh~~ ^{pictures are} really scholar's work.

Writing on Li po-shih's picture of the Mountain Farm (Shan Shuen t'u).

It was said that when Luan-mien ^{Chen} ~~po~~-shih painted the Farm in the Mountains, he made it so that those who in later times might go into ~~these~~ ^{these} mountains would find the paths wherever they would walk. It would be to them as if they had seen it all in a dream, or been there in a former life. In seeing the streams, the rocks, the plants and the trees they would ^{know them all without asking about them} ~~not need to ask any questions~~; in meeting the fishermen, the wood-cutters, and the hermits, they would know them without ^{inquiring about} ~~asking for~~ their names. ^{Was} ~~Is~~ this the result of his strong memory? I say: 'it ^{is} not.'

~~Those~~ ^{They have} who paint the sun often make it like a cake but it is not bread. ~~He has~~ forgotten the sun. Even a tipsy man does not drink with the nose and even in a dream one does not grasp with the feet. That which is in accordance with nature is recalled without effort (by instinct).

^{The master was staying} When ~~Li po-shih stayed~~ in the mountains he did not pay attention to one thing only but his spirit joined in with ten thousand things and his mind penetrated every kind of workmanship.

Indeed, there are men who possess Tao and who possess art ^{as well, while} others ~~who~~ possess Tao, but have not art, ^{In this case} although the things take form in their ~~hands~~ ^{minds, but}, they do not take form under their hands.

I ^{once saw} ~~have often seen~~ Li po-shih's ^{illustrations to} ~~scenes~~ from the Hua Yen sutra. They are altogether creations of his own mind and yet in harmony with (the (teachings of) Buddha. The words of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and the pictures by ^{The master} ~~Li po-shih~~ seem to be (products) ^{by} of the same man. How much more would he not succeed in painting things he had actually seen?

Colophon on Li Po-shih's picture Divining ^{about a residence} (Ta Chi t'ui).

^{x/} Ting-t'ao asked me to ^{write} ~~write~~ out the poem which Tao Yuan-ming wrote for the monk Tsan and asked Li Po-shih to ^{illustrate it} ~~paint the scene~~, as I intended to go back to the country. I come from a family which lived in the country, and in my youth I had the intention of retiring to the hills and vales. Although I am now an official my way of living is like that of a ~~scholar~~; I have for ten years been longing to return to the country and always asked ~~myself~~ ^{the position of} so but obtained ~~it only by receiving~~ a prefect.

When the scholars and officials meet the ~~scholar~~ ^{scholar}, they ~~become~~ ^{become} prime ministers as easily as the ~~scholar~~ ^{scholar} of the land. ~~But to~~ ^{But to} ~~the labors of the field~~ ^{the labors of the field} has always been a ~~difficult task~~ ^{difficult task}. I should know that when I return to the country, I will not distill the ~~scholar~~ ^{scholar} and the animals but be like Tao Yuan-ming, who ~~has~~ ^{has} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~country~~ ^{country} will not be able to restrain his bold spirit but be like Hsieh Ling-yün (i.e. eccentric and over-bearing). ^{xx/}

x/ Wang Ting-t'ao, a painter of birds and flowers, contemporary of Li Shih.

xx/ Tao Yuan-ming and Hsieh Ling-yün are two opposite characters of the early fifth century. Hsieh Ling-yün (385-433) was considered the greatest scholar of his period; he had a pond dug and planted white lotus for the priest Hui-Yün, the founder of the "White Lotus Club", to signify his desire to join the club, but Hui-Yün rejected him on the ground that he was not peaceful at heart. The poet and philosopher Tao Yuan-ming (365-427) was always a genuine peasant at this club, even though he was not a Buddhist. He could not remain an official for more than short periods but retired to the country, occupying himself ~~xxx~~ "with poetry, music and the culture of flowers." (Cf. Giles. 739. and 1892)

Colophon on Li Po-shih's painting (illustrations to) the Book of Filial Piety (Hsiao ching.)

In looking at this painting feelings of duty and devotion towards our parents rise in our hearts like oil on water. The brush-work is wonderful and not inferior to that of Ku and Lu. When we come to the 18th chapter (on mourning) dealing with the overwhelming sorrow of a son, ^{this is portrayed here in a way} ~~it is done in such a way~~ ^{possible only to} ~~that it could not have been accomplished by anybody but a superior man. Even~~ Ku and Lu could ~~certainly~~ not have done it as well.

Two poems written on a painting by secretary Wan, from Yen-liang, representing some broken branches.

-A-

Those who criticize pictures as forms are like children, and those who compose poetry according to formal rules and not real poets. Poetry and painting follow the same laws; it is by divine inspiration that they become true and original.

Chia Luan painted the birds as if alive, Chao Ch'ang gave the spirit of the flowers. These two branches are perfectly spaced, contain all the essence and rhythm. Who says that a dot of red does not send forth the spring which never changes?

-B-

The thin bamboos are like hermits, the lovely flowers like pure virgins. The birds are fluttering among the branches moving the flowers which are moist by rain. A pair of birds on the point of soaring, a rustle among the thick t of leaves. Look how the bee is sucking the flowers, filling its loins with their honey. The painter possessed the skill of heaven, he rendered the air of spring with his brush. I think he was truly a poet; he has given the harmony and asks for a poem.

Chandellor Lu Hsiang's picture of A Grass Hut.

This picture by "minister" Lu ^{former Lu} Tuan Wen-ch'ang of T'ang (now belonging to

x/ ^{Lu Hsiang or Lu Hsiang, the Hao-jang, Layan, Chang, lived here in a house} ~~Lu Hsiang, famous for his love of tea, and Tuan Wen-ch'ang (d. 935)~~ famous for his love of good cookery (Giles, 2085)

^{He was a calligraphist & painter, his landscapes almost as good as Wang Wei's.}
in the Hao-jang, d. 1013- ^{he was summoned by the emperor but refused. Painted a famous picture of the} in which he lived! (1416)

to Mr Liu Yüan-fang who is an imperial secretary. In the 3. year, 7 month of the Yüan-yu period (A.D.1088) I stayed ^{at the post-house of} the Tu-t'ing ~~(imperial hotel)~~ together with an envoy from the North, and Liu showed me the picture, and I made assisted by Kuo Yüan-lai, this poem.

Colophon on the picture, Cleaning the Ear, of the Nan T'ang period.

Wang Chin-ch'ing (Wang Hsien) suddenly became deaf, and as he could not endure it, he asked relief from me. I answered him: "You ^{know. Then you} ~~came from a family of~~ generals, cut off your head and pierce your chest ^{if you can do it without} ~~and you will have~~ ^{no more} ~~trouble~~. What is the use of ^{your} two ears; why ^{are} ~~do~~ you ^{bother to cut} ~~not~~ sacrifice them? I give you three days for getting rid of your ill; if it does not leave you, you may cut my ears." Chin-ch'ing understood my meaning; after three days ^{the illness had left him} ~~he was completely cured~~. He showed me a poem of praise, in which he said: "My old wife, restless at heart, incessantly warned me: the conditions are difficult, you have only three days limit. My ears are well and I do not cut yours. We may rejoice as both families are well."

Now as I looked at the picture, Cleaning the Ear, belonging to Ting-kuo, and as he said that he had obtained it from Chin-ch'ing, I wrote this.

Colophon on the picture Picking Melons.

In ~~the~~ poem ^{called The Horse of the Clouds (Huang Yin Hui)} by Yüan Chên ~~Wang Yün~~, ~~called The Picked Horse~~ it is said: If Ming Huang had had this horse, he would not have ~~escaped~~ ^{been riding} on a donkey. If these words by Chên were correct, how could there be this wonderful picture by Li Ssü-hsün, representing the emperor ~~and his~~ ^{with his} ladies ~~on horseback~~ picking melons ^{on} the mountain ~~and~~ ^{in the} valleys? During the revolt of An Lu-shan Ts'ui Yüan had prepared everything in Chu. The riding on a donkey is empty talk of the time.

x/ Yüan Chên (771-831), a prominent poet and friend of Po Chü-i, together with whom he formed the "Yüan Ho style". Rose to high state offices.

Writings after Huang Lu-chih's (Huang T'ing-chien) colophons on three pic-
tures:

1. A wide and distant view.

This picture ~~was brought~~ ^{was painted} by Yen Kuei-ching. Rugged mountains and wild streams, hollows and caves ~~of the forest dwellers~~ ^{which serve as abodes for hermits}. The violent wind bends down the plants and trees. The traveller ~~on the stream~~ must seek protection along the river bank and have his boat ~~dragged~~ ^{pushed} along by strong men. Where does he want to go. Written in the Hall of Eternal Thought ~~at the~~ ^(Shuang-ching) (two walls.)

Su Shih:

If the boat has not started and the wind rises, then it should not start; but if he meets the wind while ^{travel} en route, what could he do but have his boat dragged along ^{the shore} by force. Lu-chih may blame the master of the boat that he could not foretell the colour of the wind, but it is not the fault of the painter of the picture.

Shao Sheng, 2 year, 1 month, 11 day - A.D. 1095. Written at Hui-chow in the
Studio of no depraved thoughts.

2. The picture of Collating Looks in the Fei Chi period.

Formerly when I lived in the capital ~~Ch'ing~~ Ch'ing (Ching Tsien), the son in law of the emperor, used to send me specimens of calligraphy and painting in order to ~~have calligraphy written on them, and each time I considered and estimate of them as worthless, I played them so that they hardly were worth a single cash.~~ ^{obtain my associations of} ~~Whenever I criticized them and~~ ^{estimate of them as worthless,} Ch'ing expressed ~~to me~~ his disappointment; to which I answered: "In calligraphy and painting yin (rhythm or resonance) is ^{should be} ~~the~~ main thing (the factor). The scrolls in your bags may have been paid with thousands of cash, but they are weak in regard to yin. When the collectors of calligraphies and paintings after 30 years read these words of mine, they will know ^{a little more} ~~something~~ about calligraphy and painting. ^(and thus agree with me) Y- Yuan-ya, 9 year, 4 moon - A.D. 1004; in the Hall of Eternal Thought.

Su Shih:

There are **Six** principles of painting, ^{of which} one is proper colouring and the other five require practice.

Colophons on the picture of the *Trunk* *Tai*st (1911)
by Chang Tzu-ho (Chang Tu, Contemporary, Student)

"I have no rule no taking (nothing), for me and the I
saw *Chang* ^{the} picture of the *Trunk* *Tai*st. I became
quite afraid of the old one holding the *Chang* and *Yao*, his
last. Written by Tzu-shi-chuan

"In looking at the picture of the *Trunk* *Tai*st, I noticed
it to the end and found that several names were
written on it. When I came to Tzu-shi-chuan's colophon
I could not help laughing with him at his
written by (Chang) Tzu-ho's

"In the first year of the *Chang* *Tai*st, I met (Chang) Tzu-ho
again looked on the picture of the *Trunk* *Tai*st and
as I read what Tzu-ho had written it I learned that he
had been laughing at me. I am really afraid of the old one
grasping me, like Tzu-ho's *Chang* *Tai*st. I am really afraid of the old one
do it (the old one) give me *Chang* *Tai*st. When he one day
thus he *Chang* *Tai*st will laugh at me. The *Chang* *Tai*st together
then with *Chang* *Tai*st. *Yao* *Tai*st = Tzu-ho's. Written by Tzu-ho's

^{an ordinary student}
If a ~~poor scholar~~ sees 500,000 sheets, they would be enough for the rest of his life, ^{The fact that he} ~~He~~ gave them ~~all~~ away, ^{became nobody} ~~truly an~~ extraordinary ~~event~~.
In his biography it is furthermore said: The meeting at Lan-ting was compared to the meeting at Chin-ku and ^{xx/ J-shao} (Wang Hsi-chih) was compared to Chi-lun ^{x/} (Shih Chung d.300) which pleased him very much. The Chin-ku meeting was a gathering of noble friends. Chi-lun was in comparison to ^{J-shao} (Wang Hsi-chih) like an owl or a kite in comparison to a swan or a snow goose; he was not worth to be the servant of Wang. That he would have compared himself to Chi-lun, is certainly ^{empty talk} ~~a story~~ of the Chin-Sung periods. The chronicler Hsü Chin-tsung ^{xxx/} ~~is a~~ ^{himself a} servile man; he knew that Chi-lun was very rich and therefore made him a greater sage than Wang Hsi-chih. ^{J-shao}

Now Huang Lu-chih criticizes the painter for not having obtained the noble spirit (high resonance) of Wang Hsi-chih. ^{J-shao} ~~Now difficult it would be:~~

I am now staying at Hui-chou. Hsi Yen-ho sent me this picture, asking me to write ^{on it} ~~a eulogion on it~~. I wrote this to ^{make him happy} ~~express a long farewell~~.

Shao Shêng 2 year, 1 moon, 2 day - A.D.1035.

^{He said} ~~He said~~: In ancient as well as in modern pictures the water is ^{usually} ~~usually~~ stretching far away with fine wrinkles. Even the good artists did no more than ^{represent} ~~show~~ the crests rising and falling ^{as such a} ~~as that people~~ ^{could} ~~might wish to~~ touch them with their hands; ^{and with their hands, sand cavities} ~~they were said to have depths and~~ ^{they were considered} ~~heights and to be~~ most wonderful. But ^{that kind of} ~~these~~ paintings are ^{hardly} ~~far from~~ the ^{wood block} ~~prints~~, ~~skillfully made~~.

In the Kuang-ming era of the T'ang period there was a ^{hermit} ~~poet~~ called Sun Wei (called Yü from Tung Yüeh) who first conceived a new idea. He painted rushing torrents and raging waves breaking against ~~rocks and stones~~, and twi-

x/ Chi-lun - Shih Chung (d.300) a Chinese Croesus.

xx/ Chin-ku meeting was a gathering presided by Shih Chung.

xxx/ Hsü Chin-tsung, a historian and minister of Kao Tsung's time who interpreted history quite arbitrarily.

rocks & stones *every kind and every changing aspect*
ting around them. He painted ~~all the transformations (effects)~~ of water and ~~was~~

praised for his unrestrained and spiritual art
~~may be called a divine master.~~ - He was followed by Huang Chüan (tzü Yao-Chy)
from Shu and Sun Chih-wei (tzü, Tai-ku), who ~~learned their brush~~ *both grasped his manner.*

At first when Shun Chih-wei was about to paint lakes, sandbanks, rivers and
rocks on the four walls of Shou-ning yüan of Ta Tzū ssü (Temple of Great Mercy)

he planned and schemed for a whole year without ~~doing a stroke~~ *making a single stroke with his brush.* Then one day

he rushed into the temple, asked for brushes and ink, and suddenly, ~~as the wind~~

with ~~spread his sleeves, he accomplished something which was beating and rushing, ri-~~ *fluttering in the wind he finished the whole thing with such force that the*

(waves) ~~sing and falling so that the whole house was shaking and threatened to break~~

He had no immediate successors but now
~~down.~~ Fifty years after the death of Chih-wei T'ü Yun-chang from Ch'ing-tu

unrestrained nature and
~~who was a gifted painter,~~ started to make flowing water according to the ideas

of the two Suns. (Hua Hsüeh Hsiü-yin. I.1.42) *From the time of the two Suns to the present*
to the Hsüeh-hsüeh & others, none is his equal. Neither strokes, nor details, nor the manner of painting

Shu Hua Pei Yen chai. vol.13. 10-

Often in talking about painting, I have said that human figures, birds, buildings and utensils all have their constant form, whereas mountains, stones, bamboos, trees, waves, clouds and mist have no constant form but a constant principle. The loss (lack) of constant form is understood by everybody, but when the constant principle is not properly expressed, even among the connoisseurs there are some who do not understand it. All these painters who try to deceive the world and create a fame for themselves, lean on (take advantage of) things which have no constant form.

However the lack of constant form does not spoil the formal loss, it does not spoil the whole thing; but if the constant principle is not right, the whole thing is ruined. In regard to things, which have no constant form, one must pay special attention to the constant principle. Among the painters there are those who can render the form in a fine fashion, but as to the principle, it can be rendered only by a high character and extraordinary talent.

Looking at pictures by scholars is like examining horses; one chooses those which have expression and life. But the painters often take (choose)

Yung-shing who was perfectly indifferent to their offers. When he felt disposed to paint it did not matter at all to him whether he worked for the noble or the common folk, he accomplished his works just as quickly (in a moment). He copied for me (Shen Chih-wen) paintings of watercolor flowers on 24 scrolls. Whenever I hung these on a summer day on the white walls of my big (high) hall, a cool wind seemed to blow around them to make them have stand up. Yung-shing is now a dead man. It is quite to obtain any pictures from him, likewise the real pictures which would be able to appreciate them have become very rare. The pictures which are appreciated by the world are the works of T'ung-hsueh. He is dead, although ^{in their pictures} they are quite dead. They are not dead (yet). I mention the two 2,000 as Yung-shing's works. Yung-shing's works were 1080. Huang Chou, Ling-shing, etc. T'ung-hsueh's works were 1,000. T'ung-hsueh, son of Pe-lin (Chang-shing) was the first to be admitted to the Academy of T'ung-shing. Dragon & fish were his specialties. I saw K. Chang-shing, specialized in panel, water.

only the whip, the skin, the manger and the hay and not the least point of life-expression. Looking at several feet of such paintings makes one tired.

Among the painters of the world some know how to represent form, but the inherent reason of things can only be grasped by the gentleman. In Wang's paintings of bamboos, stones and decaying trees this reason is certainly to be found. Some of them seem as if they were alive, some as if they were dead, some are warped like a fist barren and contracted, some are tall and slender, vigorous and luxuriant. The roots, the branches, the joints, the leaves, the pointed shoots, the thread-like veins, they all exhibit innumerable transformations and are never quite alike. (but) ~~and~~ each thing is at its proper place in accordance with nature's creations and satisfies the ideas of men, because it contains the gentleman's spirit.

My writing is like the ~~inexhaustible~~ water of ~~eastern~~ spring which issues everywhere, no matter what the ground may be. Over the level ground it flows ~~quietly murmuring~~ ^{like a rushing}, passing with ~~ease~~ ^{not difficulty} through a day, but when it reaches mountains and stones, it winds around them and ~~changes according to their shapes~~ ^{changes according to their shapes}. I cannot make it out, all I know is, that it keeps on moving when it must move and stops when it cannot but stop. Such it is, ~~though I cannot know it as well.~~ ^{though I cannot know it as well.} (June 18. 122)

To be born, to mature, to change and to die goes in a bag of the fingers. Looking for the origin of created things I find nothing.

In my poetry I am not aiming for skill, in my writing not seeking for the strange. The boundless gift of heaven is my master.

I am J. -
(Kleatli: painted for me to show how
dummen white sitting to buy a good
J. Chan.

~~Eclogue~~
~~Writing~~ on Yü-ho Tuh's canvas

My friend Wen Yu ho painted with his brush
for the Taoist master Wang Chuk-chung
and said to him, Do not let anybody else
write on the picture but wait until Su
Tzû-chan arrives. Ask him to compose
poem on it. ~~He lives~~ Eight years have
passed since Yü-ho died but only now
I came back from the Capital, saw
the picture and wrote a poem.

"Who was this man who found happiness
in strolling about & chanting poems, writing
like 'Tsao Shing' and mastered the secret
of Gambler painting. ~~At~~ From time to
time he paints a tree or a cliff ^{quite} ~~different~~
and different from ordinary style. For
everybody ^{appreciates} ~~likes~~ them ^{highly} ~~and~~
but I am the one who has the ~~deepest~~
greatest appreciation. It has always been
difficult ^{before} for friends to stay together. The
death comes suddenly without warning

Who says that the dead and the living
~~do not~~ are separated and not commu-
nicate like Kung and Waii.

Writing about a wall painting in exchange for a stone

The stones which come from dung-pi have on the only one face. In the den's garden under the brick tower is a stone, rising quite solitary, with deer on both sides. It is like a deer with curving neck. Tung-pi wanted to have it and made a picture on the wall of the den-hua pavilion. He painted hideous stones and un-desired bamboos. The master of the house ~~was~~ was well satisfied and gave it to me. I took it on a cart and went back to Yang-chien. Yung Yang-pi 8/1 1885.

Sung Tzu-fang, tzu Han-club from
Chang-shou, fung-yang. Adoptive son of
Sung Ti (Fu-kun). Was Chang-lan in the
palace. Su Tung pu wrote a eulogy:
Looking at paintings by old masters, it is like
examining horses, ~~one chooses those which~~
~~contain idea & life (Chuan-shi) while among~~
~~the ordinary artists' works~~ painters work
they grasp the idea & life (of the horses),
whereas the artisans (ordinary painters) often
grasp only the riding posture, the skin, the
stable manger, the hay & grain and not
nothing of their beauty, after 'an' seen
a few feet (of such pictures) one pretends
the pictures by Han-club are really a scholar's
work

Wang Mo-ch'i and Li Shih-hsin of Tang painted the
Mountains & Streams, their peaks and slopes
accomplishing ~~without~~ quite naturally all their
changing aspects. Happily they make us lose the
dust of the world by their far representation of
floating clouds, far off scattered skies, the lonely
swan and the setting sun which disappears in a
(blackness) beyond the river and the back. The past
~~is~~ the forefathers of everybody ^{the whole} ~~all~~, ^{they} ~~and the~~
~~perfect themselves of the~~ ~~products of the Tang period.~~ In later years
~~it is~~ Fan Kuan was the only one who preserved
something of the ancient style, but his spirit was
~~so little~~ ~~at~~ ~~least~~ ~~so~~. Han Chue's mountain picture is
neither old-fashioned nor modern but rather origi-
nal, if he continues without stopping, he may
paint mountains in colour.

Chim Hou's is an album of pictures.

Chim Hou's album of paintings does not fill a time.
When he stays at home; and when travelling it does not
need (make a load) for Chen or horses. ~~At the bright time~~
~~When~~ When looking at it at a bright window on a clean
table seated or lying down in the high hall with the bare
walls ~~and it does not require~~ ^{without} the exertion of unrolling
a scroll, the figures, the birds & flowers in all their
aspects, the mountains & streams, the flowers & trees, in
all their original beauty are brilliant & exposed ^{above}
a place to amateurs. Yuan Yu ¹⁶⁴⁷ -
J. H. Kingdon has edited for Stud; and 1900 -
1901

1087
I used to be a friend of ~~the~~ Sung Han-Chieh's painting.
at his picture of Bamboos in an evening landscape
I wrote 3 poems and said in them: the path reaches
far ~~forward~~ to the mountains in the background & the
waters flow together (are gathered) in the foreground. I said
Fu Ku said: are you as good in painting? His ^{nephew} ~~son~~
~~time~~ Han-Chieh preserves the same ~~old~~ style.
If he is in good luck a few years he will not be
inferior to Fu Ku. You in 3 years 1088

Physical and physiognomy are the same art
In order to grasp the character of the man one must
observe him secretly in the crowd. But ^{nowadays} instead of doing
so, one makes him put on official clothes & cap and
to sit down with his gaze fixed on an object, his
face being quite closed and his manners restrained.
How could his character be perceived in such a case!
~~Every man~~ There is in every man some place ~~where~~
his intentions become visible. Some have it in the eyes
& eyebrows, some in the nose, some in the mouth. The
three lower in the cheek make the spirit & action
(Agitation, very lively). That man expression is
particularly in the cheek and the head.
Yu-King imitated (imitated) Sun Shuao, chief
his hands, talking & laughing to the people of
the faction that the people said that he ^{had} ~~disappeared~~
had returned to life. ~~And he~~ ^{He} ~~do it~~ ^{disputed} by making
whole body like to the man but the grasp of
the point in which the intentions of the man
~~stood out~~ resided.

If the painters understood this principle, each one of them could become a Ku or a Lu. I have often seen the monk Wei-Cheng's portrait of ~~Lu~~ Duke Lu of Lu. To begin with it ~~was~~ ^{glves} not very like, but one day ~~he~~ he went to see the duke, when he came back he was very glad and said: 'I have got it!' Then he added three wrinkles behind the eyebrows, they ~~could~~ ^{can} hardly be seen, except when the head is ~~slight~~ ^{slightly} lifted and the eyebrows are raised and the ~~forehead~~ ^{forehead} is wrinkled, and then the portrait became a good likeness.

Chen Huan-ti from South Capital made my portrait. Every body thinks that he has given every thing (ontic & inner). Huan-ti's manner is like those of a Chu shing (first class scholar). He is very respectful and his ideas reach beyond the brush and ink-work. That ~~is~~ why I have helped to make him known by my writing.

To be born, to mature, to change and to die ~~is all a~~
~~matter of a second~~ ^{is swift as} ~~glides with the snap of the fingers;~~ if
we look for the reality of things we find nothing.

My writings are like spring water in great abundance ~~and~~
~~flowing~~ ~~there~~ it issues everywhere in matter and
ground. Over the level ground it flows quietly murmur-
ing, thousands lie in one day with ease, ~~but~~ ^{around}
rocks and mountains stones it winds ~~along~~ ^{around}
them and takes on their colour but one cannot ~~see~~
~~all I know is that it keeps~~ Reach it is. It to be
defined, all I know is that it ~~keeps~~ ^{flows} on moving on
it must move and cease when it must cease.

In my post. I am not aiming for shell, not for
the strange in my writing (calligraphy) but ~~to~~
~~to~~ follow the inspiring impulse my matter

~~He wrote a poem~~ When Su Tung-p'o was drunk in
the house of Kue Hsueh-cho, he painted on the wall
some bamboos and stones, ^{He wrote} a poem to thank him
and gave him for the same two bronze swords.

Su Shih replied: When my dry bones are repaid
(filled) with wine then the raised stones ^{will} begin to
speak, and from the flushed liver and lungs are
born some bamboos & stones, abundantly, the grow
and cannot be suppressed. I painted them on the
snow white wall of your house. All this, life I
loved poetry as well as painting, I was then my poems
and defiled the walls of the room by in-jing. You
~~are~~ ^{are} not angry, nor do you injure me, for I am
more than glad what like you. The whole world

Looking at the pictures I find among the
masters only two super men. Tao Hsi truly brave
and strong, majestic as ~~the waves of the sea~~ the waves of the sea, he
moves ~~the land~~ swift as the wind, already before
his brush has touched, the spirit is ~~within~~ there.
Chia was a true poet, he loved the fragrant orchid,
his bell. Now when I see his picture on the wall,
it is like his poems ~~clear~~ pure and honest. His
master like although most wonderful yet, he was true
painter. The child reached beyond the visible
shape; he is like a bird of immortality, not
to be seen in the cage. I look at them two men, both
superior geniuses, but before them I stand in
~~and then~~ without a word of praise.

Poetry and painting follow the same laws, it is by
direct inspiration that they become clear and original -

The painters of old times in China were, in represent-
ing the objects and painting portraits they were almost
like poets.

In fact, writings are pictures without shape; Han Kan's
paintings are poems without words.

The old masters were born in me, they had the same
origin as the poet. Like ~~poet~~ was really a poet, he
could ~~represent~~ ^{represent} the thunder over the dragon pool.

~~When the dragon comes, so fierce and wild the ~~explosion~~
from the ~~erected fire~~
long grass covers the ~~the landscape~~ and stones, with
sharp strokes from the fluted and lumpy leaves are
born the bamboo's stones are born in great
luxuriance and cannot be suppressed, I paint
them ^{then} out on your snow-white wall~~

Han Kuo's 14 horses

Two horses are galloping, three eight hoofs brought together, two are curbing their necks, their manes and tails are equal, one is running in front and lefts kicks with the hind legs; one horse stands neighing at the side. The old bearded groom is who is riding, looks behind, in a previous life he was a horse and understands the language of the horses. Behind are eight horses drinking ^{while} walking, one can hear the sound of the water streaming into their mouths. Those in front, who have passed the stream, are like cranes ~~is~~ running out of the forest, and those behind ~~before~~ which try to pass the stream, are like cranes with lowered heads. The last one is like a dragon among the horses, ~~it~~ does not neigh and does not move, its tail is moved by the wind. When Han painting horses, he truly is a horse, when San-tzu makes a poem it is like seeing the picture. Now a day there is no Po Yueh and no Han Kuo in the world, who will see this picture and read this poem?

B. The thin bamboos are like hermit men, the lonely
flowers like pure virgins; The birds are fluttering
among the branches, ~~the rain moving~~ the forest
mist by the rain. A pair of birds on the point of
alighting, a rustle among the thick leaves, a drone
as the bees suck the flowers, ~~the forest~~ feeling its
lonesomeness with their honey. The painter possessed the spirit
~~of heaven~~, he rendered the air of song with his brush.
It seems to me, he was true, poet, he gave us
the harmony and awe for ever.

He who speaks about virtue as forms has no true understanding than a child

[illegible]

This man is ~~no longer~~ ^{already dead} How can these bamboos
be alive. He is not use the spring. . . . brush
stroke to paint the willows in the wind? You see
on the slope of the mountains these thin joints
moving like dragons and snakes. When did this
post-covered bamboo return to the hands of a hermit?

Chou-tzu, ~~poor in things~~ was a poor man, it is said
that his whole family lived on rice gruel but ~~the~~
^{one} ~~thing~~ he was exceedingly joyful. He ~~had~~
the post covered bamboo in exchange for an
inscription on tomb. What a pity that the earth
now shines only on some ~~clown~~ ^{clown} in his place.
Yet, as ~~any~~ I said in a poem, one may ~~live without~~
~~see meet~~ (but not without bamboo)

Colophons by Su Tung-p'o.

1

About Wang's picture in the Eastern Garden at Feng-hsuan

In the Chia-yu period (1056-64), in the first month of the Kuei-mao year (1063) I went to see Wang Mo-chi's work. It was late at night and I had only an old lamp at my disposal, but in the flickering light the figure of the monk seemed to move, I remained quite dazzled for a while.

Writing on Mo-chi's picture Mist-Rain at Lan-tien

When enjoying Mo-chi's poems I find in them pictures, looking at Mo-chi's pictures I find in them poems. The poem runs: "I the Lan-tien stream the white pebbles appear, ^{on the page - river} ~~at Lan-tien~~ the red leaves are scarce. No rain has fallen on the mountain paths; the air is moist and wets the cloths!" — This is Mo-chi's poem ^{though} ~~Someone~~ objected and said that an amateur had completed Mo-chi's poem.

In a poem Su Tung-p'o writes:

In studying the pictures of old I found among their masters only two men of genius: Tao-tz'i ^{was} Truly brave and strong, mighty as the ocean's waves. He worked swiftly as the wind, already before the brush had touched (the paper) the spirit was there. Mo-chi ^{was} a true poet; he carried the fragrant orchid at his belt. Now when I see his picture on the wall, ^{I find it} ~~it is~~ like his poems pure and honest. Master Wu was wonderful, indeed, ~~but~~ he was only a painter. Mo-chi reached beyond the visible shapes; he was like a bird of immortality who refused to stay in a cage. I look at these two men, ^{both} ~~the~~ superior geniuses but before Wang Hsi I bow down without a word of dis-praise.

Colophon on Yü-k'oo's Ink Bamboos

In his earlier years Yü-k'oo painted his bamboos whenever he found some ^{pure white silks} and good paper. He grasped the brush with ^{quickly brushing} and scattering about with it. ~~He simply could not help (doing) it.~~ He simply could not help (doing) it. All the people who came to his house ^{seized upon} carried away with them some pictures. Yü-k'oo did not care about them.

In later years ^{when} he saw people placing brushes and ink-stone on the table, he recoiled and went away. And ^{those} people who came to ask ~~him~~ for pictures waited ^{until} for the end of the year but did not obtain anything. When someone asked Yü-k'oo about his reasons for this (change of attitude), he replied: "In former years I studied too but could not reach ^{it}; I found no state of mind and could not accomplish it. Therefore I simply went on painting ink-bamboos, expressing through them my ^{restless} ~~weakness~~. It was like an illness. Now, this illness is cured, nothing more is to be done.

As far as I can see, Yü-k'oo's illness is not ^{yet} cured; ^{is it} ~~is it~~ ^{not possible} that it will develop again? I will wait for its development and take him by surprise. He considers it an illness, but I find advantage in ^{this illness; perchance, I too may} ~~it~~ ^{also be ill.}

Hsi-min, Chen hsi year, 7 ^{month} ~~year~~, 21 day ^{A.D.} 1070. Written by Tzui-chau, the seal by Tung-shu

Li Yüan-chih from Chang-an, a descendant of Tang Jan-ti, studied Chun-shu (model writing) during many years and learned the classical manner. He used a pointed brush and wrote very quickly without ^{the size} measuring the characters. When he saw Yü-k'oo's ink bamboos in my possession, he asked permission to write a colophon on them and wrote a few hundred words. His tzu was Tung-shu

Yü-k'oo's ^{ink} paintings of bamboos and their ^{expressiveness} ~~characteristics~~ in relation to the character of the artist are ~~all~~ treated by Lu Tung-p'o in several of his colophons and poems, among which the following have been selected:

Writing on Wen Yi-ko's Ink Bamboo

3. 12

My revered friend Wen Yi-ko was a genius in four different ways: 1. in poetry; 2. in ancient ballads (Chü Tzu), 3. in "grass writing"; 4. in painting.

Yi-ko often said: "There is nobody in the world who knows me except Tzu-chan, he recognized at first sight my finest qualities." - Seven years have passed since Yi-ko died, but only now I saw this work of his and wrote the following poem:

The brush and yourself are both gone. Who can now pour ^{is there} to sh life into poetry? There is no one ^{to} ^{the materials (like myself) alone are} ~~only~~ ^{and} ~~interior~~ ^{my} ~~left~~ ^{to} ~~break~~ ^{the} ~~story~~ ^{s.}

Colophon on Yü-k'o's Ink Bamboos.

4 9.

My friend Yü-k'o painted ~~ink~~ bamboos in ink for the Taoist master Wang Chih-
chung and said to him: "Do not let anybody else write on the picture but wait un-
til Su Tzu-chan arrives, ask him to compose a poem on it: - Eight years have passed
since Yü-k'o died but only now I ^{came} back from the capital, saw the picture
and wrote a poem:

Who was this man who found happiness in strolling about, chanting poems,
as ^{the} Careless Sage ~~who~~ penetrating into the mysteries of the bamboos. From time to
time he did a tree or a stone, ^{will and strange beyond all common ~~po~~ rules} ~~which differ from current models. The who would~~
~~The whole world considered them as precious~~ ^{most.} ~~found pleasure in the noble creation, but I am the only one who appreciates~~
them ~~at the moment~~ ^{知 音} It has always been difficult for close friends to remain
together. The death comes suddenly without waiting. Who can say that the dead
and the living are separated and do not communicate like Kung and Wei?
(Two men of the Chin period, Wei died and communicated to Kung where he could find
some money)

Three poems on a picture by Yü-k'o belonging to Chao Pu-chia.

When Yü-k'o painted bamboos he ~~perceived only~~ was conscious (perceived) only of the bamboos and not of himself as a man. Not only was he unconscious of his ~~of~~ human form, but so that he left his own body and this was transformed into bamboos of inexhaustible freshness and purity. As there is no more a Chuang-tzu in the world, who can understand such a concentration of the spirit.

This man is already dead; how ~~can~~ ^{can} the bamboos still ~~stand for~~ ^{be fresh}? Who paints with the spring worm brush-strokes the willows in the wind? You see (the bamboos) on the slope of the rugged mountain, their ~~thin~~ gaunt joints winding like dragons and snakes. When did these frost-covered bamboos fall again into the hands of a hermit?

~~Chao~~ Ch'ao-tzu was poor in things of the world; I heard that his family ate nothing but gourd. One morning however he was roaring with joy: he had received the frost-covered bamboos in exchange for a tombol inscription. What a pity that the morning sun shines only on some clover in his plate! Yet, as I said in a poem: one may live without meat, (but not without bamboos).

* An expression used by Tang Tai-tung about Hsu Tzu-yun's bamboo writing.

Writing on Chao-wu's screen with bamboos painted by Yü-ko

Wherever Yü-ko would be sang his poems and painted his bamboos. He had not stayed for a year in the Capital before he asked leave to return to the country, and as he left, the poems and the bamboo paintings all went ~~away~~ with him to the West.

If he was not seen for a day the people ^{mourned} ~~regretted~~ him. His mien was stern and cold, but he smoothed the rude and the quick-tempered, ^{and turned} ~~he was turned to the~~ ^{vile} ~~low~~ and the mean. ^{into kind and generous men} ~~now~~

Now he is far away. One may still ask for his poems and ^{beg for} his bamboos ^{to be} ~~paintings~~ but ^{the kind and peaceful man is} ~~his kindness and his kindness can no longer be~~ found. In looking at his bamboos I can ~~only~~ ^{only} not help moaning.

7.
In this, Discussion of Bamboo painting (~~the~~ Cai Wen Chai Shu Hua Pu, vol 13. 24)
--- Painters of Today draw joint after joint and pile up leaf on leaf. How
can that become a bamboo? When you are going to paint a bamboo, you must
first realize the whole thing completely in your mind. Then grasp the brush,
fix your attention, so that you see clearly what you wish to paint; start
quickly, move the brush, follow straight what you see before you like the
hare which jumps out, or the buzzard which shoots down. If you hesitate
one moment, it is all lost.

Yü-ko taught me thus; but I could not do it, though I knew it would
be so. I knew it in my heart but could not do it; the inner and the outer (re-
sult) were not as one; the heart and the hand did not cooperate. That is the fault
of not having studied ^{sufficiently} (insufficiently study). Those who perceive things within
themselves but do not grasp them ~~thoroughly~~ completely, ^{they may understand} take things too easily
them in a general way but ~~and do not make an effort~~ when the matter is at hand (五事) ~~they loose~~
the whole thing. And this applies not only to bamboos.
~~It does not apply only to bamboos~~

Colophon
Writing on Yü-k'o's Carving Bamboos

The carving bamboos growing on the northern slope of the Ling-yang prefect's home are mountain bamboos. One has not yet thrown off its sheath; it is eaten by worms. The other is growing in a crevice of the mountain - this being the reason of its appearance.

When my regretted friend, the prefect of Ling-yang saw these bamboos he was much impressed and made a picture of them in ink. I obtained a copy of it and left it at Yü-t'o being asking Chi Yung to engrave it on a stone, so that amateurs ~~who~~ who look at it may feel their hearts moved and their eyes startled by the extraordinary sight and also may remember the character of my regretted friend which was carving but never flinching like these two bamboos.

Writing on Huang Chüan's painting of birds.

Huang Chüan painted his flying birds with necks and feet all extended. ^{But} Someone remarked: "When the birds fly, they draw in the necks and extend the feet, or they draw in the feet and extend the neck, but they do not extend both." (In explanation I found this ~~remark~~ remark correct. From this may be known that looking at things without proper attention, is not enough to make a painter, still less a great painter. The superior man attaches the greatest importance to just study and investigation.

Writing on Tai Sung's painting of ^{bulls} ~~oxen~~

In Shin there lived a retired scholar who loved calligraphy and painting. He collected hundreds of specimens among them a scroll of ^{bulls} ~~oxen~~ by Tai Sung. He loved it above everything, had it mounted on a silk roller, and preserved it in a brocade cover; wherever he went he took it along. One day, when he aired his pictures in his room, a ^{young} ~~old~~ scholar saw this picture. ~~and said~~ He laughed at it loudly and said: "Is this a picture of bulls ~~fighting~~ fighting? When bulls ^{are} fighting, all their strength is in the horns, and their tails are drawn in between the legs, but these bulls are fighting with extended tails; that is ^{quite} ~~wrong~~!" The old scholar laughed and nodded assent.

An old proverb says: "For plowing one must turn to the farmer; for sewing one must ask the maid." This cannot be altered.

When Su Tung-p'o was drunk in the house of Kuo Hsiang-ch'ing he painted on the wall some bamboos and stones. Kuo wrote a poem to thank and ~~for~~^{presented} him with two bronze swords.

Su Shih replied: When my dry bowels are refreshed with wine, the rapid strokes begin to flow and from the flushed liver and lungs the bamboos and stones are born. They grow in abundance and cannot be suppressed. I painted them on the snow-white walls of your house. All my life I loved poetry as well as painting; I scrawled my poems and defiled the walls (with my paintings) often being cursed in return. You are not angry, nor do you curse me, for which I am more than glad. Is there anybody else like you in the whole world?

Writing on Chiu Hsuan-hsien's painting²¹

Chiu Hsuan-hsien from Sung-ling was a learned man but he did not try to pass the examinations, nor did he want to sell his pictures. He said: "I write in order to express my heart, I paint in order to satisfy my mind; that is all. ~~Formerly~~ ^{In former times} Yen di-pien rose through his learning to a high official position but finally he was called 'the painter boy'."

Someone said to Chiu that he was wrong; but ~~it~~ ^{it} seems to me that he was right. Hsueh An-shih wanted Wang Tzu-ching²² to write an inscription board for the Tai Chi-tien and ~~tried to~~ ^{tried to} tell him with the story of Wei Chung-chiang. Tzu-ching said: "Chung-chiang was a great official of the Wei dynasty, he could not, according to reason, have ~~acted in that way~~ ^{been treated such a fashion}. If ~~that~~ ^{that} had been the case it seems to me that the virtue of the Wei dynasty could not have lasted long." If Yen di-pien was as great as Tzu-ching, nobody would have dared to call him "the painter boy."

Yüan Chien-li²³ was skilled in playing the ch'in; he played for everybody, the noble men as well as the common people, the young as well as the old. And (when he played) his spirit became so kind and harmonious that one hardly recognized the former man. My brother in law had him play the whole day, he continued until the night without losing his kind manners. People who knew him realized that he could not be disturbed either by honors or injuries. If Yen di-pien ~~had been~~ ^{as great as} Chien-li, who would ~~have~~ ^{then} insulted him by calling him "the painter boy?"

Now, Mr Chiu does not ask anything of the world; even princes, dukes and noble men have no means by which ~~they~~ ^{to} can engage him. When he takes off his clothes and seats himself crosslegged (in order to paint) even I can ~~place myself~~ ^{grasp and reject the things} at his side.

Yüan Yu, 5th day 9 moon 18 day - 1090.

²¹ Chiu Hsuan-hsien, Tzu Ching-chia, from Sung-ling. Active in 1094-1100.

~~Painter of various figures~~ ^{He used to wash his pictures and work them}
Recorded as a painter but no works of his art mentioned. According

to tradition he used either to rub his paintings with small stones, so as to make ink and colours enter into the silk or to wash and paint them over. Also known as the Hermit of the West Lake.

²² Hsueh An-shih (320-385) a distinguished scholar & nature lover, who even after he entered official service "never lost his love for Tung-shan". Governor of Yang-chou in Kiangsu, known as "the Refined Minister." Giles 724

Wang Tzu-ching, probably the same as Wang Fan-shih who together with Hsueh An was guardian of the young emperor Hsiao Wu of Chin. Fond of playing wei-ch'i. Became a close friend of a Buddhist priest. Giles 2231

Wei Tan, Tzu Chung-chiang, served under Ts'ao Ts'ao. Famous calligraphist. When Ming Ti built the Ling-yün palace, the workmen placed by mistake the board over the gate before it was inscribed. But as the inscription had to be made, Wei Tan was hauled with a rope to a height of 250 feet; when he had done the writing, his hair was white! He was also known as a maker of ink and brushes.

²³ Yüan Chien-li Yüan Chien, Tzu, 3-4. Cent. an "exceedingly pure and simple minded man who found his chief pleasure in playing the guitar. In 310 he was secretary to the Hair Appraiser." Giles 2542.

Colophon on ~~the painting~~ ^{Mr.} a landscape by Yen ~~King~~, belonging to Tsü Chuang-ch'ing.*)

~~The painting~~ Paintings representing human figures are shên (spiritual or divine); paintings of flowers, bamboos, birds and fishes are meas (wonderful); paintings of palaces and utensils are chiao (works of skill). Landscapes belong to a high (superior) class, but it is difficult to ~~make the point~~ ^{make} them pure, strong, original and ~~represent their~~ ^{to} ~~endless transformations~~ ^{represent} their effects (effects).

Yen King's brush-work ~~is~~ all-embracing and formed by heaven, brilliantly renewed every day. He stands far from the rules of common painters and has reached the pure beauty of the poets. — Hsiung, 6 years, 6 months, ^{AD. 1073.}

*The Tz'ing-meng, Tz'ü Chuang-ch'ing, a Han-lin scholar who served as ~~minister~~ ^{minister} of the right under Shen Tsung (1068-1085). Lived in a simple fashion, said to have ordered that 10 sheep and 10 swine should be slaughtered every morning and 300 candles lighted every night. He later wrote him a letter recommending economy.

Yen Su, ~~the painter~~ Tz'ü Mu-ch'ieh, from Peking (Yen-chi). Vice president of his ~~pre~~, prominent in literature and painting. "His heart was pure as a cold forest." Followed as a painter in the footsteps of Wang Wei. Executed wall paintings in several temples and palaces. Was appointed great marshal (Tayü) in 1040.

Colophon on Wen Hsüan's Fan painting.*)

I have heard it told that when Wu T'ao-tzu painted the ~~manifestations~~ ^{manifestations} of Buddha the people crowded around him like a wall, ~~Tao-tzu~~ in order to see how he painted the halo of the Buddha with a single stroke, swift like a storm wind or a lightning. I often ~~thought~~ ^{thought} that this tradition could not be true, but now as I see An-kuo's square boundary painting, done without the least hesitation I realize that the ~~tradition~~ ^{tradition} about Wu T'ao-tzu is not exaggerated.

*Wen Hsüan, Tz'ü An-kuo, active in the Yuan-yü era (1083-93). He came from Fu-chien and served as Tai-pu-ssü-ch'eng.

Writing on Wu Tao-tzu's painting

The geniuses created things, the talents transmitted them; it was not all accomplished by one man. (ref. to literature, art and other forms of civilization). The scholars promoted it by their study, all kinds of workmen by their skill. Thus from the Three (ancient) dynasties, through the Han down to the Tang dynasty poetry was perfected by Pa Tzu-mei (Tu Fu), literature by Han Tui-chih (Han Yu) and calligraphy by duke Yen of Ku (Yen Chên-ching) and painting by Wu Tao-tzu. Great progress was made from ~~old~~ ^{ancient} to modern times; the talents of the world completed it.

Tao-tzu painted his figures like shadows produced by a lamp; they were moving forward and inward, seen from the side they seemed to be leaning out. Whether (placed) cross-cross, diagonally, or straight on an even plane, they all stood in mutual proportion (by decrease and increase). He gave their natural appearance without the least deviation. He expressed new ideas by his ^{principles} ~~laws~~ of proportions and gave the mysterious (inherent) reason (of things) ~~away~~ beyond all ~~boldness and~~ freedom. It may thus be said of his works (with Chuang-tzu) there is room for the knife to move, or, the revolving hatchet raises the wind. He was ~~the~~ ^{the} foremost among old and modern painters.

As to pictures by other artists, I may not be able to ~~distinguish~~ ^{distinguish} their masters but ~~of~~ Tao-tzu's paintings I recognize in a glance. Now a days the true ones are very rare; I have, in my whole life, only seen one or two like the one belonging to Shih Chi'an-shu.

Written in the Yuan-feng era, 8 year, 11 moon, 7 day - 1085

Writing on Colophon on Wu Tao-tzu's picture of the Torments of Hell.

Tao-tzu was an Immortal among painters. He expressed new ideas by his ^{manner} ~~principles~~ of proportions and a mysterious reason ^(fitness) beyond all boldness and freedom. ~~It~~ ^{in regard to} It may be said of his works: "there is room for the knife to move, and the ~~whirling~~ hatchet is swung so that it raises the wind."

In looking at his picture of hell, one cannot see the causes of the retributions but one can see the results of the sins. What a pity! What a pity! If only the people had kept some clean and honest thoughts, they might ~~have~~ ^{have} escaped. But I fear, they are like the grass at the roadside, which is burnt but not exterminated; it comes again with the wind of the spring.

Yuan Feng, 6 year, 7 moon, 10 day - 1083.

Writing on the Tao-tzu's painting

The genius created things, the talents transmit^{ed} things, it was not all accomplished by one single man. The scholars promoted it by their study, the various artisans by their skill.

Writing on General Li's picture of the horses with three manes

The picture by General Li of Tang, whose name was Sui-hsin, ~~A~~ representing Ming Huang picking melons, showed the Chia-ling mountains and streams and the emperor seated on a so called three maned red horse amidst the princes and palace ladies. More than ten ~~span~~ riders came galloping down from the Hien-ling mountain, in arriving ~~at~~ the flat country, the horses seemed afraid and the emperor's horse refused to pass the small bridge in front of him.

~~I do not begin~~ I did not know what the words "three manes" meant but afterwards I read the poems by Chin from Chia-chou among which was the ~~Song~~ ^{called} of the Red horse of officer Wei in which it is said: "a barbarian with red beard ^{and} gold scissors cut one morning the ^{high} three manes of the horse". From this I understand that most of the imperial horses in the Tang period had their manes cut in three divisions (portions) for ornamental reasons.

Writing on General Li's picture of horses with maces in three divisions.
General Li, of the Tang period, whose name was ^{cut} Sei-kouin, painted
Ming Huang picking melons

Poem
Written on Han Kan's Fourteen Horses

Two horses are galloping, their eight hoofs brought together. Two are curving their necks, their manes and tails are quite equal. One is running in front and looks with the hind legs, and one stands neighing by the side. The old, bearded groom who is riding looks behind; in a previous life he was a horse himself and understands the language of the horses. Behind are eight horses drinking (as they are walking in the stream), one can hear the water gurgling in their mouths. Those in front, which have passed the stream, are like cranes ~~with~~ running out of the forest (with stretched ~~necks~~) while those behind, still passing the stream, are like cranes with lowered beaks. The last one is like a dragon among horses, it does not neigh, nor move, only its tail is moved by the wind. When Han Kan painted horses he truly was a horse, when Lu-tzu makes a poem, it is like seeing the picture. Now a day there is no Po-yüeh and no Han Kan in the world. Who will see this picture and read this poem?

Colophon on Chao Yün-tzu's painting ^{*)}

15

In Chao Yün-tzu's paintings the brush-work was quite sketchy but the ideas were fully expressed. He was not able to produce finished pictures, though he pretended that he used a rough and vulgar manner in order to ~~amuse~~ ^{make fun of} ~~stumble or offend~~ ^{the} people who came to see him. He acted like ^{him} ~~him~~ ^{at large} ~~himself~~ who was lacking in respect and Tung Fang-so who amused himself with the world. He was the foremost among the jokers. Someone said that Yün-tzu was saving the world, but in this the clouds which are driven by the wind ^{are called} Crazy clouds (Kuang yün). ^{*)}

^{*)} Chao Tzu-yün could produce a picture by a single stroke of the brush. In painting faces and hands he was careful enough, but would dispose of draperies as if he were a calligrapher, by one stroke in a 1000?

Chao Yün-tzu was a prominent painter of Taoist subjects. His name meaning "Son of the Clouds," is ~~clearly~~ ^{evidently} limited at in the last ^{part} ~~part~~, implying that he was like a wind driven cloud.

Colophon on a painting by Ai Hsüan ^{*)}

Ai Hsüan from Chin-ling painted birds and animals, flowers ^{and} bamboos and was the foremost in recent years. The older he grew, the more wonderful became his brush-work. Although it was no longer clear and even, the spirit of it was most uncommon. He is still alive but his eyesight is dimmed and he can no longer move the brush. When I saw these pictures I made a poem for each of them.

^{*)} ~~*)~~ Prominent painter of flowers and birds. Member of the Academy in the reign of Shên Tsung. Followed the style of Chao Chang.

Writing about a wall painting in exchange for a stone

The stones which come from ding-pi have usually only one face. In Mr. Kien's garden, under the brick terrace is a stone, rising quite alone visible on both sides. It is like a deer with curving neck. Tung-p'o, the old scholar, wanted to obtain it and made a picture on the wall of the Lin-lua pavilion. He painted ugly stones and wind swept bamboos. The master of the house was well satisfied and gave it to me. I took it on a cart and went back to Yang-ch'ien. - Yüan-feng, 8 years, 4 month, 6 days A.D. 1085

Writing on the portrait by Ch'ên Huai-li 陳懷立 傳神

The difficult point in portrait painting is in the eyes. Hu-tu said: the expression in portrait painting ~~depends~~ is all in the eyes; the second point (of importance) ~~is~~ is in the cheek-bones and the chin. I have often looked in the lamp-light on the shadow of my chin on the wall and ~~asked some one to~~ ^{asked some one to} make it into a picture ^{on the wall} without putting in the eyes and eye-brows. ~~Everybody~~ ^{Everybody} who saw ~~the picture~~ ^{could not help laughing} at it, as they knew that it was I. When the eyes as well as the cheek-bones and the chin are like ~~myself~~ ^{resembling}, then the rest is also ~~resembling~~ ^{resembling}. Because the nose, and the mouth may be modified so as to obtain ~~a~~ resemblance.

Portrait painting and physiognomy are the same art. In order to grasp the character of a man, one must observe him ^{and his manners} secretly in a crowd. But nowadays the painters make (their models) put on official clothes and caps and sit down with their gaze fixed on ~~an~~ ^{an} object; their faces are mute and their manners ~~rigid~~ ^{restrained}. How could such a man's character ~~be seen?~~ ^{still be seen?}

There is some part in ~~every man~~ ^{every man} that is ~~some place~~ ^{particular} where his disposition ~~is~~ ^{resides} becomes visible. Some have it in the eyes and eye-brows, some in the nose and the mouth. Hu-tu said: 'By adding three hairs on the cheek I ~~gave it (the portrait) a superior expression~~ ^{gave it (the portrait) a superior expression}. In this case the man's characteristics were ~~particular~~ ^{particular} in the cheek and the beard. (a superior expression)

Yu Meng (the actor) imitated Sun Shu-ao by clapping his hands, talking and laughing to such a point that the people said: ~~this the people~~ ^{the people} "the dead ~~had~~ ^{have} returned to life!" ~~He did not do it by imitating~~ ^{he did it by imitating} the whole body ~~of the man?~~ ^{of the man?} No, he did it by grasping the ~~peculiar characteristics (ideas)~~ ^{peculiar characteristics (ideas)} of the man! ~~points which contain the disposition (ideas) of the man!~~

If the painters understood this principle, each one of them could be called a Hu (Kai-chih) or a Li (Tan-wei). I have often seen the monk Wei-cheng's portrait of ~~himself~~ ^{himself}. At first it was not very like, but one day the monk went to see the ~~painter~~ ^{painter}. When he came home, he was very glad and said: "I have got it!" Then he added three wrinkles behind the eye-brows. Such wrinkles can hardly be seen except when the head is lifted ^{he looks up}, the eye-brows raised and the temples wrinkled, and then the portrait became a very good likeness.

Ch'ên Huai-li from the Southern Capital made my portrait. Everybody thinks that ~~it is quite complete~~ ^{it is quite complete} ~~alike~~ ^{alike}. Huai-li's manners are

like those of a first class scholar. He is very respectful and his ideas reach beyond the brush-and-ink-work. That is why I have ~~desired~~ ^{made} him know ~~the importance of~~ by noting down the above conditions.

Cotophon on an album of paintings

Chün Hwé's album of paintings does not fill a trunk when he stays at home, nor does it make a load for oxen or horses when he goes travelling. When looking at it before a bright window, on a clean table in the large hall with the bare walls, it does ^{not} require the trouble of unrolling a scroll. The figures, the birds and fishes, with all their (transformations) changing aspects, the mountains and streams, the flowers and trees in all their original beauty are brilliantly displayed ~~offering~~ to the enjoyment of an artist. — Yüan ~~the~~ 2 year, 2 moon, 8 day: 1081. Ping-shu borrowed it for study and Tzai-chau wrote on it.

Another Cotophon on Han chieh's picture of mountains

Wang Mo-chi and Li Tsü-ling of Tang painted the mountains and streams, ~~the~~ peaks and slopes ~~with~~ ⁱⁿ all their changing aspects. ~~And~~ Happily they stepped out of the dust of the world.

Colophon on Sung Han-chieh's painting⁴⁾

I used to be a friend of Sung Fung-ku. After I had looked at his picture of bamboos in an ~~an~~ evening landscape I wrote three poems and said in them: The path is reaching to the ^{rising in the background} ~~faraway~~ mountains; the waters flow together into the foreground stream. Fu-ku said: 'are you as good in painting?' ^{Howaddysh!} ~~His nephew~~ Han-chieh possesses the same skill; if heaven still gives him some years, he will not be inferior to Fu-ku. - Yuan yü per. 3 year, 4 moon, 5 day - 1088

Another colophon on Han-chieh's picture of mountains

Wang Mo-ch'i and Li Sü-hsün of Tang painted the mountains and streams, the peaks and the slopes in all their changing aspects. ~~By their serene beauty (serenity) we are carried out of the dust of the world. They stopped out of the dust of the world they offer us the happiness of stopping.~~ ^{Often they represented} ~~the floating clouds and the dark vaporous skies, the lonely swan and the setting sun disappearing beyond the river at the horizon. They were the ancestors of the whole world (of landscape painters) and perfected the mode of the Tang period. In later years Fan Kuan was the only painter who preserved something of the ancient style but his spirit was a little coarse. Han-chieh's picture of mountains is neither old-fashioned nor modern but rather original. If he continues without stopping, he may paint mountains in colour.~~

The third Colophon on Han-chieh's picture

Looking at pictures by scholars is like examining ~~the~~ horses; one finds that they grasp the points which carry expression and life, whereas ordinary painters often grasp only the ^{and graphic but} riding-whip, the hairy skin, the stable manger, the ~~folded~~ ^{and graphic but} ~~nothing~~ of their beauty. After having seen a few feet of such pictures one feels tired. The pictures by Han-chieh are really scholar's work.

⁴⁾ Sung Tzu-fang, tzu Han-chieh from Ching-chou was a nephew of Sung Ti, Tzu Fan-ku. He served as a cheng-lang in the palace, wrote an essay on the six principles of painting

Writing on Li po-shih's picture of the Mountain Farm (Shan Chuang t'u)

It was said that when Ling-mien po-shih painted the Farm in the Mountains he made it so that those who in later times might go into those mountains would find the paths wherever they would walk. It would ~~be~~^{be} to them as if they had seen it all in a dream or been there in a former life. In seeing the springs, the rocks, the plants and the trees they would not need to ~~put~~ ask any questions; in meeting the fishermen, the wood-cutters, and the hermits, they would know them without asking for their names.

~~Is this the result of his strong memory? I say: it is not. Would this be because of a previous life? They could not forget? I say: no!~~

~~He~~^{He} who paints the sun often makes it like a cake but it is not because ~~he has~~^{he has} forgotten in the sun. Even a tipsy man does not drink with the nose and even in a dream one does not grasp with the feet. That which is in accordance with nature is recalled without effort (by instinct).

When Li po-shih stayed in the mountains he did not pay attention to one thing only but his spirit joined in with ten thousand things and his mind penetrated every kind of workmanship.

There are men who possess Tao and who possess art; others who possess Tao ~~but~~^{have} not art; although the things ~~do~~ take form in their hearts, they do not take form under their hands.

I have often seen Li po-shih's scenes from the Hua Yen sutra. They are ~~entirely~~ altogether creations of his own mind and yet in harmony with the (teachings of) Buddha. The words of the Waddhas and Bodhisattvas and the pictures by Li po-shih seem to be products of ~~one~~^{the same} man. How much more would he not succeed in painting things he had actually seen?

Colophon on Li Po-shih's picture *Divining a Residence* (Pa Chü tu)

Ting-kuo[†] asked me to write out the poem which Tu Fu composed for the monk Tsan and asked Li Po-shih to paint the same thing, as he intended to ~~return~~ go back to the country. I ~~am of a peasant~~ come from a family which lived in the country, and in my youth I had the intention of retiring to the hills and vales. Although I am now an official my way of living is like that of a peasant; ~~and~~ I have for ten years been longing to return to the country and always asked permission to do so but obtained it only by remaining a prefect.

When the scholars and officials meet the right lucky moment, they may become prime ministers ^{as easily as} ~~with~~ the turning of the hand. But to manage the labours of the field has always been a difficult matter. Ting-kuo should know that when I return to the country, I will not disturb the birds and the animals but be like Tao Yuan-ming, whereas Ting-kuo[†] when he goes back to the country will not be able to restrain his bold spirit but be like Hsieh Ling-yün (i.e. eccentric and over-bearing⁺⁺).

[†]Wang Ting-kuo, a painter of birds & flowers, contemporary of Su Shih.

⁺⁺Tao Yuan-ming and Hsieh Ling-yün are two opposite characters of the early fifth century. Hsieh Ling-yün (385-433) was considered the proudest scholar of his period; he had a pond dug and planted white lotus for the priest Hui-yüan, the founder of the "White Lotus Club," to signify his desire to join the club, but Hui-yüan rejected him on the ground that he was not peaceful at heart. The poet and philosopher Tao Yuan-ming (365-427) was always a welcome guest at this club, even though he was not a Buddhist. He could not ^{remain an official} ~~stay in official life~~ for more than short periods but retired to the country occupying himself "with poetry, music and the culture of flowers." (Cf. Giles. 739. and 1892.)

Colophon on Li Po-shih's painting (illustrations to) the Book of Filial Piety (Hsiao Ching).

~~In these days~~ In looking at this painting ^{feelings of duty} ~~and devotion towards our parents~~ ~~and honesty and filial piety~~ rise in our hearts like oil on water. The brush-work is wonderful and not inferior to that of Ku and Lu. When we come to the 18th chapter (on mourning) dealing with the overwhelming sorrow of a son, ^{it is done in such a way} ~~it has been so strongly~~ ~~that we realize~~ ^{could not have been accomplished by anybody but a} ~~that it must be the work of a superior man.~~ Even Ku and Lu could certainly not have done it.

Two poems written on a painting by secretary ^{Wang from Yen-ling} ~~Yen-ling~~ representing some broken branches.

Those who ^{criticize} ~~judge~~ pictures ~~poem~~ as forms are like children, and those who compose poetry according to formal rules and not real poets. Poetry and painting follow the same laws; It is by divine inspiration that they become pure and original.

Lien Huan painted the birds as if alive, Chao Chiang gave the spirit of the flowers. These two branches ^{are perfectly spaced} contain all the essence ^{and rhythm}. ~~A dot of red does not~~ Who says that ~~they~~ ^{it} does not send forth the spring which never changes?

The thin bamboos are like hermits, the lonely flowers like pure virgins. The birds are fluttering among the branches moving the flowers which are moist by rain. A pair of birds on the point of ~~slightly~~ soaring, a rustle among the thickets of leaves. Look how the bee is sucking the flowers, filling its loins with their honey. The painter possessed the ~~gift~~ ^{skill} of heaven, he removed the air of spring with his brush. I think he was truly a poet; he has given the harmony and asks for a poem.

Colophon on the great scholar Liu's picture of A Grass Hut

This picture by minister Liu and Tuan Wen-ch'ang of Tang¹ now belongs to Mr. Chen Yüan-fang who is an imperial secretary. In the 3. year, 7. month of the Yüan-yü period (A.D. 1088) I stayed in the Tai Tung i (imper. hotel) together with an envoy from the North, and Chen showed me the picture, and I made assisted by Kuo Yüan-lai, this poem.

^{Tuan}1) Probably Liu Tung, famous for his love of tea, and Wen-ch'ang (7835) famous for his love of good cookery (Giles, 2085)

Colophon on the picture, Cleaning the Ear, of the Nan Tang period

Wang Chin-ch'ing (Wang Hsien) suddenly became deaf, and ^{as} he could not endure it, he asked relief from me. I answered him: "You ^{come from a} ~~are of~~ family of generals, cut off your head and pierce your chest and you will have no more trouble. What is the use of two ears; why do you not sacrifice them? I give you three days for getting rid of your ill; if it does not leave you, you may eat my ears." Chin-ch'ing understood my meaning; after three days he was completely cured. He showed me a poem of praise, in which he said: "My old wife, restless at heart, incessantly warned me: the conditions are difficult; you have only three days limit." My ears are well and I do not cut yours. We may rejoice as both families are well."

Now as I looked at the picture, Cleaning the Ear, belonging to Tung-kuo, and as he said that he had obtained it from Chin-ch'ing, I wrote this

Colophon on the picture Picking Melons.

1) In the poem by Yüan Chên, Wang yün, called The Piebald Horse, it is said: If Ming Huang had ~~not~~ had this horse, he ^{would} ~~could~~ not have escaped to Shu riding on a donkey! If these words by Chên were correct, how could there be this wonderful picture by Li Sui-hsien, representing the emperor among the palace ladies on horseback picking melons on the mountains and vales? During the revolt of An Lu-shan T'ang Yüan had prepared everything in Shu. The riding on a donkey is empty talk of the time.

1) Yüan Chên (771-831), a prominent poet a friend of Po Chü-i, together with whom he formed the "Yüan res style". Rose to high state offices.

Writings after Huang Ku-chih's (Huang Ting-chien) colophons on three pictures
1. A wide and distant view.

This picture ^{was} brought by Yen Ku-chih. Rugged mountains and wild streams, hollows and caves of the forest dwellers. The violent wind bends down the plants and trees. The traveller on the stream must seek protection along the river bank and have his boat dragged along by strongmen. Where does he want to go. Written ⁱⁿ the Hall of Eternal Thought at the two wells.

Su Shih:

If the boat has not started and the wind rises, then it should not start; but if he meets the wind while en route what could he do but have his boat dragged along by force. Ku-chih may blame the master of the boat that he could not forestall the colour of the wind but it is not the fault of the master of the picture.

Shao Sheng, 2 years, 1 month, 4 days = A.D. 1095. Written ^{at Hui-chow} in the Studio of no deep ^{expressed} ^{thoughts}.

2. The picture of Collating Books in the Pao Chi period

Formerly when I lived in the Capital Wang Chin-ching (Wang Hsien) the son-in-law of the emperor ^{for him to pay} used to send me specimens of calligraphy and painting in order to have colophons written on them, and each time I censured and flayed them so that they hardly were worth a single cash. Chin-ching ^{expressed} ~~spoke~~ to me ^{his disappointment} about it; to which I answered: "In calligraphy and painting *yii* (rhythm or resonance) is the main thing (the master). The scrolls in your bags may have been paid with thousands of ^{cash} ~~books~~, but they are weak in regard to *yii*. When the collectors of calligraphies and paintings after 30 years read these works of mine, they will know something about calligraphy and painting. — Yüan-yü, 9 years, 4 moon = A.D. 1094, in the Hall of Eternal Thought.

Su Shih:

There are six principles of painting; one is proper colouring and shading which is very difficult to work out. This picture is the work of a national master [圖] who worked simply in ink; it is what in the T'ang period was called a *fün*, (*粉本*) sketch. A modern master has given colour to it and made the six sages look like ^{the youth} ~~young~~ Ho, who covered his face with powder. That is the reason why Ku-chih does not like it. But it is really a good picture. — Shao Sheng, 2 years, 1 month, 1 day = 1095.

3. Yu-Chün Chopping the meat. (Ch'ü Kuai t'u)

Hsü Yen-ho sent me this picture saying that it represented Wang Yu-chün chopping the meat. I looked at the man comfortably seated on the bed, and it seemed to me that he certainly could not be ~~the one~~ ^{the one} who wrote the Xan-t'ing Scroll. When Yu-chün was in Hsi-chi, Huan Wen asked him ^{for fine paper (T'ei li-chih)} ~~to bring the paper~~, there were ^{50,000 sheets} ~~50,000 scrolls~~ in the store room, and Yu-chün handed them all to Huan Wen. I think this crazy genius must have looked like a ^{mountain dweller} ~~hermit~~. Written in the Yung Sui t'ang

Su Shih:

Hsüeh An-shih (320-385) was the foremost person south of the river but his way of governing the people was not good. I ~~had~~ ^{thought} ~~thought~~ of writing a letter rebuking him but really he wanted to express his sorrow, because the superior man estimates people according to their virtue. The ^{50,000 sheets} ~~50,000 scrolls~~ which he is said to have handed over to Huan Wen are not worth mentioning; it is simply a ^{poor invention} ~~story~~ of the chroniclers. Yet, Huang du-chih also repeats it. Why?

If a scholar ^{has} ~~has~~ ^{50,000 sheets} ~~50,000 scrolls~~, they would be enough for the rest of his life. He gave them all ^{away} ~~to Huan Wen~~; truly, an extraordinary event! In his biography it is furthermore said: The meeting at 'an-tung ^{was} ~~was~~ compared to the meeting at Chin-ku and Wang Hsi-chih ^{which pleased him very much}. ~~was~~ compared to Chien-lun (Shih ming 730) ^{was} the Chin-ku meeting was a gathering of noble friends. Chien-lun ^{was} in comparison to Wang Hsi-chih like an owl or a kite in comparison ^{to} ~~to~~ a swan or a snow goose; he ^{was} not worth to be the servant of Wang. ^{that he} ~~The claim that~~ Wang Hsi-chih would have compared himself to Chien-lun, is certainly a story of the Chin ^{and} ~~and~~ Sui. The chronicler Hsü Ching-t'ung is a ^{servile} ~~servile~~ fellow; he knew that Chien-lun was very rich and therefore made him a greater sage than Wang Hsi-chih.

Now ^{Huang} ~~the~~ ^(with resonance) ~~Lu-chih~~ criticizes the painter for not having obtained the noble spirit of Wang Hsi-chih. ^{How difficult it would be!} ~~After all, it seems difficult.~~ I am now staying at Hui-chou. Hsü Yen-ho sent me this picture, asking me to write a colophon on it. I wrote this to express a laugh from far away.

Shao Shing 2 yrs, 1 moon, 2 day - A.D. 1095.

→ Huan Wen (312-373) Q. 846 an extremely cruel general who declared that he would bequeath a name to posterity which would strike forever. Served as a regent of the empire but did not mount the throne.

Hsü Ch'ang (Yun-ho) a writer, friend of Su Shih and Chen Hsiang, censor in ~~Chung~~ ~~Ching~~ period the reign of Shien Tung (1068-85)

Hsieh An (320-385) Q. 724. known as the "refined minister"

Wang Hsi-chih (T-shao) - Yu-chün = General of the right army

Chi-lun = Shih Chung (d. 300) a Chinese Croesus.

Chün-hu meeting was a gathering provided by Shih Chung

Hsü Ching-Tsung, a historian & minister of Kao Tung's time who interpreted history quite arbitrarily.

Tung-po said: In ancient as well as in modern pictures the water is usually made quiet, stretching far away with fine wrinkles. Even the good artists did no more than show the crests rising and falling so that ~~people~~ might wish to touch them with their hands; they were said to have depths and heights and to be most wonderful. But these paintings are little better than prints, skillfully made.

In the Kuang-ming era of the Tang period there was a recluse called Sun Wei, called Yü from Tung Yüeh, who first conceived a new idea. He painted rushing torrents and raging waves ~~amongst~~ rocks and stones, breaking against and twisting around them. He painted all the transformations (aspects) of water and may be called a divine master. - He was followed by Huang Chüan (Tzu Yao-shu) from Shu and Shun Chü-wei (Tzu Tai-hu), who learned their brush work from him. At first when Shun Chü-wei was about to paint seas, sandbanks, ~~water~~ ^{rivers} and rocks on the ^{four} walls of Suo-ming jün of Tai-ti ssü, temple of great mercy, he planned and schemed for a whole year without doing a stroke. Then one day he rushed into the temple, asked for brushes and ink, and suddenly as the wind spread his sleeves he accomplished it. The wind was beating and rushing, rising and falling so that the whole house was shaking and threatened to break down. Fifty years after the death of Chü-wei P'u Yung-sheng from Chieng-tu who was a skilled painter, started to make, following

water adhering to the ideas of the two Suns. (Vine Floral Him. yes I. 6. 48)

Often in talking about painting I have said that human figures, birds, buildings and utensils all have their constant forms, whereas mountains, stones, bamboos, trees, waves, clouds and mist have no constant form but a constant principle. The loss (lack) of constant form ~~can~~^{is} understood by everybody, but when the constant principle is not properly expressed, even among the connoisseurs there are some who do not understand it. All those painters who try to deceive the world and create a fame for themselves, lean on (take advantage of) things which have no constant form.

However the lack of constant form does not go beyond the minor loss, it does not spoil the whole thing; but if the constant principle is not right, the whole thing is ruined. In regard to ~~objects~~^{things} which have no constant form one must pay special attention to the constant principle. Among the painters there are those who can render the form in a minute's business but as to the principle, it can be rendered only by a high character and extraordinary talent.

Looking at pictures by scholars is like examining horses, one chooses those which have expression and life. But the painter often takes (chooses) only the whip, the skin, and the mane and the tail and not the least point of life-expression. Looking at several feet of such paintings makes one tired.

Among the ^{painters} ~~artists~~ of the world ^{some know how} ~~many are able~~ to represent form ^{and genius} ~~but~~ the inherent ^{can} ~~can only~~ ^{be grasped by the} ~~the~~ gentlemen ^{and scholars} ~~can grasp~~ the inherent reason of things. In Yü-k'o's paintings of bamboos, stones and decaying trees this reason is certainly to be found. Some of them seem as if they were alive, some as if they were dead, some are warped like a fist barren and ^{contracted} ~~dry~~, some ^{are tall and slender, vigorous and luxuriant} ~~are~~ ^{thoughtful and vigorous} ~~are~~ the roots, the branches, the joints, the leaves, the pointed shoots, the thread-like veins, they all exhibit innumerable transformations and are never quite alike. (But when) Each thing is at its proper place in accordance with nature's creations and ^{satisfies} ~~satisfying~~ to the ideas of men, ~~Such is the gentleman's~~ ~~mode of expression~~ because it contains the gentleman's spirit.

My writing is like the immeasurable water of gushing springs which issues everywhere, no matter what the ground may be. Over the level ground it flows quietly murmuring ~~over the level ground~~ passing with ease thousand li in a day, but when it reaches mountains and stones, it winds around them and takes on their colour. I cannot make it out, all I know is, that it keeps on moving when it must move and ~~stops~~ ^{stops} when it must stop cannot but stop.

To be born, to mature, to change and to die ^{goes in} ~~is~~ as a snap of the fingers. ^I ~~If we look~~ ^{looking} for the ~~activity~~ ^{origin} of created things ~~we~~ I find nothing.

In ^{my} poetry I am not aiming for skill, in ^{my} writing not seeking ^{for} the strange, I follow the ~~inspiration~~ ^{inspiration} ~~as my master~~ The boundless joy of heaven is my master.

When Li Po-shih stayed in the mountains he did not pay attention to one thing only but his spirit joined in with ten thousand things and his mind penetrated every kind of workmanship.

There are men who possess Tao and who possess art, others ~~who~~ who possess Tao but do not have art; although the things take form in their ^{heart} they do not take shape under their hands.

I have often seen Li Po-shih's scenes from the Hua Yen sutra. They are altogether creations of his own mind, yet, in harmony with the teachings of Buddha; the words of the Buddha & Buddha sutras and the pictures by Li Po-shih seem to be products by one man. How much more would he not succeed in painting things he had actually seen.

Among the painters of the world ~~there~~ some know how to represent form but the inherent reason of things can only be grasped by the gentlemen & geniuses. I Yi-t'ao's paintings of bamboos, ~~these~~ rocks & decaying trees this reason is certainly to be found. Some of them seem as if alive, some like dead.

Su Tung P'o¹⁾ als Kunstkritiker.

von

Ku Teng.

Es ist bekannt, daß Su Tung P'o auf vielen Gebieten, so als Politiker, Staatsmann, Historiker, Essayist, Dichter, Schriftkünstler und Maler tätig war, aber er war vor allem auch Kunstkritiker, und seine Arbeiten auf diesem Gebiet sind besonders bedeutend und übten auch späterhin einen großen Einfluß auf die einschlägige Literatur aus.

Wie bekannt, geht eine Entwicklungslinie der chinesischen Malerei zur sogenannten »Gentlemanmalerei« hin, die im Gegensatz stand zu der mehr handwerklichen der Berufsmaler. In der Tat hatte erstere mit der Zeit eine so hohe Bildungsstufe erreicht, daß sie die mehr handwerklichen Maler nicht in ihren Kreis einbeziehen konnte, und so entspann sich zwischen diesen beiden Richtungen ein Kampf, der sich bis in die Chin-Dynastie zurückverfolgen läßt. Die erste größere Etappe dieses Kampfes ist in die Spät-Tang-Zeit zu setzen. Diese Etappe betont vor allem den ständischen Unterschied, wie der Berufsmaler, der auf Bestellung zu festgesetzter Zeit und aus Broterwerb malen muß, und auf der anderen Seite die Gelehrten, die nur zum Pinsel greifen, wenn es sie zum Malen drängt. In der zweiten Etappe geht es jedoch nur um den Stil und zwar wenden sich die Gentleman-Maler in erster Linie gegen den Naturalismus. Um was es hier geht, das hat Su Tung P'o klar gestellt.²⁾ Ich möchte einiges aus seinen Gedichten, Essays und Notizen hier wiedergeben um zu zeigen, wie intensiv er sich mit diesen Fragen beschäftigt hat und wie unemgeschrankt er seinen Standpunkt vertritt. »Wer bei Beurteilung von Malerei das Gewicht auf das Formale legt, stellt sich hierdurch mit dem Kind auf eine Stufe«, oder »Alle, die bisher Wasser gemalt haben, gaben meist weite Flächen mit ganz feinen Strichen, nur die Besseren können wellig bewegtes Wasser malen, so daß man glaubt, man könne mit der Hand die Hebungen und Senkungen abtasten, das hält man schon für außerordentlich gut, ich behaupte aber, daß diese Art mehr der Holzschnittechnik gleicht und im Handwerklichen stecken bleibt«.

oder »Die Form herausarbeiten kann jeder, aber ins innerste Wesen dringen das vermögen nur die Gentleman-Maler. Von Wen Yü Ko kann man wirklich sagen, daß es ihm gelungen ist, das Wesen des Bambus, der Steine und das alter

¹⁾ Eigenthlicher Name des Su Tung P'o 蘇東坡 (1035—1101) ist Su Shih 蘇軾, oft auch Su Ize Chuen 蘇子瞻. Man kann in Sung Shi 宋史, 338. Heft seine Biographie finden.

²⁾ Die verschiedenen Ausgaben seines Notizbuches 東坡題跋 (Tung P'o Di Po) oder 東坡志林 (Tung P'o Tze Ling), in denen die in seinen Werken (Gedichte, Essays) nicht enthaltenen kleinen Schriften über Leben, Reisen und Kunst gesammelt in der Mingzeit ausgegeben.

Bäume darzustellen. Indessen was ist denn Leben, was Tod, was ist geknickt und erschläft, was straff und durchaus lebensfähig, die Wurzeln, der Stamm, die Zweige und die Blätter, die Blattstielchen und die Blattadern, sie sind alle in ständiger Wandlung begriffen und haben sich nicht aneinander angeglichen, wenn aber so jedes seinem Wesen entspricht, hat es die Verbindung mit der Natur. Wenn man einen Abscheu vor allem Gekunstelten hat, so tritt man damit in das Reich der Gentlemen«, oder »Wenn Chao Tze Yün malt, so umreißt er die Dinge nur mit dem Pinsel, aber der Sinn ist erfaßt, Fachleute können das nicht«. So lehnt er die Handwerker und Fachleute und die Betonung alles Artfiziellen entschieden ab. Man könnte fragen, welche Maler wünscht er nun? Seine Hauptforderung ist der Dichtermaler. So sagt er in einem Gedicht: »Dichtkunst und Malerei folgen beide denselben Gesetzen, der Naivität und der Ursprünglichkeit«, oder »Die alten Maler, die keine Laien sind (d. h. keine Laien vom Standpunkt des Gentleman-Malers aus, also alle Berufsmaler) stimmen in dem, was sie zum Ausdruck bringen, mit den Dichtern überein«. Su behauptet somit, daß, wer ein wirklicher Maler ist, eigentlich auch Dichter ist, und umgekehrt, wer wirklich Dichter ist, ist auch zugleich Maler. So sagt er einmal: »Tu Fu's Gedichte sind Gemälde ohne Formen, Han K'an's Malerei ist Poesie ohne Worte«, oder »Bei den alten Malern, die keine 'Laien' sind, ist der Schwung der gleiche wie bei den Dichtern. Li Lung M'an ist so eigentlich ein Dichter, er kann über dem Meer Donner und Blitz hervorrufen«. So hält Su in Poesie und Malerei den Schwung für das Grundelement, wer den nicht hat, kann weder Dichter noch Maler werden, und zwar bleibt der Schwung nicht immer der gleiche, sondern wird im Augenblick neu erzeugt. Als Beispiel sei hier folgende Geschichte erwähnt: »Sun Chih We wollte im Shou Ming Yuan des Tai Tzu-Tempels Fresken malen und zwar viererlei: einen See, eine Stromschnelle, Wasser und Steine. Er hatte sich ein Jahr damit beschäftigt, ohne etwas zu malen; eines Tages eilte er in den Tempel, erbat sich schnell Pinsel und Tusche, seine Hand flog wie der Wind über die Wand. Einmal vollendet, hatte das Werk eine solche Wucht, daß die Gebäude einzustürzen drohten«. Auch von sich selbst erzählt er, wie er einmal auf nüchternen Magen Wein getrunken hatte und wie er dann gar nicht anders gekonnt hatte, als »Bambus und Stein« malen, so wurde er von innen heraus getrieben. In einer derartigen Niederschrift bleibt dann die Spannung eines Augenblicks für immer erhalten und auch nur so wird in einem Augenblick ein Blick in

die Unendlichkeit gefaßt. So sagt auch Su einmal: »Zum Leben erwachen, wachsen, sich entwickeln und wieder untergehen, das ist alles nur ein Augenblick, wenn wir aber die Geschöpfe der Welt erkennen wollen, so finden wir das Nichts.« Wenn man eben im Naturverbände lebt, sind unsere Taten auch zugleich Taten der Allnatur, und der Schaffensimpuls kommt in einem Augenblick über uns herein, unkontrollierbar. So vergleicht er einmal seine Essays mit einem Wasserfall, aus dessen Wassern dann überall geschöpft werden kann und wie auch diese, genau wie der Fluß, der in der Ebene ohne Schwierigkeit 1000 Li zurücklegen kann, wenn er auf Berge und Felsen stößt, sie in Windungen umgehen muß, entsprechend dem Gegenstand, auf den sie treffen, sich verhalten müssen. Mit diesen und ähnlichen Vergleichen will er nur zum Ausdruck bringen, daß, um wahrhaft etwas zu leisten und zu schaffen, man den inneren Drang haben muß. Hinzu kommt bei ihm, daß er die poetischen Maler erst als die wahren Maler schätzt. Unter diesem Gesichtswinkel kritisiert er dann auch die früheren Maler. Er hat eigentlich die größte Hochachtung vor Wu Tao Tzu, er hat ihn für ebenso bedeutend wie Tu Fu in der Dichtkunst, Han Yu in seinen Essays, Yen Lu Kung in der Schriftkunst.³⁾ Aber als er dann die Malerei Wu's mit der Wang We's vergleicht, setzt er ihn an zweite Stelle, weil in Wang das poetische Element überwiegt. In einem Gedicht sagt er einmal folgendes: »Ich habe viele Arten von Gemälden gesehen, aber ich verehere nur zwei Meister Wu Tao Tzu — er ist wirklich von souveräner Kraft und unermesslich wie das wellig bewegte Meer. Wenn er die Hand ansetzt malt er mit Schwung, so daß, was der Pinselstrich nicht erreichen kann, durch den geistigen Gehalt zum Ausdruck gebracht wird — und Wang We, er ist der eigentliche Dichter, er ist von edlem Temperament. Ich habe einmal seine Fresken gesehen. Sie sind ebenso wie seine Gedichte beschwingt und doch voller Gehalt. Obwohl Wu Tao Tzu so große Fertigkeit besitzt, kann man doch von ihm sagen, daß er noch im Handwerklichen befangen ist. Wang We dagegen ist frei von allem Gegenständlichen, von einer Freiheit wie die der Unsterblichen, die sich aus einem Käfig befreit haben und ihn dann umschweben. Ich habe beider Meister Werk geschaut, sie sind beide beinahe unwirklich schön, jedoch von Wang We habe ich besondere Hochachtung, über ihn habe ich keine Worte.« Und an einer anderen Stelle sagt er noch einmal: »Wenn ich so Wang We's Gedichte untersuche, so finde ich darin etwas von Malerei, betrachte ich seine Gemälde, so sind sie gleichsam wie Gedichte.« In der Tangzeit war von einer derartigen Hochschätzung Wang We's noch nicht die Rede, erst durch Su Tung P'o ist er in diese hohe Stellung erhoben worden. Auch die auf Mißverständnis beruhende Annahme, Wang We sei der Begründer einer Südschule, geht auf Su Tung P'o zurück.

Überschaut man die vorangegangenen Betrachtungen, so möchte ich sagen, der Künstler ist weder Diener der Natur, noch ihr Meister, sondern der wahre Künstler ist selbst ein Stück Natur. Su ist auch weder ein Naturalist in dem Sinne,

3) Siehe seinen Essay »Zur Malerei von Wu Tao Tzu«.

daß er um der äußerlichen Naturnähe willen sein künstlerisches Empfinden unterdrückt, noch ein Individualist, denn die Natur Mittel zum Ausdruck ist, sondern er schafft unbewußt, er schafft sozusagen naiv. Diese Haltung äußert er in seinen Gedichten. »In meinen Gedichten suche ich nicht das Kunstliche, in meiner Schriftkunst nicht das Seltsame, sondern die ursprüngliche Natürlichkeit ist für mich der Meister.« Oder: »Li Lung Mian lebt im Gebirge, er hängt sich nicht

nur an eine Sache, deshalb vereinigt er in seinem Geist alle Dinge und mit seinem Intellekt durchdringt er die verschiedenen Künste.« Dieses Einswerden mit der Natur fordert er nicht nur vom wahren Künstler, und es dient ihm nicht nur als Kriterium bei der Beurteilung von Kunstwerken, sondern er verlangt dieselbe starke Einfühlung auch vom Kunstkritiker in das zu beurteilende Werk. Hierzu einige Stellen: »Wenn Wen Yü K'o Bambus malte, sah er nur Bambus vor sich und keine Menschen und nicht nur, daß er keine Menschen mehr sah, er verlor dabei auch das Gefühl für seinen eigenen Körper, der auch zu Bambus wurde, so ist er ein neues Geschöpf geworden.«

»Wenn Han Kan Pferde malte, ist er selbst zum Pferd geworden, wenn ich ein (kritisches) Gedicht über ihn mache, sehe ich ihn vor mir, wie er malte.« So hat so die Kunstkritik als Kunst entdeckt. Wie man zu dieser Einheitlichkeit kommt, sagt er im folgenden: »Wenn man seinen Sinn ganz auf die Dinge einstellt, dann wird man allmählich daran Geschmack finden können.«

Wenn wir oben gesagt haben, daß Kunst und Natur eins sei, so sagt Su Tung P'o auch hier, daß das Grundelement jeder Kunstkritik das Einswerden von Schaffendem und Beurteilendem ist. Als er mit dieser Meinung hervortrat, erregte er die Bewunderung seiner Zeitgenossen.

Durch derartige Arbeiten hat Su die Schätzung der Malerei gefördert, aber er hat sich auch mit ihrer Problematik beschäftigt, vor allem dem einen Morallehre und Kunst. Vor ihm behauptete man, Kunst sei der Morallehre unterzuordnen. So behauptete man einerseits, sie sei ein Lehrmittel des Konfuzianismus, andererseits des Buddhismus. Diesen konventionellen Meinungen durfte man

durch lange Zeit hindurch nicht widersprechen. Su wehrt sich vor allem gegen die sekundäre Stellung, die man dem künstlerischen Element bisher zuwies, wenn er sagt: »Wenn man das Tao und die Kunst zueinander in Beziehung setzt, so kann man sagen: wenn es nur das Tao gäbe und keine Kunst, so könnte man von den Dingen wohl ein Abbild im Geist haben, aber sie könnten unter der Hand keine Form gewinnen.«

Oder »Ich habe einmal buddhistische Figuren von L. Lung Mián gesehen, sie sind alle aus der Idee heraus geschaffen und vermitteln dadurch den Buddhismus. So schließt sich, was aus den Worten Buddhas und der Pehisattvas spricht und was Li Lung Mián gemalt hat, zu Einem zusammen.«

Er faßt eben religiöse Kunst nicht als Illustration der Ideen auf, sondern er verlangt von ihr die Konzeption der Idee, so daß sie unmittelbar — auch ohne begleitende Worte — auf den Beschauer wirkt. Damit hebt er die Kunst aus ihrer untergeordneten Stellung heraus. Daß dies vor ihm niemals öffentlich hervor gehoben wurde, darin liegt eben seine epochemachende Wirkung.

Wir wissen, daß Su Tung P'o seiner Lebensführung und politischen Einstellung nach Konfuzianer war, und doch hat er in seine Kunst bereitwillig Buddhismus und Taoismus aufgenommen. Man kann ihm deswegen nicht den Vorwurf der Unaufrichtigkeit machen, sondern er hat diese drei Lebensauffassungen durch sein Leben zu einem einheitlichen Ganzen gestaltet und dadurch seine ganze Lebenshaltung zu einer Kunst gemacht. Ein Mann, der so über dem Leben stand, ist auch berechtigt — selbst im weitesten Sinne Künstler —, über Kunst eine Meinung zu haben. Lassen wir zum Schluß ihn in ein paar Sätzen sprechen, aus denen seine souveräne Stellung dem Leben gegenüber spricht. »Als ich am Südmeer (er war vorher verbannt worden *) ankam, sah ich nichts als Wasser und Himmel, und ich ward traurig. Ich dachte, wann komme ich wohl von dieser Insel wieder fort? Aber dann dachte ich, daß alles in der Welt eigentlich im Wasser liegt, die Erdteile liegen in den großen Ozeanen, und auch China wird vom Meer begrenzt, und so leben alle Geschöpfe eben auf Inseln. Man stelle sich nur eine Schale mit Wasser vor, auf der ein Korn schwimmt, auf dem Korn läuft eine Ameise und blickt in das Unendliche des Wassers. Auf einmal trocknet das Wasser ein, so daß die Ameise herunterkommen kann. Tränenden Auges sagt sie zu ihren Genossen: 'beinahe hätte ich euch nicht wiedergesehen, wie hätte ich es ahnen können, daß alle Wege wieder gangbar würden!' — Wenn ich daran denke, kann ich nur lächeln.«

*) Er schrieb es im Jahre 1068 und war damals nach Chang-fu (昌阜) in der Provinz Kwangtung verbannt worden.

[illegible]

Involves to a great extent the quality of the clothing & hair. One must look for their quality of style. Then for the hair & skin.

Painted for me Li Kuang capturing a Tartar horse.
He is squeezing the Tartar under his arm, running
towards the South and drawing his bow to the full,
aiming at the pursuer. One can see how the arrow
flies straight through the air to hit the man & the horse.
Po-Shih said laughingly: 'Common sense could ~~not~~ ^{painting} ~~not~~
~~painting~~ this scene represent the arrow facts as in the
pursuing rider. This made me thoroughly realize
the quality of his painting and the terms. It is the
essential points as the same in painting & literary
writing (composition). But one ^{great} ~~golden~~ finds a man of
such degree shall.

Pei Wen Chai, the 1st, vol 15 - from 1 Han Shu.
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Painters of the Southern Sung period

The years of warfare, flight and humiliation which followed immediately after the fall of Pien-liang (K'ai-feng) ^{The capital of the Northern Sung empire} into the hands of the Chin Tartars and the carrying away into captivity of the old Emperor Hui Tsung (1127) evidently caused a serious disorganization also in artistic activity, but the pause was not very long. Old traditions were not lost or forgotten. The Emperor Kao Tsung had no sooner re-established the government of the dynasty in Hang-chou (1138) before he devoted himself with the greatest enthusiasm and success to the reorganization of the Painting Academy and other institutions of similar kind that had existed under his predecessors in K'ai-feng. He was himself a sincere lover of art and a very good calligraphist, and in his work of reorganization he had the support of several of those men who had been prominent members of Hui Tsung's model Academy. Kao Tsung spared no efforts to reunite the old scholars and artists in Hang-chou and to make them feel the solace of the imperial favours. When the compulsory interruption was over, the play of Sung painting was continued, the main actors were the same as before, but the scenery of the new act was completely changed.

And what scenery! Hang-chou, the city of lakes and bridges, pavilions and temples, "the finest and noblest in the world", to quote Marco Polo, standing "as it were in the water and surrounded by water.... And truly a trip on this Lake was a much more charming recreation than can be enjoyed on land. For on the one side lies the city in its entire length, so that the spectators in the barges, from the distance at which they stand, take in the whole prospect in its full beauty and grandeur, with its numberless palaces, temples, monasteries, and gardens, full of lofty trees, sloping to the shore."

Marco Polo's enthusiasm for Hang-chou, as it stood in its days of glory at the end of the thirteenth century, was certainly not ill-founded. He was no incompetent judge; he came from Venice; he had seen many of the most famous cities of the world, but none that he considered equal to the great city of Kinsay (as the place then was called) in beauty of nature, architectural grandeur and refinement of life. Art and nature had here combined into a peculiarly rich and picturesque harmony. We may well believe him, though the "beautiful palaces and mansions of the richest and most exquisite structure than you can imagine", no longer exist on the shores of the Western Lake. Yet, nature is here the same as in the days of glory, and the soft hazy light may help us to forget that the temples and pavilions have been ruined or rebuilt. They are all steeped in an atmosphere which seems to retain an echo of the great harmony that enchanted Messer Marco - it lives in the hush of the bamboo groves and in the rustling of the gnarled pines on the terraces along the mountain slopes. At least, so it was when I visited the place some fifteen years ago. The inspiration was still there, when the spring morning sprinkled its dew over the flowering soil and the shapes of the great trees slowly emerged from the mist - it was there, when the evening spread its veil over the quiet lake, where a lonely fisherman lingered in his boat, and the nightingale took up "the self-same song" in the shrubs at the foot of the old pagoda.

This was a place where nature held before the eyes of man motives of unsurpassed decorative beauty, and where it revealed its secrets in symbols of tones and shapes. It tuned the creative genius of the men who lived here and made them realize "the vision or the waking dream". One may well ask, if ever there has been a closer harmony between the painters and the world around them than during these years of deep after-glow in Hang-chou, when the boundaries between the seen and the unseen universe melted away in paintings which reflected the beauty of the boundless through a few strokes of the writing brush. The landscape painting of the South Sung

period could never have blossomed into such matchless fragrance, had it not been for the rich soil and inspiring surroundings of old Hang-chou.

The oldest and most influential of the painters who joined the new Academy in Hang-chou, was Li T'ang, tzu, Hsi-ku, from Ho-yang in Honan. He was then a man over 75 years old; the best part of his life and artistic activity had been spent in K'ai-feng, where he was an official at the Academy and belonged to the circle of artists who gathered round the emperor. He served thus as a strong link ~~between~~ with the past, transmitting to the younger generation the principles of style and technique which had been developed in the great days of Northern Sung painting.

Not a few of ~~these pictures~~ ^{his paintings} may almost be called realistic genre-scenes, brightened by a tone of humour and enlivened by a characterization which sometimes verges on caricature. Typical examples of such works by Li T'ang are the Wedding Procession in Mr. Lo Chen-yü's collection ~~(known to me through the colour reproduction in Kokka, 2617)~~ and the Village Doctor in the National Museum in Peking. The former picture, a short scroll, slightly coloured, illustrates the arrival of a country bride at her future husband's family. The procession is made up of a very mixed array of people, some on foot, some riding on donkey or buffalo, who move and act with the uncomfortable dignity of loafers and peasants dressed up for the occasion in borrowed garments. The scene takes place under some old willows; the whole thing is like an illustration to a rustic country tale.

The other picture represents a Village Surgeon in the act of practising his art on the back of an elderly man. The victim is held in a kneeling position by the united efforts of two assistants, who pull his arms with all their might, while a boy thrusts a clog into his mouth at the same time hiding himself behind the back of one of the assistants. The doctor applies his knife with an air of utmost concentration and artfulness, but behind him stands his servant maliciously laughing at the performance. The conception has a certain resemblance to wellknown Dutch and

Flemish genre paintings of the seventeenth century, but never did an Ostade or a Teniers impart to their paintings as much of momentary life and rustic reality. The old willow which spreads its soft foliage over the figures adds something to the atmosphere of fugitive lightness that envelopes the whole picture. It is slightly coloured which, however, does not conceal the swift and spirited brush-work.

Li T'ang acquired also a special fame for his paintings of water-buffaloes, the most characteristic animals in the country around Hang-chou. In this particular field he followed in the footsteps of Tai Sung, and succeeded so well that some of his pictures were taken as works by the T'ang master, a statement that seems surprising, as his style and brush-work are easily recognizable by the light touch and the minute definition of every detail. This may be observed, for instance, in the excellent picture in the Boston Museum representing, according to the old label, Returning Drunk from a Village Meeting in the Spring. The old grey-beard, who is seated in a somewhat uncomfortable position on a scraggy buffalo, would no doubt tumble down, if he were not supported by a servant who walks at the side, while another urchin walks ahead pulling the slow animal by a long string along the sandy river bank. The swift and easy, and yet highly detailed brush-work is exactly the same as in the Bridal Procession and the Village Doctor described above. All these pictures offer some reason for Chang Ch'ou's remark that Li T'ang's brush-work was of the highest class (miao pin), "even Ma Yüan and Hsia Kuei could not reach it in their famous paintings".

Su Han-ch'en from K'ai-feng had been a tai chao already in Hui Tsung's Academy and stood in no less favour with the Emperors Kao Tsung and Hsiao Tsung. The works by Su Han-ch'en which still remain are all representations from the life of children and ladies, ~~in a genre scenes of the same type as Chen Yang's and Chen Wen-chü's pictures, though treated in a different spirit, sometimes with slightly humorous accents.~~

A very characteristic example of this class of Su Han-ch'en's work is the Toy Pedlar, a picture which exists in several editions, the best among them being the one now in the Palace Museum in Peking (from the Ch'ien Lung collection), ~~but another version, belonging to Mr. Nezu in Tokyo, may also be of the period.~~ The pedlar is represented pushing a little cart with a high scaffolding on which many kinds of toys and trinkets are suspended. Five small children have gathered around the cart, one with his baby-brother on the back (as still is the custom in China); some of them are standing in mute adoration of the coveted treasures, but two are giving outlet to their excitement in a brisk fight. It is altogether a gay and multicoloured thing like the thrilling joy of the children.

Quite different is the fan-shaped picture in the Boston Museum which carries the painter's signature and represents A Young Lady at her Toilet. The scene is ~~again~~ a balustraded garden terrace. The slender lady sits on a low bench in front of a large lacquered table which is provided with a high screen-like back. Flower-vases, boxes, and toilet utensils are spread on the table, most prominent among them being a large mirror, in which the lady's face is reflected. A youthful maid is standing at the side of the bench ready to offer her services to the mistress. A single branch of a blossoming plum-tree is stretching out as a greeting of spring from the rockery at the edge of the picture. She sits quite still, listening—dreaming of the spring-nights on the Western Lake.

Ma Ho-chih from Ch'ien-t'ang belonged to the same set. He stood in high favour at court under the Emperor Kao Tsung and at the beginning of Hsiao Tsung's reign, and rose to the position of vice-president of the Board of Works. He painted Buddhist motives as well as landscapes and earned his greatest fame as an illustrator of the ancient ballads and odes, known as Mao Shih from their first compiler during the Western Han dynasty.

The interest of ^{these illustrations} ~~the paintings~~ depends less on their reference to

the text than on their elements of fresh and spontaneous naturalism. They contain bits of landscape, flowering shrubs, trees, water, birds, and pavilions which serve to form a setting for the dramatis personae. Only in two of these pictures are the figures sketched against the neutral background. Among the most effective may be pointed out the illustrations to The Bustard's Feather, The Faggot Bundle, and The Growing Creeper. The first is made up of the long gnarled branches of an old tree stretching over a foaming stream; two large hen-birds are seated in the tree while their male companions are sailing down to them on widespread wings. The abundant leafage on the wavy branches and the moving birds give it a wonderful air of spaciousness. In the illustration to the Growing Creeper a woman is represented seated in a cottage with thatched roof shaded by a large magnolia; she is waiting and waiting for her beloved, who is away in the service of the warlike duke - winter passes and summer passes, the wild creepers along the cottage are growing, growing.... but the husband does not come back. The Faggot Bundle is a landscape with some lightly sketched rocks and shrubs and an old man seated on the hill-side tying up a bundle of faggots. The manifold trees and shrubs are characterized by different types of leaves, drawn in various shades of ink as lightly as if they were blown there by the wind, whilst the resting old man looks almost like another hump on the hillock.

^{Such}
~~These~~ illustrative drawings formed, no doubt, a most interesting portion of Ma Ho-chih's work, but there are also other pictures by the master executed in a somewhat similar manner and expressing his poetic temperament. Among them should be remembered two pictures in the museums in Peking. i.e. The Busy Loafer (Hsien Mang t'u) in the Palace Museum, and The Man with a Stick, in the National Museum. In both these pictures, as well as in the above-mentioned illustrations, one may notice a peculiar wavy or jerky rhythm, which becomes most apparent in the drawing of the

trees and the folds, a kind of mannerism which evidently was characteristic of Ma Ho-chih. The origin of it may have been his intense interest in Wu Tao-tzu's works. Ma Ho-chih is said to have followed Wu Tao-tzu ~~xx~~ so closely that he received the nick-name "Little Wu". Yet, it may be said that the distance between the two painters, in quality and strength, is emphasized by the superficial resemblance. If Wu's brush-strokes seemed to move with the strength of a storm-wind, the lines in Ma Ho-chih's paintings seem to be fluttering in a gentle breeze. The old critics speak not without reason about the folds of the garments being like swaying willow ~~xxxx~~ leaves, and compare the flow of his brush-strokes with sailing clouds or running water.

Li Ti, from Ho-yang in Honan, was also one of the old men, who had played important parts in Hui Tsung's Academy. The majority of Li Ti's pictures mentioned by his biographers are flowers and fruits. He painted branches of peach, plum, cherry, apricot, pear, and apple, and also lotus, hibiscus, and other garden flowers, mostly single stalks with a few leaves. His pictures were small, but they contained the very soul and essence of each species; they were admired for their absolute faithfulness and truth rather than for any elaborate design or decorative arrangement.

The best known examples of such small flower-paintings by Li Ti are the two album leaves in Viscount Fukuoka's collection, representing Hibiscus (also called Rose-Mallows), signed and dated in accordance with the year 1137. They are consequently comparatively early works by the master and may be taken as examples of the highly refined naturalistic style developed in Hui Tsung's Academy. Each one of the two pictures consists simply of a short stalk with two large flowers - white in the one, pink in the other - and a few leaves in various shades of green. The beauty and fragrance are expressed mainly by the pale and sensitive colouring; reproductions are consequently a very poor substitute for the originals.

The most important pictures by Li Ti still preserved are, however, landscapes with water-buffaloes, not unlike the corresponding compositions by Li T'ang, though perhaps of a somewhat softer and more poetic tone. A very fine and uncommonly large example is ~~the picture~~ ^{but no less} in the Palace Museum in Peking, ~~which is signed and dated in correspondance with the year 1174. The motive is two water buffaloes with shapherd boys on their backs rushing homeward with heads bent, as the rain is beginning to pour down and the wind is shaking the old willows. Executed in a fine ink-style with slight colouring, it makes practically the same effect as some of Li T'ang's pictures of buffaloes and willow-trees, but the brush-strokes are not quite so strong and spirited as in Li T'ang's works. Two other remarkable~~ ^{as the} buffalo paintings by Li Ti ~~are the~~ ^{on two} album leaves in Baron Masuda's collection, known as Hunters who Return over Snow-covered Fields. The men carry their catch (a hare and a pheasant) on long poles over their shoulders; in one of the pictures the hunter is tramping ahead of the animal; in the other he is seated shivering on its back. Some bare snow-laden trees give relief to the desolate landscapes. The painter has evoked the atmosphere of cold winter evenings with slight touches of white and grey tones against the brownish silk.

Closely related in style and motive to the above-mentioned pictures is a fan-shaped painting in the Boston Museum, which shows a shepherd boy in the act of mounting a large bull by grasping its horns and climbing over its head. Some waving bamboos are growing at the cliff by the side. The picture has neither seal nor signature, but it is evidently of the period and executed in a manner which is rather like Li Ti's.

A contemporary painter of a more impetuous temperament, who is reckoned among the pupils of Li T'ang, was Hsiao Chao. The encounter between teacher and pupil may not have been entirely agreeable to the former, because it happened in the wilderness of the T'ai-hang mountains, where Hsiao

Chao at the time (after the fall of K'ai-feng in 1126) lived as a robber - since other means of a livelihood were closed to the poor painter. One day he met there a man whom he robbed, but on searching the travelling bag, he found in it only brushes and colour powder. His surprise was great as the man revealed his identity as Li T'ang, the great painter of whose fame Hsiao Chao was well aware. They made friends and went together southward. Li T'ang, who was an old and well-trained master, found a ready pupil in the ex-robber and introduced him afterwards to the Academy in Hang-chou, where Hsiao Chao soon rose to the degree of a tai chao.

He became known particularly for his effective representations of tempestuous landscapes, painted somewhat in the manner of Tung Yüan, though it is said that his "wrinkles"^(folds) were stronger; he used thicker ink and a heavier brush. His pictures conveyed impressions of "the tumultuous rush of splashing waves, of accumulating clouds and whirling winds". The following story is told as an illustration of his manner of working: -

A wonderful great hall - Ku-shan Liang-t'ang - had been erected on a mountain above the West Lake. It rose magnificent with walls 30 feet high above a grove of plum-trees. Emperor Kao Tsung had announced his visit to the new building the next day. The event was discussed by some courtiers, and one of them said: "The high visitor will arrive but the walls are still white". It was immediately decided that the imperial painter Hsiao Chao should be sent for to paint some landscapes. When Chao received the order, he asked to be given four gallons of wine. At sunset he went into the Ku hall; and then at every watch, when the drum was beaten, he drank one gallon, and each time a gallon was emptied, one wall was finished. Thus the painting was done, and when it was completed, Hsiao Chao was also finished and drunk. The emperor arrived, and as he walked round, he looked at the walls with surprise and admiration. He was informed that the paintings were by Hsiao, and upon that he ordered that the painter should be rewarded with gold and silk.

Hsiao's pictures possessed above all the quality of making the beholder feel as if he actually were on the famous mountains and rivers, and not simply looking at pictures.

A somewhat similar ~~picture~~ treatment of the water that pours out of a ravine may be seen in a small fan-shaped picture in the Boston Museum. It is called A Waterfall among Pine-clad Rocks and was sometimes ascribed to Tung Yüan, but is now classified as probably later. This is, no doubt, correct, but the picture may still be of the Sung period. A definite attri-

bution is not possible, as we have no safe point of departure, but Hsiao Chao may well have made such an impetuous waterfall.

The new ideals of monochrome landscape painting, which more than any other form of painting have made the art of the Southern Sung period known and admired in the Western world and in Japan, became manifest during the last quarter of the twelfth century. Their greatest protagonists were Ma Yüan and Hsia Kuei who, each in his way, gave the final formulation to these gradually growing ideals of style. They created a type of landscape painting which, in spite of much opposition, held its own not only in the Sung but also in the Ming period, though there was no later painter equal to these in strength of brush-work and quality of design.

Ma Yüan was the most perfect product of a family of painters which had been active during several generations, but his activity as a painter is to some extent supplemented by that of his elder brother, Ma K'uei, and of his son, Ma Lin.

The two brothers must have been closely associated as painters; they were both born about the middle of the twelfth century, and continued their activity until about 1224. Ma K'uei was the older but less gifted of the two; the paintings which are ascribed to him are mostly diluted editions of the brother's works; yet, there are one or two very remarkable things among them, landscapes of deep poetic inspiration, though we are told that Ma K'uei reached his greatest fame as a painter of birds. The best known specimens are all in Japan, brought over as early as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (like those of Ma Yüan), for instance, the two tall compositions of Pine-trees and Rocks in Count Tokugawa's collection (~~Kokin 196~~) and Lin Ho-ching admiring the Plum-blossoms in Baron Iwasaki's collection, *etc.* (~~Toyo, viii~~) and furthermore, ~~the landscape in Chishakuin at Daitokuji in Kyoto, which however, looks like a later creation in the manner of Hsia~~

~~Ma K'uei~~. The most intimate and suggestive of all the pictures ascribed to Ma K'uei is the fan-shaped painting, belonging to Mr. Magoshi Kyohai in Tokyo, representing Two Men in a Boat on an Evening Lake. It is one of those exquisitely simple compositions where the painter with the greatest economy of means has suggested something beyond definition—a reflection of infinity, an echo of the deep harmony between man and nature which only true poetry, in words or symbols of painting, may convey. There is little to be described or analysed in a picture like this: a projecting stone, a few reeds, a boat with two men, and the faint silhouette of mountain tops in the misty background. It consists mostly of the empty silk ground, but it is nevertheless full of significance, an unfathomable source of peace and beauty. If Ma K'uei actually painted this, as claimed by tradition, he must have been a poet hardly inferior to his more famous brother.

Ma Yüan, hao, Ch'in-shan, became a tai chao in the Academy during the reign of the Emperor Kuang Tsung (1190-1194), and stood in great favour at court in the time of the Emperor ^{Ning}~~Kuang~~ Tsung, who conferred on him as well as on his brother the Golden Girdle.

The old historians are all unanimous in praising the strength of his brush-work and in characterizing his designs as angular and unilateral, ~~on what they call~~ *One of them writes:*

"His brush-manner was severe and regular (i.e. firm). He used burnt ink in painting trees and rocks. The branches and leaves he painted with a compressed (squeezed) brush; the rocks he made sharp and angular with wrinkles like the scars of a big axe, using diluted ink for these parts. Complete views by him are not common; in his small pictures the tops of the high mountains are not visible and the steep cliffs reach right down, so that their bases are not seen. The near mountains touch the sky, but the distant mountains are low. He painted the single boat with a lonely man rowing on the moon-lit sea. Such were his (unilateral) 'side-horned' sceneries."

The same characterization is repeated with slight variations by other chroniclers, but in addition to this some of them also offer remarks about his figures, buildings and trees:

"Ma Yüan made his pine-trees very tall and strong like iron. Sometimes he painted them with a stump brush; they have an old spirit and are very beautiful and elegant."

The compositional arrangement which is most common in Ma Yüan's work is the above-mentioned unilateral design, built up by steep cliffs and tall trees, which rise at the one side of the picture and project some sections or branches across the otherwise empty space. Famous examples of such designs are the large pictures in Count Tanaka's and Marquis Kuroda's collections. The former represents a philosopher (accompanied by his servant) seated ~~xx~~ at a stone table under a huge pine, which grows along the side of the composition and sends out a branch diagonally across the narrow field. In the other, which is known as A Moon-lit Night, the composition consists of an overhanging cliff, rising along the left side, from which a gnarled pine reaches out like a giant arm under the moon. The old man who sits on the terrace turns slightly towards the background gazing at the moon: a small circular orb which in its loneliness serves to accentuate the wide, empty space. In the opposite corner stands the little servant of the old man. The figure is here, as in so many of Ma Yüan's pictures, the epitome of the ~~whole~~ motive, representing, as it were, the mind of the painter from which the vision is reflected. It gives an introspective touch to the ~~whole~~ representation, and the picture seems to gain a significance which reaches beyond that of the decorative design and the tonal values. The artist suggests infinity not only by utilizing empty space as a most potent factor in the composition, but also as a reflection in the soul of man. The two elements of the conception - man and nature - are completely fused into a harmonious unity.

~~Similar designs may be observed in two minor pictures in the Palace Museum in Peking. The one represents some white egrets on the shore under an overhanging cliff from which a tortuous tree is growing out in horizontal curves. The contour of a steep cliff gives relief to the background, but its top is cut off. A light cover of white snow accentuates the contrast of the bold ink-lines. The very effective picture is provided with Ma Yüan's signature.~~

In the Boston Museum there are two fan-shaped pictures which again repeat the motive with certain variations. In the more important of these two pictures which bears Ma Yüan's signature, the human motive is doubled: The sage under the branch of the far-spreading old plum-tree receives a visitor; but no words are spoken. The two men remain reverently at some distance from each other, seated in contemplation, listening to the silent message of the plum-blossoms.

Among the more centralized or "complete" landscape compositions by Ma Yüan should be mentioned the large picture in Baron Iwasaki's collection, where the steep towering mountains fill the middle part of the background and a cluster of leafy trees growing at the cliffs forms the central motive of the foreground. The wind is shaking the trees which bend over the promontory where a boat is moored; a man with a large paper-umbrella is hastening along the mountain path towards houses, which lie half-hidden in the mist at the foot of a precipice. The design is centralized, but towards the right side it floats out into the misty space where all forms disappear.

A still more definitely centralized design is the large picture in the Palace Museum which represents a Mountain and Tall Pines in Snow. The whole background consists of precipitous mountains, which raise their sharply silhouetted white peaks through the heavy mist, reaching the upper edge of the picture, where some of them are cut off. At their base, on the terrace, are some very fine pavilions (executed most carefully with ruler and foot-measure), partly hidden by the leafy maples, while the two pines rise far above them, vying with the mountains in height. Their trunks are immensely tall and slender, winding "like bent iron", and their characteristically angular and jerky branches form an intricate criss-cross pattern in front of the white mist and mountains. The daring exaggerations in the design, the spirited virtuosity of the brush-work, the striking contrasts

of black and white (with some addition of colour) make it a most impressive example of the Ma landscape style. It has evidently always been a picture of great fame; ~~it is fully signed, provided with five imperial seals and recorded in Shih Ch'ü Pao Chü~~, though it can hardly be regarded as one of the most convincing or satisfying pictures that bear the name of Ma Yüan.

More appealing than such bravura pieces are, however, some of Ma Yüan's smaller pictures in which nothing of the inspiring mood or vision is sacrificed to the decorative design. There is the Early Spring Landscape with the bare willows in the Boston Museum (also signed): A mountain range in the background; at its foot a village hidden in the mist. A stretch of water spanned by a bridge, and ~~close~~ to the foreground two old willows with slender plummy branches quivering like tendrils. The atmosphere is suggested by gradations of tone. There is a breath of morning wind touching the tops of the willows; the mist is slowly dissolving - otherwise no movement, no sound. The spring is still hesitating.

In some other of these small pictures the mood of nature is concentrated in a human figure, as for instance, the Old Fisherman who has fallen asleep in his boat among the reeds, which bend over him protectingly - a famous picture in the Palace Museum, ~~provided with eight imperial seals and a poem by the Emperor Ch'ien Lung~~; or the Lady Ling-chao who is standing shivering in the cold - a most appealing figure on an album leaf in Boston. The atmosphere is grey, the river-bank covered with snow; the willow branches are bare, and the few leaves which still remain on the shrubs are crumpling. As she stands there, quite isolated in the bleak surroundings, she makes us realize that the outward world exists only for the experience of the soul.

But the last word of aesthetic economy, atmosphere and silence was given by Ma Yüan in the famous picture representing An Angler on a Wintry

The characterizations of his works offered by the old critics are fairly uniform; they all insist on the strong pictorial qualities of his works, his way of using the ink in a colouristic fashion: -

"Hsia Kuei painted figures and landscapes with fermented ink, beautifully as if they were coloured. His brush-manner exhibited great skill and his ink was applied in drops."

Hsia Kuei's earliest works are said to have been figure-paintings, but none of them has survived; we have only landscapes by him, and they are all of a fairly uniform style, though more or less impetuous or impressionistic in brush-work. It seems most probable that this quality developed more strongly with the years as the spirit and the art of the master matured. The works in which it is less apparent may be relatively earlier. Foremost among them should be mentioned the great landscape in the Palace Museum, which is known as Looking for Plum Blossoms. An old scholar, accompanied by a servant who carries his ch'in, wanders about in the mountains, where the snow still covers the ground, seeking for the earliest messengers of the spring. He arrives at the bank of a turbulent stream, and here is an old tree just beginning to shoot fresh buds. The servant points excitedly to the tree, and the old man stands in silent adoration. The mountains in the background are steep and sharp; their tops partly cut off at the upper edge, and far away in the gorge is the traditional temple. The design, particularly of the mountains and the old tree, is closely related to certain compositions by Ma Yüan, but the brush-work is somewhat bolder with stronger accents and ^a/richer scale of tonal values than is common in Ma Yüan's paintings.

The same motive returns in a large picture in the collection of Count Akimoto in Tokyo. The old man is here walking, followed by his servant with the ch'in, along the tempestuous river, over which the maple-trees are bending. The atmosphere is misty, and only the upper part of the steep mountains become visible. ~~and here~~ / A finer example of this type of composition with a high mountain rising above the mist on the one side, trees at the foot of the mountain and a stretch of open water on the other side, is the large picture in the Boston Museum, which receives its name from the fishing-nets

staked on the bank of the river. It is a very beautiful composition, grand, and yet with a tone of intimacy, but whether it is actually Hsia Kuei's work, as claimed by tradition, is difficult to tell.

In order to realize the full strength and beauty of Hsia Kuei's brush-work we must turn to such famous pictures by the master as the Ch'ang Chiang Wan Li t'u (The River of Ten Thousand li) in the Palace Museum, or the almost equally important landscape scroll in the National Museum in Peking. The former is 34 ft. 8 in. long; the latter nearly 28 ft.; they are both painted on paper with pure ink and authenticated by seals and inscriptions. Chang Ch'ou says about The River of Ten Thousand li, that it is "a pure and bright work of brilliant style", a verdict well supported by the ~~portion of~~ ^{still existing} ~~the scroll reproduced in Ku Kung (vol. VIII).~~ ^{painting.} This section represents the upper parts of some pavilions rising above the tree tops, drawn with a firm and swift brush which reflects the impetuous temperament of the painter.

The picture in the National Museum, ~~which is a copy of the original~~ is hardly inferior. It forms a continuous diorama of a river- and mountain-scenery where the changing motives merge into another as do the various parts of a musical composition. The atmosphere is like the ocean of tone from which the waves of melody arise to sink again harmoniously resolved; Rocky shores, mountains with pine-forests, overhanging trees, small huts shaded by shrubs, bamboo bridges connecting some promontories, and water, sometimes narrowing into straits or forming deep bays, sometimes broadening into a shoreless sea where distant sails are lost in the mist. All is rendered in tones of black ink, which glows in the deep shadows and becomes almost transparent in the light parts. The brush-strokes are sometimes short and cutting; sometimes like dashes of ink, modified according to the motives, but always reflecting the firm hand and the inspired mind. The result is an astonishingly rich and expressive symphony of black and white, where the motives appear and disappear again, suggesting the immeasurable expanse and

the ceaseless change of nature. The particular advantages of the horizontal scroll composition have here been fully utilized; ~~the picture may, indeed, be remembered as one of the most perfect examples of this type of Chinese painting.~~

It should also be noted that in most of Hsia Kuei's pictures the horizon is placed lower than in compositions by earlier landscape painters, a modification which makes them more like European landscapes. In fact, there are bits in some pictures by Hsia Kuei which may remind one of drawings by Rembrandt. Yet, they have no consistently maintained point of sight, no perspective construction. Like ~~all the other~~ ^{most} Chinese landscapes which ~~we have studied~~, they are made up of impressionistically conceived parts which are blended by atmospheric tone into a unity. The rocks and trees of the foreground form one motive, and the faintly indicated silhouettes of the mountains in the background another; between them the mist spreads its thick veil concealing all that might serve as a measure of distance. The sense of infinity is the dominant quality also in his works, even though the artist, more than his predecessors, dwells upon the visual beauty of objects in the foreground. ~~From a purely pictorial point of view Hsia Kuei's works may be counted among the very best Chinese paintings that have survived, though the relative monotony of the motives and ideas is perhaps more apparent in his case than in regard to some of the other great landscape painters.~~

Among minor pictures which bear the imprint of the master's brush, may be mentioned the fan-shaped painting in the Boston Museum, which represents A Wind-swept Tree on a Rocky Ledge and a returning boat on the water. Mountain silhouettes appear in the distance. Although somewhat worn, the picture is alive in every brush-stroke and very effective in the modulations of the ink-tones. The trees and rocks seem to be wet by rain; the atmosphere saturated with moisture. The tonal quality of the picture is

rich and deep, depending on the contrasts between the masses of dark ink and the open spaces of luminous mist.

The finest example of this type among the pictures ascribed to Hsia Kuei is, however, the somewhat larger hanging scroll in the Kawasaki collection in Kobe, in which a violent Rain-Storm is rendered by a few decisive strokes of the brush, reflecting the vehemence and fury of the weather. The trees are pressed down by the wind over the thatched roof of the pavilion in the mountain gorge, their branches are torn and their leaves are shattered as snowflakes in the wind. A man with a large umbrella is struggling against the storm on the pole-bridge that leads over the stream; another is crouching in the pavilion. The back-ground is mist, except for the ridge of a high mountain on which some small trees are wafting like feathers in the storm. And all this seems to be painted almost with the speed and strength of the hurricane.

The picture is not very far removed from certain works by the Ch'an painters who already at this time had developed their highly expressionistic ink-style, *and whose work will be the subject of our next lecture.*

~~The style of Ma Yüan and Hsia Kuei was reflected in the works of several contemporary or slightly younger artists whose names are less well known, but who nevertheless have left us some pure and noble paintings. In the Freer Gallery there is a very beautiful mountain landscape with a scholar's abode at the water's edge in the foreground. It is signed by Hsü Shih-ch'ang, a painter who is scantily recorded for his flower- and bird-paintings in the Chinese chronicles. The landscape shows him as a very successful painter in the Ma-Hsia style, more important than, for instance Ma Lin. The design is not so concentrated and perfectly unified as in the great works of Ma Yüan or Hsia Kuei, but it is well balanced, and contains elements of great beauty. And, as I have said elsewhere, there are few landscapes which give a clearer and more convincing impression of the actual brush-work of a great painter of the Southern Sung period than this remarkably well-preserved picture by Hsü Shih-ch'ang.~~



They are mostly quite short, but rich in feeling and metaphoric expression, referring to his solitary walks or his travels along the rivers. For instance: "The pines are high; the wind is growing and moans without a stop. The old stream of the mountain-springs murmurs in solitary gloom." "The jade pebbles are eaten away and shifted the day long. I sing the ode of the *Purple Fungus* to stir the mighty autumn."

Before proceeding to study the bamboo paintings of Wu Chên and his contemporaries, two or three more landscape painters should be mentioned, because even if they did not reach the fame of the great masters, they are known through many interesting paintings.

Ts'ao Chih-pai, better known under his *hao*, Yün-hsi, served during the reign of Kublai Khan as a professor in a government college, but resigned in order to devote himself entirely to Taoist studies and painting. He studied the works of Li Ch'êng and Kuo Hsi, and painted river scenes with high firs in a rather minute, but yet strong manner, as may be observed in two important pictures in the Palace Museum and others in private collections in China and Japan.¹ Some of his works recall Ni Tsan's pictures, but they are less subtle and spontaneous.

Lu Kuang, *tzŭ*, Chi-hung, *hao*, T'ien-yu, was a more progressive painter, who is said to have followed Wang Mêng, an influence which is not particularly striking in the rocky landscape in Mr. G. Harada's collection in Tokyo.² We are also told that he painted the branches of his trees, "like dancing phoenixes and startled snakes," a characterization which might just as well (or even better) apply to the elaborate plummy branches on the trees of Ts'ao Chih-pai.

Fang Ts'ung-i, *tzŭ*, Wu-yü, *hao*, Fang-hu, from Kuei-hsi (Kiangsi), was perhaps a greater genius as painter than the two above-mentioned artists. He lived as a Taoist monk in the Shang-ching temple and painted hazy mountain landscapes in the style of the two Mi, and consequently he sometimes also comes very close to Kao K'o-kung. He was still active in the Hung Wu period. The Palace Museum contains at least two beautiful pictures by him, the one representing mountains in snow-mist, the other a steep cliff-path leading up to a mountain peak that rises above the mist, both done with gleaming blotty ink.³ A minor sketch of his was in the Imperial Manchu Household collection (Pl. 125), and other examples are in private hands in Japan.

His very sketchy and suggestive style is rather well characterized by the critic who wrote:⁴

"Fang-hu was the cleverest among the students of the Immortals. (In his works) the thing which has no shape got shape, and though it had shape, it returned to the shapeless. To be able to express this in painting is the highest perfection. If he wasn't an Immortal, how could he have done such things?"

¹ Cf. *Ku Kung Shu Hua Chi*, vols. ii and vii, and *Tokyo Exh. Cat.*, 160, 161, 162.

² Cf. *Tokyo Exh. Cat.*, pl. 163.

³ Cf. *Ku Kung Shu Hua Chi*, vols. v and xiv, also *Kokka*, 348. Omura, *Bunjin Gwasen*, pls. 1, 3, 5, 6. *Tokyo Exh. Cat.*, pl. 165.

⁴ Ssü An-chi quoted in *Shu Hua P'u*, vol. 54.

(5) *Painters of Bamboo and Plum-Blossoms*

Even in the shortest discussion of painting during the Yüan period some words must be devoted to bamboo painting, because this speciality grew now into unprecedented importance. By its relatively abstract nature, its particular demands on brush-work, and its traditional symbolism (which was pointed out in an earlier chapter), it becomes like a touch-stone for the skill and the mentality of the artists. It offered them a medium or a formula of expressing their characters, or attitude of mind, which sometimes was bending, though never broken by the rule of the Mongols. And since bamboo painting, to a certain extent, became a criterion of artistic competence, it was more or less cultivated by the majority of painters and by a great number of scholarly *dilettanti*. Chao Mêng-fu was a good bamboo painter, as witnessed by a work of his in the Palace Museum¹; his wife, Kuan Tao-shêng was a highly admired specialist in this art; Kao K'o-kung's bamboo paintings were of the same superior quality as his landscapes, Ch'ien Hsüan and Wang Yüan painted bamboo and other plants and trees; Ni Tsan made also some intimate paintings of bamboo groves, as mentioned before, and besides these great artists there were many lesser painters who painted bamboos as well as landscapes. When we come to men like Li K'an, K'o Chiu-ssü, Ku An, and Wu Chên, we find that bamboo painting was the great interest of their lives, they cultivated it as the highest form of art, they studied it and practised it almost as a religion. And the great master and founder of this cult was to them Wên T'ung, *tzü*, Yü-k'o, the friend of Su Tung-p'o and the ideal of all later bamboo painters in China. The works by him or his pupils were sought for all over the country and treasured as the sacred scriptures of this cult. Li K'an who was a man of great culture, president of the Board of Civil Office and one of the four members of the Privy Council under the Emperor Jên Tsung (1312-1320), has a great deal to tell about this in his *Chu P'u* (Bamboo Essay); an interesting booklet, but too long to be quoted in extenso; some extracts may serve to give an idea about his enthusiasm and the methods he followed in the study and practice of bamboo painting.

He starts by telling about his early experiences as a bamboo painter and his disappointments in trying to find the right models. His joy was intense when he finally succeeded in acquiring four authentic pictures by Wên T'ung; to this he added rubbings after stone-engravings of Wang Wei's bamboo paintings and specimens by Li P'o, a bamboo painter of the Five Dynasties period, Mêng-hsiu, a monk painter of the Sung period, and Hsiao Yueh, another Sung painter, all rare and precious works of art. As to the historical development he makes the following observations: "The painting of ink-bamboos started in the T'ang period, but the origin of it has not been investigated. According to tradition, Li shih (Li P'o) of the Five Dynasties traced the shadows on the window and the others imitated him. Huang T'ing-chien thought that Wu Tao-tzü started to paint bamboos (but these were in colour). Until Sung there was a gradual development; then at last Wên T'ung appeared as a bright sun," etc. (see quotation on p. 37). Then he tells about his travels during ten years in search of Wên T'ung's works and how he, during his stay in Indo-China, studied and classified every variety of bamboo.

¹ Cf. *Ku Kung Shu Hua Chi*, vol. xii.

After this historical introduction he gives his rules for bamboo painting. "In order to paint bamboo it is necessary to grasp the whole thing first completely in the mind; then, seize the brush, concentrate the attention, fix your eyes on the model and write it down quickly. Move the brush, go on, follow what you see as the buzzard shoots down on the hare. One moment's hesitation may defeat your work."

"Su Tung-p'o said: 'this was the way Yü-k'o taught me, but I could not do it. If the mind knows the right way, but one is unable to do it, the inner and the outer (faculty), the mind and the hand, do not harmonize. It is the fault of not studying enough.' As old Tung-p'o understood the way, but had not enough training, how could later men have had it? They only knew that bamboo painting does not consist in making joints and piling up leaves. They have either not conceived the whole thing in their minds, or they covet the high and far away at once, trying to skip the preparatory stages, and give free play to their emotions, rubbing and smearing in every direction. They call that to take a short-cut in the brush-work. Really, one should start by painting joint after joint, leaf after leaf, concentrating the thoughts on the brush-manner, continuing the training without getting tired. The artist must thus accumulate his power (of expression) until he arrives at the point when he can rely on himself and possesses the bamboo completely in his mind. At this stage he can move the brush and follow the model he sees before him. If not preparing in this way, he will grasp the brush in vain and be gazing at the thing in front of him without being able to represent it. But if he knows the rules and principles, his work will become faultless, and he need have no fear not to succeed. He may feel bound or restrained for some time, but he will become able to go beyond the rules."

Such is Li K'an's general exposition of the conditions of bamboo painting; the rest of his essay is devoted mainly to questions of more technical nature such as composition, drawing, and colouring, the "framework", etc., but when he discusses the ink-bamboos in particular, he makes the following statement, which may be quoted in conclusion as a device for all good bamboo painting:—

"Every stroke must be replete with a living thought; every side look natural. When the whole thing is rounded off (as if standing free) and the branches and leaves are moving, then the bamboo is accomplished."

No paintings by Li K'an have been identified, but those by K'o Chiu-ssü, Ku An, and Wu Chên may to some extent make up for the loss. K'o Chiu-ssü, *tzü*, Ching-chung, *hao*, Tan-ch'iu, was a learned man and served as a censor of books in the Tien-li era (1329). He painted his bamboos mostly in combination with old trees and rockeries and reached such fame that some people considered him the greatest in his art after Wên T'ung. A picture of his in the Palace Museum representing a dry tree, a rock, and some bamboos is remarkable for its sensitiveness rather than for any great strength of brush-work.¹

Ku An, *tzü*, Ting-chih, served as a judge in Ch'uan-chou in the Yüan t'ung era (1333-1334), and painted bamboos after the style of Hsiao Hsieh-lü. He represented the strong mountain bamboos shaken by the wind, bending and swaying like huge plumes, but yet full of virile strength. A perfect example of this mode is his picture in the Palace Museum, representing a tuft of high bamboo in strong wind on a peaceful rock.² Another picture in the same museum, representing some

¹ Cf. *Ku Kung*, vol. v. A small picture on paper: 1 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. 5 in.

² Cf. *Ku Kung Shu Hua Chü*, vol. i. A large picture on paper: 5 ft. 8 in. by 3 ft. 2 in.

stalks of bamboo, an old tree and a stone, was done in co-operation by Ku An, Ni Tsan, and Chang Shên.¹

The foremost of all these bamboo painters was, however, Wu Chên, who in this field as well as in landscapes manifested his strong poetic temperament. He was also an ardent follower of the Wên T'ung cult, and is said to have edited the short treatise known as *Wên Hu-chou Chu P'ai* (Wên Hu-chou's Bamboo School), which contains biographical notes about twenty-five painters who studied under Wên T'ung or continued his manner in later years. The notes do not convey much of artistic interest, but they form another eloquent proof of the boundless admiration for the old master and his school.

Wu Chên's bamboo paintings represent mostly single branches or short sections of the plants occasionally combined with a piece of rock. They are simpler in design, more limited and fugitive than the works of the above-mentioned painters, but surpassing them by the spirited rhythm of the brush-work.² By his perfect command of the ink-tones Wu Chên succeeds, like Wên T'ung, in giving an idea of the successive layers of leaves suggesting depth and space as well as movement, as may be seen in the picture here reproduced. (Pl. 124.) His works may, indeed, be said to meet the requirements formulated by Li K'an: Every brush-stroke is replete with thought, every branch and every leaf is moving. The poetic significance of the paintings is often emphasized by inscriptions by the artist, short and terse poems with a tone of sadness or resignation: "*Branches of Bamboo: An empty cave without a heart—but when the year grows cold its virtue will be known. The sky is bleak, the sun is sinking low, but they are still the same and keep their leaves in frost and snow.*"

Related to bamboo painting, though of a more limited significance, was the painting of water-plants, narcissi, orchids, and plum-blossoms. We had already occasion to say something about it in a previous chapter and mentioned there also some painters like Chao Mêng-chien, Wang Yen-sou, and Tsou Fu-lei, who continued this special branch of painting during the early part of the Yüan dynasty. They were followed by other men who passed it on into the Ming period and who did charming things of the same type as their predecessors. It was pre-eminently an art of monks and Taoist recluses. Best known among these later painters are the two monks Pai Tzū-t'ing and P'u-ming (*hao*, Hsüeh-ch'uang), whose paintings of reeds and orchids are highly appreciated by Far Eastern collectors,³ and Wang Mien (*tzū*, Yüan-chang), whose plum-blossom paintings are counted among the finest of their class. The water-plants and orchids by Pai Tzū-t'ing and P'u-ming,

¹ *Ku Kung Shu Hua Chi*, vol. v. Size: 2 ft. 9 in. by 2 ft. 8 in., signed by the three masters. Also in *Shih Chü Pao Chi*.

² Bamboo paintings by Wu Chên are reproduced in *Nanshu Gwashu*, pl. i. *Bunjin Gwasen*, pl. 10. *Ku Kung Shu Hua Chi*, vol. ii and vii. *Tokyo Exhib. Cat.*, pl. 189.

³ A characteristic picture representing Reeds and Water-Plants, by Pai Tzū-t'ing, is reproduced in *Nanshu Gwashu*, pl. iii. A series of four fine pictures by P'u-ming, "Rockeries, Plants, and Bamboos" are in the Imperial Collection in Japan. Cf. *Tokyo Exhib. Cat.*, pls. 214-17.

respectively, are of a somewhat freer type and convey more of the fragrance of nature than the pictures by Chao Mêng-chien, though they may not equal the old master in the purity of the brush-work.

Wang Mien was not a monk; he tried several times to pass the *chin shih* degree, but did not succeed. Finally he gave up further studies, bought a small raft, and started travelling, like the painters of old, along the rivers and lakes. Then he settled at the Chiu-li mountain in Chekiang and found it necessary (though very much against his artistic ambition) to sell his pictures in order to support his family. He was honoured by Emperor Hung Wu with a military office and died 72 years old in 1407. Like Wu Chên he used to complete his paintings with poetic inscriptions, and some of these were collected in the *Chu Chai* book of poems.

In his pictures he transmits the ever-recurring message of the approaching spring with never-failing lyric sentiment and supreme skill in the handling of brush and ink.¹ They are all filled with the brightness and the fresh atmosphere of a March day in Chekiang, when the soil is steaming after a snow-fall, and the sky is transparently blue. The branches of the old plum-trees are sprinkled with budding flowers, quivering with life, sometimes sparse and scattered, sometimes swarming like snowflakes, fastened on the dark branches, which may be strong "like dragon's horns", or bending "like angling rods". Their transient beauty is fixed in his pictures by the touch of a brush which is swift and crisp, yielding and strong, as the breezes of spring.

We have no reason to doubt the tradition, according to which the artist, on an early spring morning, when new-fallen snow covered the ground and the trees, ran up on a mountain and cried out: "This is the time when I hope to be transformed into an Immortal and rise on high". The same wish might have been expressed by many of the great painters, not only of the Yüan period but also of earlier times, to whom the great phenomena of nature, such as the new-fallen snow, were conducive to the state of mind which expressed itself in creative work. They delved into them as sources of inspiration and represented them not simply as outward motives but as reflexes of a universal consciousness, suggestions of more permanent states of life and beauty. Their endeavour was to dissolve in their works, to become the essence of the motives and to make them live not only by a resemblance with the changing aspects of outward phenomena but through the pulse of spiritual experiences which every one must make again for himself, if he is to understand the full significance of the painter's work.

¹ Pictures by Wang Mien are to be found in the collections of Count Daté, Tokyo (*Select Relics*, vol. xvi), Marquis Maeda (*Tokyo Exhib. Cat.*, pl. 197), Mr. Li Chuan, Shanghai (*Kokka*, 302), and Mr. Shao Fu-ying, Peking (Pl. 126).

INDICES

(1) Index to Chinese Names and Terms

- Ai Hsüan, 艾宣, II, 45, 46
 An-i, 安懿, II, 44
 An-lo ssü, 安樂寺, I, 22
 An Lu-shan, 安祿山, I, 71, 79, 105; II, 68
 An-ting, 安定, I, 126

 Cha-ch'uan-wêng (hao of Ch'ien Hsüan), 晉川翁, II, 130
 Chan Tzû-ch'ien, 展子虔, I, 35, 39, 40
 Ch'an-yüeh (hao of Kuan-hsiu), 禪月, I, 108
 Chang Ai-êrh, 張愛兒, I, 78
 Chang Chih (Ts'ao-hsien), 張芝(草賢), I, 3
 Chang Fang-ju, 張芳汝, II, 105
 Chang Hsü, 張旭, I, 72, 75
 Chang Hsüan, 張萱, I, 98
 Chang Hua, 張華, I, 16
 Chang Huai-kuan, 張懷瓘, I, 22, 23
 Chang Nan-pên, 張南本, I, 110
 Chang Shên, 張紳, II, 148
 Chang Sêng-yu, 張僧繇, I, 14, 21 n., 22-4, 26, 53, 58, 60, 75, 125; II, 32, 48, 105, 106, 131
 Chang Shih-chieh, 張世傑, II, 118 n.
 Chang Shih-hsün, 張士遜, I, 130
 Chang Ssü-kung, 張思恭, II, 56, 57, 60
 Chang Tê-hsiang, 章得象, II, 31
 Chang Tien, 張顛, II, 18
 Chang T'ien-chüeh, 張天覺, II, 18, 38
 Chang Tsao, 張瑒, I, 64, 91, 125, 127
 Chang Tun-li, 張敦禮, II, 88
 Chang Tzû-fang, 張自芳, II, 32
 Chang Wên-ch'ien, 張文潛, II, 54
 Chang Yüan-fu, 張淵甫, II, 136
 Ch'ang Chuang Wan Li t'u, 長江萬里圖, II, 85
 Ch'ang-chou, 常州, II, 26
 Ch'ang Chung-yin, 常重引, I, 107
 Ch'ang-k'ang (tzü of Ku K'ai-chih), 長康, I, 15
 Ch'ang-sha, 長沙, II, 45
 Ch'ang shan, 常山, II, 18
 Ch'ang-shu, 常熟, II, 137
 Ch'ang Ts'an, 常桑, I, 107
 Ch'ang-yüan (tzü of Hao Ch'êng), 長源, II, 91 n.
 Chao (a calligraphist), 趙, I, 3 n.
 Chao Ch'ang, 趙昌, I, 113, 114; II, 32, 45, 46, 130, 132
 Chao Ch'ung-kuo, 趙充國, I, 5
 Chao Chung-mu, 趙仲穆, I, 84
 Chao Jung-lu (Mêng-fu), 趙榮祿, II, 135
 Chao Kan, 趙幹, I, 64
 Chao Kung-yu, 趙公祐, I, 107
 Chao Ling-jang, 趙令穰, II, 40
 Chao Mêng-chien, 趙孟堅, II, 109, 112, 14, 148, 149
 Chao Mêng-fu, 趙孟頫, I, 16 n., 82, 84; II, 53, 54, 91, 120, 121, 124 sqq., 129 sqq.

 Chao Po-chü, 趙伯駒, I, 64, 66
 Chao Po-hsiao, 趙伯驥, I, 64
 Chao Ta-nien (tzü of Chao Ling-jang), 趙大年, I, 81; II, 40, 2, 70 n., 130
 Chao Tai, 趙岱, I, 74
 Chao Tê-ch'i, 趙德齊, I, 107
 Chao Tien-ch'êng, 趙殿成, I, 88
 Chao-wên, 昭文, II, 104
 Chao Wên-ch'i, 趙溫奇, I, 107
 Chao Yeh Po, 昭夜白, I, 94
 Chao Yung, 趙雍, II, 129
 Ch'ao fêng lang (official rank), 朝奉郎, II, 49
 Ch'ao Pu-chih, 晁補之, II, 38
 Chê-tai ts'un, 折帶皺, I, 82 n.
 Chên-chiang, 鎮江, I, 92 n.
 Ch'ên Chü-chung, 陳居中, I, 119; II, 89
 Ch'ên Chung-ch'ün, 陳仲醇, II, 70
 Ch'ên Hung, 陳宏, I, 93
 Ch'ên Jo-yü, 陳若愚, I, 125
 Ch'ên Jung, 陳容, II, 106, 107
 Ch'ên K'o-chiu, 陳可久, II, 108
 Ch'ên Pi-hsü, 陳碧虛, II, 54
 Ch'êng Ch'ien, 鄭虔, I
 Ch'êng Ching-lao, 鄭靖老, II, 51
 Ch'êng Fa-shih, 鄭法士, I, 31, 39
 Ch'êng Kuang, 鄭廣, I, 92
 Ch'êng P'ing t'u, 徵聘圖, II, 89
 Ch'êng Ssü-hsiao, 鄭思肖, II, 114
 Ch'êng Chin, 程進, I, 78
 Ch'êng hsin lang (official rank), 承信郎, II, 66
 Ch'êng T'an, 程坦, II, 32
 Ch'êng T'ang, 程堂, II, 38
 Ch'êng-tu, 成都, I, 73, 103, 105, 108-111, 127, 137
 Ch'êng Yü, 程羽, I, 109
 Chi-hung (tzü of Lu Kuang), 季弘, II, 145
 Chi Jang t'u, 擊壤圖, II, 51
 Chi K'ang, 嵇康, I, 15
 Chi-ying uen, 集英殿, II, 67
 Ch'i-yun, 氣韻, I, 33, 62, II, 84, 127, 135
 Chua-hsiang, 嘉祥, I, 5, II, 113
 Chua-asing, 嘉興, I, 81
 Chua-ung, 嘉陵, I, 72; II, 18
 Chiang-ling, 江陵, I, 27
 Ch'ang Shan Hsueh Chi t'u, 江山雪霽圖, I, 82
 Chuang Shao-yü, 江少虞, I, 114
 Chiang Ts'an, 江參, II, 73
 Chiang shan, 江山, II, 121
 Chiao-wei (a lute), 焦尾, II, 21
 Ch'iao Chung, 喬仲, II, 55
 Chieh hua, 界畫, I, 62, 132
 Chieh-so ts'un, 解索皴, I, 82 n.
 Chueh-tzû Tuan, 介子園, I, 86
 Chien-an, 間菴, II, 113
 Chien Ko t'u, 劍閣圖, I, 81

- Ch'ien Fên, 錢 葵, II, 144
 Ch'ien Hsüan, 錢 選, II, 127 n., 129-132, 146
 Ch'ien-li (tzü of Chao Po-chu), 千 里, II, 67
 Ch'ien-t'ang, 錢 塘, II, 68, 108, 136
 chih hou (official rank), 祇 候, II, 83
 Chih Lan Shih t'u, 芝 蘭 室 圖, II, 138
 Chih Kung t'u, 織 貢 圖, I, 56
 Chih-ma ts'un, 芝 蔴 皴, I, 82
 Chih Yung, 智 永, I, 20 n.
 Chin-ch'ing (tzü of Wang Hsien), 晉 卿, II, 42
 Chin Chung Hsing, 晉 中 興, I, 26
 Chin-hsiang hsien, 金 鄉 縣, I, 7
 Chin-hua, 金 華, I, 108
 Chin-nu (tzü of Li Shêng), 錦 奴, I, 127
 Chun Shên Wei P'u (a class of painters), 綉 紳 韋 布, II, 42
 Chin shih, 進 士, I, 79, 127; II, 129, 149, 162
 Ch'in-shan (hao of Ma Yüan), 欽 山, II, 78
 Ch'in Shao-yu, 秦 少 游, II, 54
 Ching-chung (tzü of K'o Chiu-ssü), 敬 仲, II, 147
 Ching Hao, 荆 浩, I, 33, 64, 82, 122, 123, 126, 127; II, 11, 23, 32, 112, 143
 Ching-hsian, 敬 玄, I, 26
 Ching-ming chai, 靜 明 齋, I, 22 n.
 Ching-ming chü shih (hao of Ni Tsan), 淨 名 居士, II, 147
 Ching-shan ssü, 徑 山 寺, II, 93, 103
 Ching-tzu ssü, 淨 慈 寺, II, 103
 Chung-yin, 淨 因, II, 35
 Ching-yün ssü, 景 雲 寺, I, 72
 Ch'ing-ch'ü, hao of Ch'ien Hsuan, 清 癯, II, 130
 ch'ing la p'ai, 青 綠 派, II, 67, 88
 Ch'ing-pi ko, 清 秘 閣, II, 142
 Ch'ing-pi ko I kao, 清 秘 閣 遺 稿, II, 135
 Ch'ing-po mén, 清 波 門, II, 88
 Chiu-ch'êng, 僊 城, I, 67
 Chiu-li shan, 九 里 山, II, 149
 Ch'iu Chiao Yin Ma t'u, 秋 郊 飲 馬 圖, II, 126
 Ch'iu Wên-po, 丘 文 播, I, 61
 Ch'iu Ying, 仇 英, I, 66; II, 53, 68
 Ch'iu-yüeh (tzü of Yen Hui), 秋 月, II, 121
 chou (hanging scroll), 軸, I, and II, 127
 Chou Chi-ch'ang, 周 季 常, II, 57, 58
 Chou Fang, 周 昉, I, 98-115; II, 32, 33, 66
 Chou Pi-ta, 周 必 大, I, 57, 58
 Chou Wên-chü, 周 文 矩, I, 115, 116
 Chou Yüeh, 周 越, II, 32
 Chu Chung Hsuan, 朱 景 玄, I, 72
 Chu Ch'iu, 祝 丘, II, 32
 Chu Hsi, 朱 熹, II, 50, 62, 63
 Chu Jun, 朱 璣, II, 76
 Chu-ko Liang, 諸 葛 亮, I, 40 n.
 Chu Tê-jun, 朱 德 潤, II, 133
 Chu tso lang (official rank), 署 作 郎
 Chu Wei, 朱 鮪, I, 7
 Chu Yüan-chang, 朱 元 璋, II, 119
 Ch'ü (Hupchi), 楚, I, 91
 Chü-chi (tzü of Liu Ching), 巨 濟, II, 38
 Chü-jan, 巨 然, I, 64, 132, 134; II, 32, 73, 135, 140, 141, 143, 144
 Chü-jung, 句 容, II, 91 n.
 Ch'ü-fou, 曲 阜, I, 73
 Ch'ü Hsiang, 取 象, II, 110
 Ch'ü T'ing, 麴 庭, I, 125
 Ch'ü-yang hsien, 曲 陽 縣, I, 74
 Ch'ü Yüan, 屈 原, II, 112 n.
 chüan horizontal scroll, 卷, I, and II, 127
 Chüan-yün ts'un, 捲 雲 皴, I, 82, II, 10
 Ch'üan-chou, 泉 州, II, 147
 Ch'ün Hsiao Hsi, 春 消 息, II, 114
 Ch'ü yüan, 春 苑, I, 55
 Chun-p'ing, 君 平, II, 49
 Chung-chi (tzü of Kuan Tao-shêng), 仲 姬, II, 129
 Chung-hsien (tzü of Liu Kuan-tao), 仲 賢, II, 133
 Chung-hsin, 仲 信, II, 127
 Chung-i, 仲 翼, II, 32
 Chung-jên, 仲 仁, II, 110, 114
 Chung-kuei (tzü of Wu Chên), 仲 圭, II, 143
 Chung K'uei, 鍾 馗, I, 111; II, 123, 133
 Chung-lang (tzü of Chou Fang), 仲 朗, I, 98, 115
 Chung-li (tzü of Fan K'uan), 仲 立, I, 135
 Chung-mu (tzü of Chao Yung), 仲 穆, II, 129
 Chung Shan, 鍾 山, II, 49
 Chung Yu, 仲 由, II, 28
 Chung Yu, 鍾 繇, I, 23, 83; II, 15
 Chung Yung, 鍾 嶸, I, 32
 Ch'ung shêng ssü, 崇 聖 寺, I, 73 n.
 Fa ch'ang, 法 常, II, 93, 96
 Fan An-jên, 范 安 仁, II, 108
 Fan Ch'ang-shou, 范 長 壽, I, 45
 Fan Chên, Duke of Shu, 范 鎮, I, 112
 Fan Chêng-fu, 范 正 夫, II, 38
 Fan Ch'êng-ta, 范 成 大, I, 61
 Fan Chung-chêng (Fan K'uan), 范 中 正, I, 135
 Fan K'uan, 范 寬, I, 82, 130, 135; II, 11, 15, 19, 32, 84, 140, 141, 143
 Fan-lung, 梵 隆, II, 55
 Fan Shu-kung, 范 蜀 公, I, 59
 Fan-t'a (hao of Fan An-jên), 范 獮, II, 108
 Fan-t'ou ts'un, 樊 頭 皴, I, 82
 Fan Wang Li Fo t'u, 番 王 禮 佛 圖, II, 52
 Fan Wei-hsien, 范 惟 賢, I, 27
 Fan-yang, 范 陽, I, 117
 Fang-hu (hao of Fang Ts'ung-i), 方 壺, II, 20, 145
 Fang-jo, 方 若, II, 75
 Fang-shan, hao of Kao K'o-kung, 房 山, II, 135
 Fang Ts'ung-i, 方 從 義, II, 145
 fan-pai, 飛 白, II, 42
 fên-pên, 粉 本, I, 61
 Fêng I-siang fu, 鳳 翔 府, I, 64, 67, 72, 83
 Fêng K'ai-chih, 馮 開 之, I, 85

A HISTORY OF EARLY CHINESE PAINTING

- Fêng Kung-shu, 馮宮庶, I, 82
 Fêng-tzū (hao of Liang K'ai), 瘋子, II, 93
 Fo-chien (hao of Wu-chun), 佛鑑, II, 103
 Fu-chou, 福州, I, 108; II, 118
 Fu-ch'un, 富春, II, 137
 Fu Shêng, 伏生, I, 80
 Fu T'ien t'u, 服田圖, II, 90 n.
- Ha-ma, 蝦蟆, II, 122
 Han-chieh (tzü of Sung Tzū-fang), 漢傑, II, 38
 Han Huang, 韓滉, I, 95-7
 Han Kan, 韓幹, I, 93-5; II, 31, 32, 38, 48, 89, 91, 125, 132
 Han-kuan (Pass), 函關, II, 88
 Han-lin, 翰林, I, 70
 Han Ts'un-liang, 韓存良, I, 95
 Han Shan, 寒山, II, 84 n., 104, 123
 Han Yü, 韓愈, I, 70, 77, 104, 111
 Hao Ch'êng, 郝澄, II, 91
 Hao-liang (Anhui), 濠梁, II, 43
 Hêng-chou, 衡州, II, 110
 Hêng-hsiang, 衡湘, II, 113
 Hêng shan, 衡山, I, 137
 Ho-chung, 河中, II, 38
 Ho Ch'ung, 何充, II, 56
 Ho-chien, 河間, I, 130
 Ho Fa-shêng, 何法盛, I, 26
 Ho Jo, 賀若, I, 127
 Ho-yeh ts'un, 荷葉皺, I, 81 n.
 Ho Yüan-chu, 何源洙, II, 89 n.
 Hou Ching, 侯景, I, 89, 106
 Hou Fêng, 侯封, II, 32
 Hou Yu, 侯昱, II, 38
 Hs.-chün C'u-shih, 西金居士, II, 60
 Hsi-chou, 西州, I, 111
 Hsi-ku (tzü of Li T'ang), 晞古, II, 63
 Hsi-kuo chih, 西國志, I, 45
 Hsi-lan-wêng (hao of Ch'ien Hsüan), 習懶翁, II, 130
 Hsi Shan Fêng Yü, 溪山風雨, I, 133
 Hsi-shih, 西施, I, 76
 Hsi Yü t'u, 西域圖, I, 56, 62, 84-7
 Hsia Kuei, 夏珪, I, 64; II, 76, 77, 78
 Hsiang-fu (K'ai-fêng), 祥符, II, 46
 Hsiang Jung, 項容, I, 125
 Hsiang Mo-lin, 項墨林, I, 43, 66 n.; II, 126
 Hsiang Tzū-yen, 向子諲, I, 95
 Hsiang-yang, 襄陽, II, 25
 Hsiang Yüan-pien, 項元汴, I, 81
 Hsiao Chao, 蕭照, I, 119; II, 61, 74, 75
 Hsiao-fu-p'i ts'un, 小斧劈皴, I, 82 n.
 Hsiao Hsieh lu, 蕭協律, II, 147
 Hsiao Shih-ch'êng, 蕭世誠, I, 27
 Hsiao-t'ang shan, 孝堂山, I, 6
 Hsiao Yüeh, 蕭悅, II, 146
 Hsieh An, 謝安, I, 15
 Hsüeh Chi, 薛稷, I, 111
 Hsieh Ho, 謝赫, I, 16, 31, 32, 34, 35, 62, 125, II, 7
- Hsieh K'un, 謝鯤, I, 15
 Hsien-ch'in (Shens.), 咸秦, II, 19
 Hsien Ch'ou Tseng Ch'ang, 仙籌增慶, II, 90
 Hsien-fu (tzü of Tsung-hau), 獻甫, II, 42
 Hsien Mang t'u, 閒忙圖, II, 69
 Hsien-ying kuan, 顯應觀, II, 66
 Hsien yü t'u, 仙遊圖, I, 59, 62
 Hsien-hsi (tzü of L. Ch'ü), 咸熙, I, 12,
 Hsing-shan ssü, 興善寺, I, 72
 Hsiu-chou, 秀州, II, 112
 Hsiu-ting, 修定, I, 92
 Hsü ts'ai, 秀才, II, 56
 Hsü Ch'ien Pai Yün I Kao, 許謙白雲遺藁, II, 130 n.
 Hsü Hsi, 徐熙, I, 113
 Hsü Hung Chien Lu, 續弘簡錄, II, 140 n.
 Hsü-i, 虛一, II, 47
 Hsü Kuang-ning, 許光凝, II, 13
 Hsü Pên, 徐贇, II, 143 n.
 Hsü Shih-ch'ang, 徐世昌, II, 12, 87
 Hsü Tao-ming, 徐道寧, I, 128-131
 Hsüan jan fa, 渲染法, I, 83
 Hsüan Mien Tsa, Hsien a class of painters, 軒冕才賢, II, 38
 Hsuan tan, 渲淡, I, 64
 Hsüeh-an (hao of P'u-kuang), 雪庵, II, 104
 Hsüeh-ch'uang (hao of P'u-ming), 雪窗, II, 148
 Hsün Hsü, 荀勗, I, 35
 Hsün Hung, 鍾嶸, II, 32
 Hu Ch'ien, 胡虔, I, 117, 119
 Hu-chou, 湖州, II, 124
 Hu Chuang Ch'ing Hsia t'u, 湖莊晴夏圖, I, 81 n.
 Hu I, 胡翼, I, 126
 Hu Kuei, 胡瓌, I, 117, 118
 Hu-t'ou (hao of Ku K'ai-chih), 虎頭, I, 15
 Hua I, 畫意, II, 13
 Hua K'o S. h. I, 畫格拾遺, II, 13
 Hua-kang Chih An, 華光指迷, II, 113
 Hua-kuang shan, 華光山, II, 109, 110, 111, 113
 Hua shan, 華山, I, 132; II, 18
 Hua T'ü, 畫題, II, 13
 Hua-ting, 華亭, II, 109
 Hua Tuan, 畫斷, I, 23
 Hua-yün, 華陰, II, 91
 Hua-yuan, 華原, I, 135; II, 5
 Huai-su, 懷素, I, 108, II, 18, 31
 Huai-yang, 淮陽, II, 26
 Huan Hsüan, 桓玄, I, 15, 20
 Huan I, 桓伊, II, 131
 Huang Ch'ao, 黃巢, I, 103
 Huang Chih, 黃植, II, 1271
 Huang Ch'uan, 黃筌, I, 111, 113, II, 5, 43, 132
 Huang-hao (hao of Wang Méng), 黃鶴, II, 139
 Huang Hsü-fu, 黃休復, I, 108
 Huang Kung-wang, 黃公望, II, 135, 137, 139
 Huang Lu-chih, 黃魯直, II, 54
 Huang T'ing-chien (Shan-ku), 黃庭堅, I, 61, II, 33, 50, 54, 110, 140
 Huang Wang-tao, 黃往道, I, 9

A HISTORY OF EARLY CHINESE PAINTING

- Hui ch'ung, 惠崇, II, 103
Hui-kuo, 惠果, I, 101
Hui-li (temple), 慧力, II, 110
Hui-nung, 會農, I, 64, 105; II, 97
Hui-yuan, 惠遠, II, 53
Hung-ku-tzu (hao of Chung Hao), 洪谷子, I, 122; II, 112
Huo shan, 霍山, II, 18

I-ch'eng ssü, 一乘寺, I, 23
I-chai (hao of Chao Meng-ch'en), 彝齋, II, 112
I-feng (hao of Huang Kung-wang), 一峯, II, 137
I Mo, 遺墨, II, 144
I-shao (tzu of Wang Hsi-chih), 逸少, I, 23
I-weng (hao of Cheng Ssu-hsiao), 憶翁, II, 114
I-yang, 山陽, II, 21
I Yuan-chi, 易元吉, II, 38, 45

Jang Li Kuan Kuo Yen Lu, 積梨館過眼錄, I, 61
Jên I, 任誼, II, 38
Jên Jên-ta, 任仁發, II, 134
Jih-kuan (hao of Tzu-wên), 日觀, II, 108
Jo-shui (tzu of Wang Yuan), 若水, II, 132
Ju chiao, 儒教, II, 62
Ju-chou, 汝州, I, 72
Jun-chou, 潤州, I, 21 n., 22 n., 92

Ka (Chia) Fo-t'o, 迦佛陀, I, 38 n.
K'ai-pao, 開寶, I, 132
K'ai-yüan ssü, 開元寺, I, 64 n., 80, 81
Kan lu ssü, 甘露寺, I, 21 n., 22 n.
K'an Shu ta, 勘書圖, I, 116
Kao Ch'p'ci, 高其佩, I, 91
Kao Huai-chieh, 高懷節, I, 107
Kao Huai-pao, 高懷寶, I, 107
Kao I, 高益, I, 131
Kao Jan-ni, 高然暉, II, 137
Kao K'o-kang, 高克恭, II, 29, 120, 135, 145, 146
Kao Kung, 高穎, I, 27
Kao Shih-ch'i, 高士奇, I, 87
Kao Iao hsung, 高道興, I, 107
Kao Ts'ung-yu, 高從遇, I, 107
Kao Wên-chin, 高文進, I, 107
K'eng Chih t'u, 耕織圖, II, 90 n.
K'o Ku Yao Lun, 格古要論, II, 84 n.
K'o Chiu-ssü, 柯九思, II, 146, 147
K'ou Chueh, 口訣, II, 110
Ku An, 顧安, II, 146-8
Ku Ho-i, 顧鶴逸, II, 36
Ku K'ai-chih, 顧愷之, I, 13-23, 32, 35, 36, 42, 59, 65, 75, 76, 114
Ku K'uang, 顧況, I, 92
Ku Shan Liang t'ang, 孤山涼堂, II, 74
Ku T'ch'ien, 顧德謙, I, 114; II, 92
Ku Tsan-chih, 顧駿之, I, 32
Kuan Chung (Shensi), 關中, I, 88
Kuan Fu-jen, 管夫人, II, 129
Kuan-hsiu, 貫休, I, 107; II, 56, 122

Kuan lung (mountains), 關隴, II, 19
Kuan Mien-chün, 關冕鈞, II, 131
Kuan Pei t'u, 觀碑圖, II, 12
Kuan-tao (tzu of Chiang Ts'an), 貫道, II, 73
Kuan Tao-shêng, 管道昇, II, 127, 129, 146
Kuan T'ung, 關同, I, 62
Kuan-wên tien, 觀文殿, I, 27
Kuan Wo Shêng, 觀我生, I, 27
Kuang-chou, 廣州, II, 40, 43
Kuang-isé ssü, 光宅寺, I, 41
K'uang-lu, 匡廬, I, 123
Kuei ch'ü lai, 歸去來, II, 41, 48, 54
Kuei-hsi, 貴溪, II, 145
Kuei-lai-tzu (hao of Ch'ao Pu-chih), 歸來子, II, 38
Kuei-p'ü ts'un, 龜皮皺, I, 82 n.
Kung-chao (tzu of Li Wei), 公炤, II, 42
Kung-ch'i (tzu of Wu Yuan-yu), 公器, II, 43, 5
Kung Hsien, 龍賢, I, 29
Kung K'ai, 龍開, II, 132, 133
Kung-ming (tzu of Ch'eng T'ang), 公明, II, 38
Kung-san, 公孫, II, 18
Kuo Chung-shu, 郭忠恕, I, 64, 82, 84, 131, 3; II, 38, 70, 90
Kuo Hsi, 郭熙, I, 126, 137; II, 9 sqq., 22 sqq., 31, 39, 40, 64, 65, 89, 91 n., 132, 134, 145
Kuo Jo-hsü, 郭若虛, I, 33 n., 39, 58, 76, 113 n.
Kuo Tsung-hsi, 郭宗熙, II, 12
Kuo Yu-chih, 郭佑之, II, 125, 127

Lan-t'ien, 藍田, I, 83
Li An-chung, 李安忠, II, 47, 72
Li Ao, 李翱, II, 77
Li Chao-tao, 李昭道, I, 63, 66
Li Chên, 李真, I, 101
Li Ch'êng, 李成, I, 82, 122, 126-131, 135, 137
Li Chi, 李驥, II, 30
Li Chung-shan, 李中舍, I, 81
Li Chü, 李矩, I, 23 n.
Li Ch'ueh, 李確, II, 104
Li K'an, 李衍, II, 37, 120, 136 n., 146-8
Li Kung-lin, 李公麟, I, 60, 94; II, 29, 47-60, 91, 121, 122
Li Po, 李白, I, 69, 98; II, 97, 105, 133
Li P'o, 李頗, II, 146
Li Shan, 李山, II, 92
Li Shêng, 李昇, I, 111, 127; II, 140
Li Ssu-chên, 李嗣真, I, 33, 35, 40
Li Ssu-hsün, 李思訓, I, 40, 63, 65, 78, 81, 82, 133; II, 42, 67
Li Ta-kuan, 李大觀, II, 30
Li T'ang, 李唐, II, 61, 63, 65, 70, 71, 74-6, 84, 140
Li Ti, 李迪, II, 47, 70, 2
Li Tsao, 李早, II, 91
Li Tsun-shih, 李尊師, I, 125
Li Ts'ung-hsün, 李從訓, II, 89
Li Tuan, 李端, II, 72
Li Tuan-shu, 李端叔, II, 54
Li Wei, 李瑋, II, 42

A HISTORY OF EARLY CHINESE PAINTING

- Li Wei-kung, 李衛公, I, 22 n
 Li Yü (Hou-chu), 李煜, I, 106
 Liang Chang-chu, 梁章鉅, I, 87
 Liang K'ai, 梁楷, II, 93, 95, 7, 104
 Liao-ch'êng, 聊城, I, 27
Lieh Nü chuan, 烈女傳, I, 20
 lin (freehand copy), 臨, I, 34
 Lin-chi, 臨濟, I, 64; II, 103
 Lin-lao shan, 霖落山, I, 73
Lin Liu Tu Tso t'u, 臨流獨坐圖, I, 136
 Lin-lü, 林慮, II, 18, 19
 Lin Ting-kuei, 林庭珪, II, 57
 Ling-fêng ssü, 靈峯寺, I, 73
 Ling-kuang, 靈光, I, 5, 6
 Ling-yang, 陵陽, II, 37
 Ling-yen ko, 凌烟閣, I, 55
 Liu An-mên (Liu Sung nien), 劉暗門, II, 88
 Liu Ch'ang, 劉常, II, 46
 Liu Ching, 劉涇, II, 38
 Liu Chü-chu, 劉巨濟, II, 54
 Liu-ju (hao of T'ang Yin), 六如, II, 106
 Liu Kuan-tao, 劉貫道, II, 133
 Liu Kung-ch'üan, 柳公權, II, 15
 Liu Lao-chih, 劉牢之, I, 26
 Liu Pei, 劉備, I, 40
 Liu Su, 劉餘, I, 59
 Liu Sung-nien, 劉松年, II, 88, 89, 131, 140
Liu T'ang Chü (Ch'in t'u), 柳塘聚禽圖, I, 112
 Liu Tao-shih, 劉道士, II, 32
 Liu Tsung-yüan, 柳宗元, I, 104; II, 15
 Liu-t'ung ssü, 六通寺, II, 103
 Liu Tzu-hou, 柳子厚, II, 15
 Liu Yao, 劉曜, I, 26
 Lo (a calligraphist), 羅, I, 3 n
Lo Chao, 落照, I, 67
 Lo Chên-yü, 羅振玉, I, 85, 86, 99, II, 64
 Lo-ch'uang, 羅牕, II, 103
Lo Shên, 洛神, I, 20
 Lo-tsun, 樂尊, I, 28
 Lou Kuan, 樓觀, II, 87
 Lu Hsin-chung, 陸信忠, II, 58-60, 121
 Lu Hsin-yuan, 陸心源, I, 61
 Lu Kuang, 陸廣, II, 145
 Lu Lêng-ch'ien, 盧楞伽, II, 121
 Lu-shan, 廬山, II, 18
 Lu Sui, 陸綬, I, 32
 Lu T'an-wei, 陸探微, I, 13, 14, 20, 22, 23, 27, 32, 35, 36, 42, 65, 75, 76, 125
Lu Tung P'êng Chia, 盧仝烹茶, II, 89, 131
 Lu Chi, 呂紀, II, 44, 129
 Lü Chi-fu, 呂吉甫, II, 55
 Luan-ch'ai ts'un, 亂柴皴, I, 81 n
 Luan-ma ts'un, 亂麻皴, I, 81 n
 Lung-hsing ssü, 龍興寺, I, 72
 Lung-mên, 龍門, II, 108
 Lung-mien (tzu of Li Kung-lin), 龍眠, II, 47-60
 Lung-yen, 龍巖, II, 19
 Ma Fên (Pên), 馬贇, II, 32, 45, 77
 Ma Ho-chih, 馬和之, II, 68, 70
 Ma Hsing-tsu, 馬興祖, II, 77
 Ma Ku, 麻姑, I, 98
 Ma K'uei, 馬逵, II, 77, 78
 Ma Kung-hsien, 馬公顯, II, 77
 Ma Lin, 馬麟, II, 78, 83, 84
 Ma-nao, 瑪瑙, II, 109
 Ma Shih-jung, 馬世榮, II, 77
 Ma-ya ts'un, 馬芽皴, I, 82 n
 Ma Yüan, 馬遠, I, 64
 Mao I, 毛益, II, 72, 131
Mao Shih, 毛詩, II, 68
 Mao Sung, 毛松, II, 72
 Mei-hua Tao-jên (hao of Wu Chên), 梅花道人, II, 143
 Mei Yao-chên, 梅堯臣, I, 117
 Mêng Ch'ang, 孟昶, I, 111
 Mêng-hsü, 夢休, II, 146
 Mêng T'ien, 蒙恬, I, 2
 Mi Fci (Lu), 米市, I, 16 n, 21 n, 63, 73, 80, 81, 84, 87, 95, 99, 112 n, 122, 127, 128, 134, 137; II, 3, 25 sqq., 39, 40, 41, 47, 50, 127, 133, 135, 139
 Mi Fu, 米穀, II, 25
Mi Hsiang-yang Chih Lin, 米襄陽志林, II, 25
 Mi-lao an, 米老庵, I, 22 n
 Mi-lo, 汨羅, II, 110
 Mi Yu-jên, 米友仁, II, 29, 33, 34
 Mi Yüan-hui, 米元暉, II, 132
 Miao-k'ai, 妙楷, I, 27
Min Hua Chi, 閩畫記, II, 107
 Min shan, 岷山, II, 18
 Mung-fa (tzu of Shih-tung), 明發, II, 42
Mung Huang Shih Ma t'u, 明皇試馬圖, I, 94
 Mo-ch'i (tzu of Wang Wei), 摩詰, I, 80, 87; II, 18
 mo pên (copy by tracing), 摸本, I, 34
 Mu-ch'i (hao of Fa-ch'ang), 牧溪, II, 93, 95-7, 99, 101, 102
 Nan-kung (hao of Mi Fci), 南宮, II, 25
 Ni li pa ting ts'un, 泥裏拔釘皴, II, 73
 Ni Tsan, 倪瓚, I, 127; II, 135, 136, 142, 145, 146, 148
 Ni-yü (hao of Ni Tsan), 倪迂, II, 142
 Niu-mao ts'un, 牛毛皴, I, 82 n
 O-mei shan, 峨嵋山, II, 18
 Ou-yang Hsiu, 歐陽修, I, 63, 117 n, II, 3
 pai miao, 白描, II, 51, 53, 56, 131, 133
 Pai Tzu-t'ing, 柏子庭, II, 148
 P'an Shun, 潘純, II, 139
 P'ang Yuan-chi, 龐元濟, II, 139, 142
 Pao-chü, 寶璣, I, 27
 Pao Cün chan, 寶晉齋, II, 27
 Pao Ting, 包鼎, II, 38
 Pao-ying ssü, 寶應寺, I, 94
 Pao-yüeh, 寶月, I, 128

A HISTORY OF EARLY CHINESE PAINTING

- Pei-ching-tê ssü, 北景德寺, II, 108
 P'ei Chü, 裴矩, I, 27
 P'ei K'ai, 裴楷, I, 15
 P'ei K'uan, 裴寬, II, 126
 P'ei Min, 裴旻, I, 72
 P'ei Ti, 裴迪, I, 84
 P'ei Tu, 裴度, I, 24
 P'eng-lai, 蓬萊, I, 98
 Pi Chên t'u, 筆陣圖, I, 23
 Pi Hung, 畢宏, I, 91
 P'i-ma ts'un, 披麻皴, I, 81 n.
 Pien-liang, 汴梁, I, 103, 104, 114; II, 61, 117
 Pien Luan, 邊鸞, I, 97 n.; II, 32
 Pin Chia (Ka) Lo, 賓迦羅, I, 43
 Ping-yang, 平陽, I, 10 n., 24; II, 92
 Po-hsing, 博興, I, 74
 Po Lo-t'ien (Po Chü-i), 白樂天, II, 18
 Po-shih (tsü of Li Kung-lin), 伯時, II, 53, 54
 Po-yang, 波陽, I, 78
 P'o-mo (sling-ink), 潑墨, I, 83; II, 95, 107
 P'o-wang ts'un, 破網皴, I, 82 n.
 Pu-chih Chien Nan, 補之艱難, II, 110
 Pu-chih (tsü of Yang Wu-chiu), 補之, II, 110
 Pu-tai, 布袋, II, 104
 Pu-k'ung Chin-kang, 不空金剛, I, 101
 P'u-kuang, 溥光, II, 104, 105
 P'u-mên ssü, 普門寺, I, 72, 80
 P'u-ming, 普明, II, 148
 P'u-t'ien, 莆田, II, 106

 San-t'ai huen, 三臺縣, I, 73 n.
 San-wai Yeh-jên (hao of Cheng Ssü-hsiao), 三外野人, II, 114
 Shan Chuang Kao I, 山莊高逸, II, 11
 Shan Chuang t'u, 山莊圖, II, 52
 Shan-fan, 山簪, II, 113
 Shan-ku Tao-jên (hao of Huang T'ing-chien), 山谷道人, II, 110
 Shan Shui Chia Fa, 山水家法, II, 84 n.
 Shan-yang, 山陽, I, 26
 Shao Fu-ying, 邵福盈, I, 134; II, 141, 149 n.
 Shao-hsing, 紹興, I, 108
 Shao-lin ssü, 少林寺, I, 38 n.
 Shên-chêng, 神鉦, I, 123
 Shên Chieh-chou, 沈芥周, II, 30 n.
 Shên Chou, 沈周, II, 143
 Shên-hsiu, 神秀, I, 64 n.
 Shên Kua, 沈括, I, 112 n.
 shên t'ung, 神童, I, 33
 Shêng Mou, 盛懋, II, 143
 Shêng Wên-su, 盛文肅, I, 128
 Shêng-yin ssü, 聖因寺, I, 108
 Shêng-yü (tsü of Kung K'ai), 聖予, II, 132
 Shih Ch'üan-shu, 史全叔, I, 77
 Shih K'o, 石恪, I, 110; II, 95
 Shih Lin Pi Shu Lu, 石林避暑錄, II, 27
 Shih-t'ao, 石礐, II, 138
 Shih-tê, 拾得, II, 84 n., 104
 Shih-tsun, 士遵, II, 42
 Shih-tung, 士陳, II, 42
 Shih-tzü ling, 獅子嶺, II, 143
 Shih-yen, 士衍, II, 42
 Shu-ch'êng, 舒城, II, 47
 Shu-hsien (tsü of Kuo Chung-shu), 恕先, I, 131
 Shu-ming (tsü of Wang Meng), 叔明, II, 139
 Shu-ta (tsü of Tung Yuan), 叔達, I, 132
 Shui Li Shu, 水利書, II, 134
 Shun-chü (tsü of Ch'ien Hsüan), 舜舉, II, 130
 Shun-fu (tsü of Kuo Hsi), 淳夫, II, 10
 So-nan (tsü of Cheng Ssü-hsiao), 所南, II, 114
 So-wêng (hao of Ch'ên Jung), 所翁, II, 106
 Ssü-chou (in Anhui), 泗州, II, 38
 Ssü-ma Kuang, 司馬光, II, 3, 4
 Su-clou, 蘇州, I, 137, II, 137
 Su Han-ch'ên, 蘇漢臣, II, 66
 Su Kuo, 蘇過, II, 33
 Su Shih, 蘇軾, I, 64, 72, 76, 77, 81, 83, 87, 94 n., 112 n., 116, II, 3, 4, 25, 26 sqq., 34-7, 39, 50, 56, 68, 146, 147
 Su Tzu-yü, 蘇子由, II, 54
 Sun Chün-tsê, 孫君澤, II, 34
 Sun-fêng (hao of Ch'ien Hsüan), 巽峰, II, 130
 Sun Shang-tzu, 孫尚子, I, 39, 40
 Sun T'ai-ku, 孫太古, II, 31
 Sun Wei (Yü), 孫位遇, I, 111 II, 35
 Sung Ch'i, 宋祁, II, 3
 Sung Fa-chih, 宋法智, I, 45
 Sung-hsüeh Tao-jên (hao of Chao Meng-fu), 松雪道人, II, 124
 Sung Kao Sêng Chuan, 宋高僧傳, I, 108 n.
 Sung shan, 嵩山, II, 18
 Sung Tsun-kuei, 宋遵貴, I, 47
 Sung Tzu-fang, 宋子房, II, 33

 Ta-ch'ih (hao of Huang Kung-wang), 大癡, II, 137
 ta fu-p'i ts'un, 大斧劈皴, I, 82
 Ta-li fu, 大理府, I, 73
 Ta-shih ko, 大士閣, I, 73 n.
 Ta-t'ang, 大同, II, 136
 Tai chiao (official rank), 待詔, II, 6, 8, 83, 84, 88, 89
 Tai K'uei, 戴逵, I, 32
 Tai Sung, 戴嵩, I, 95-7; II, 31, 32, 65
 T'ai-an, 泰安, II, 140
 T'ai-chou, 台州, I, 92
 T'ai-hang, 太行, I, 123; II, 19, 61, 74
 T'ai-hua, 太華, I, 13
 T'ai Shan, 泰山, I, 137, II, 18, 19
 Tan-ch'iu (hao of K'o Chiu ssü), 丹丘, II, 147
 Tan Fêng Yu Lu t'u, 丹楓呦鹿圖, I, 97
 Tan-hsuan (hao of Wang Yuan), 譚軒, II, 132
 Tan-yang, 丹陽, II, 54
 T'an-wo ts'un, 潭渦皴, I, 82 n.
 T'ang Chih-tung, 唐志東, II, 27
 T'ang Hsi-ya, 唐希雅, II, 32
 T'ang Ti, 唐棣, II, 134
 T'ang Yin, 唐寅, II, 106

A HISTORY OF EARLY CHINESE PAINTING

- Tao-fên, 道 氛, I, 125
T'ao-ch'an (tzü of Yang Pu-chuh), 逃 禪, II, 112
Tao Ch'ien, 陶 潛, II, 48
Tê-yü ch'ai, 德 隅 齋, I, 126 n
Tê-ch'ên (tzü of Yüeh Shih-lsüan), 德 臣, II, 46
Te-mou (tzü of Yang Pang-chi), 德 懋, II, 91
Téng-chou, 登 州, I, 132
Téng Wên-yüan, 鄧 文 原, II, 136 n.
Téng Ch'ang-yü, 滕 昌 佑, I, 111, 114; II, 32
Ti Pao-hsien, 狄 葆 賢, I, 000; II, 141, 144
Tiao Kuang-yün, 刁 光 胤, I, 111
Tieh-kuai, 鐵 拐, II, 122
Tieh t'a, 鐵 塔, I, 22 n
T'ien-chu, 天 竺, II, 104
T'ien-huang ssü, 天 皇 寺, I, 22
T'ien t'ai, 天 台, I, 47, 101, 125 n, II, 18
T'ien t'an, 天 壇, II, 18
T'ien Wang Sung Tzu, 天 王 送 子, I, 75
T'ien-yü (hao of Lu Kuang), 天 游, II, 145
Ting-chih (tzü of Ku An), 定 之, II, 147
T'ing chin t'u, 聽 琴 圖, II, 89
Tou Chien-té, 竇 建 德, I, 27
Tsa Shao, 雜 說, II, 6 n.
Ts'ai Chung, 蔡 京, I, 99; II, 4-6, 9 n
Ts'ai T'ien-ch'ü, 蔡 天 啟, II, 54
Ts'ai Yung, 蔡 邕, I, 16, 20; II, 21
Tsang Hsi, 臧 喜, I, 26
Tsao Chün, 早 春, II, 11
Ts'ao Chih, 曹 植, I, 2
Ts'ao Chih-pai, 曹 知 白, II, 147
Ts'ao Chung-ta, 曹 仲 達, I, 38, 39
Ts'ao Pa, 曹 霸, I, 93; II, 32, 91, 125, 137
Ts'ao Pu-hsing, 曹 不 興, I, 13, 28
Ts'ê-mün (tzü of Chu Tê-lü), 澤 民, II, 133
Tsou Fu-lei, 鄒 復 雷, II, 114, 118
Tsu-wéng, 卒 翁, II, 103
Tsui Po, 崔 白, II, 135
Ts'u-yen (hao of Kung A a), 翠 巖, II, 132
Ts'ui Yüan, 崔 瑗, I, 3
ts'ün pi fa, 皴 筆 法, I, 83
Tsung-han (Prince), 宗 漢, II, 42
Tsung-lun, 總 論, II, 110
Tu Fu, 杜 甫, I, 69, 71, 77, 96, 111; II, 48
Tu Hsün-hao, 杜 荀 鶴, II, 31
Tu K'ai, 杜 楷, I, 137
Tu Pei fu, 讀 碑 圖, I, 129
Tu Tu (tzü Po-tu), 杜 虔 伯 虔, I, 3
Tuan Fang, 端 方, I, 22, 42, 87, 116, 131, II, 131
Tuan I, 段 義, II, 49
Tun-huang, 燉 煌, I, 28, 29, 31, 38, 45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 54
Tung Ch'ü-chang, 董 其 昌, I, 20, 63, 64, 81, 82, 83, 85, 7, 116, 127; II, 34, 40, 68, 76
Tung Cho, 董 卓, I, 26
Tung-lu, 東 魯, I, 74
Tung Pei-yüan (tzü of Tung Yüan), 董 北 源, I, 132
Tung Po-jén, 董 伯 仁, I, 40
Tung-p'io (hao of Su Shih), 東 坡, q.v.
Tung-p'io Yüeh Shui t'u, 東 坡 閱 水 圖, II, 68
Tung T'ien Ch'ing Lu, 洞 天 清 錄, II, 30
Tung t'ing, 洞 庭, I, 34, 101
Tung Yü, 董 羽, I, 24 n., 59, 60, 97; II, 105, 106
Tung Yüan, 董 源, I, 82, 132, 133; II, 32, 38, 73-5, 84, 135, 138-140
Tung-yüeh miao, 東 嶽 廟, I, 74
Tzu-ang (tzü of Chao Méng-fu), 子 昂, II, 124, 127-9
Tzu-chan (tzü of Su Shih), 子 瞻, II, 36
Tzu-chao (tzü of Shêng Mou), 子 昭, II, 143
Tzu-chiu (tzü of Huang Kung-wang), 子 久, II, 137
Tzu-chuan (tzü of Shih K'o), 子 專, I, 110
Tzu-hsi (tzü of Ts'ui Po), 子 西, II, 43
Tzu-hua (tzü of T'ang Ti), 子 華, II, 134
Tzu-ku (tzü of Chao Méng-chien), 子 固, II, 112
Tzu-ming (tzü of Jên Jên-fa), 子 明, II, 134
Tzu-wén, 子 溫, II, 109
Tzu-shêng ssü, 資 聖 寺, I, 94
Tzu-ên ssü, 慈 恩 寺, I, 41, 54, 80
Tzu-an, 次 安, II, 75
Tzu-p'ing, 次 平, II, 75
Tzu-yü, 次 于, II, 75
Wan Ho Sung Hing t'u, 萬 壑 松 風 圖, II, 88
Wan Hsia t'u, 晚 霞 圖, II, 37
Wang, An shih, 王 安 石, II, 3, 5, 19
Wang Chi-han, 王 齊 翰, I, 115, 116
Wang Chih-téng, 王 稹 登, I, 65
Wang Chin-ch'ing (Wang Hsien), 王 晉 卿, II, 53
Wang Chung-chih, 王 仲 至, II, 54
Wang Ch'uan t'u, 輞 川 圖, I, 79, 82-4, 132
Wang Ch'ung, 王 寵, I, 6
Wang Fang-p'ing, 王 方 平, I, 99
Wang Hêng-yung, 王 衡 永, I, 131; II, 138, 144
Wang Hsi-chih, 王 羲 之, I, 3, 81; II, 15, 22, 26, 98, 125, 133
Wang Hsia, 王 洽, I, 91; II, 84, 95
Wang Hsiao, 王 曉, I, 129
Wang Hsien, 王 詵, II, 42
Wang Hsien-chih, 王 獻 之, I, 3, 21
Wang Hsüan-ts'ê, 王 玄 策, I, 3, 21, 45
Wang Méng, 王 蒙, I, 134; II, 139, 145
Wang Mien, 王 冕, II, 148, 149
Wang Mo, 王 默, I, 91-2, 125 n
Wang Shih-ch'ung, 王 世 充, I, 27
Wang Shu-min, 王 叔 敏, I, 81
Wang Shu-ming, 王 叔 明, I, 165; II, 135, 139
Wang Tzu-yü, 王 子 猷, II, 111
Wang Wei, 王 維, I, 32, 33, 64, 70, 71, 79-83, 93, 121, 122, 125, 128, 132; II, [14], 19, 35 n., 37, 42, 48, 52, 67, 125, 128, 146
Wang Wên-chih, 王 文 治, II, 98
Wang-wu, 王 屋, II, 18
Wang Yen, 王 衍, I, 111
Wang Yen-shou, 王 延 壽, I, 5

A HISTORY OF EARLY CHINESE PAINTING

- Wang Yen-sou, 王巖叟, II, 114, 148
 Wang Yu, 王友, II, 32
 Wang Yu-ch'eng, 王右丞, I, 125
 Wang Yüan, 王淵, II, 137, 146
 Wang Yün, 王雲, I, 95
Wei Ch'iao t'u, 渭橋圖, I, 62
 Wei-ch'ih I-seng, 尉遲乙僧, I, 23, 41, 5
 Wei-ch'ih Po-chih-na, 尉遲跋質那, I, 40, 41
 Wei Fu-jen, 魏夫人, I, 23
 Wei Hsieh, 衛協, I, 13, 20, 32
 Wei Hsien, 魏賢, II, 38
 Wei-hsien, 淮縣, I, 133
 Wei-min, 魏敏, I, 78
 Wei-mo-ch'i (Vimalakirti), 維摩詰, I, 137
 Wei Ssu-li, 韋嗣立, I, 72
 Wei Yen, 韋偃, I, 95, 96; II, 32
 Wên-chi, 文姬, I, 118, 119; II, 92
Wên Hu-chou Chu P'ai, 文湖州竹派, II, 148
 Wên-hua tien, 文華殿, I, 56, 98; II, 29
Wên Hui t'u, 文會圖, II, 9 n.
 Wên-p'u-t'ao (hao of Tzû-wên), 溫葡萄, II, 109
 Wên T'ien-hsiang, 文天祥, II, 118 n, 119, 128
 Wên T'ung (Yu-k'o), 文同, II, 36-9, 104, 144, 146-8
 Wu Chên, 吳鎮, II, 135, 140, 142-9
 Wu-chiu (tzü of Ch'ao Pu-chih), 无咎, II, 38
 Wu-chou, 梧州, I
 Wu-chun, 無準, II, 93, 103
 Wu-hsi, 無錫, I, 15
 Wu-hsia, 巫峽, II, 18
 Wu-hsing, 吳興, I, 22; II, 130, 139, 142
 Wu-i, 武夷, II, 18
 Wu jui, 五瑞, II, 66
 Wu Jung, 吳融, II, 139
 Wu lang tz'u, 武梁祠, I, 6, 11
 Wu-lin, 武林, I, 82
 Wu-shêng miao, 五聖廟, II, 66
 Wu Shuo, 吳說, I, 95
 Wu-tang, 武當, II, 18
 Wu Tao-hsüan (yüan), 吳道玄 (元), I, 21 n, 22 n, 34, 36, 39, 42-4, 53, 64, 66, 70 sqq, 111; II, 32, 38, 48, 70, 97, 98, 121, 123, 146
 Wu-yü (tzü of Fang Ts'ung-i), 無隅, II, 145
 Wu Yüan-yü, 吳元瑜, II, 43, 5
 Wu Yüeh, 吳越, I, 27
 Yang-chai ti, 陽翟, I, 71
 Yang Ch'i-tan, 楊契丹, I, 40
 Yang-chou, 楊州, I, 27
 Yang Hui-chih, 楊惠之, I, 77, II, 10
 Yang Kao-yu, 楊高郵, I, 82
 Yang-kuan (Pass), 陽關, II, 48
 Yang Pang-chi, 楊邦基, II, 91
 Yang Shên, 楊慎, I, 23
 Yang T'ieh-yai, 楊鐵崖, II, 115
 Yang T'ing-kuang, 楊庭光
 Yang Tzû-hua, 楊子華, I, 61
 Yang Wu-chiu, 楊无咎, II, 110, 112
 158
 Yang Yin-pei, 楊蔭北, I, 126
 Yao Tsui, 姚最, I, 22
 Yeh, 葉, II, 106
 Yen Chên-ch'ing, 顏真卿, I, 77 n
 Yen Chih-t'ui, 顏之推, I, 27
 Yen-ching, 燕京, II, 2, 7, 21, 90-1, 117
 Yen-ching (tzü of Kao K'o-kung), 彥敬, II, 135
 Yen-chou, 嚴州, II, 112
 Yen Hui, 顏輝, II, 121
 Yen Li-pên, 閻立本, I, 23, 24, 41, 42, 45, 53-9, 62, 63; II, 88
 Yen Li-tê, 閻立德, I, 54, 55
 Yen-kuang-shih, 延光室, II, 143 n
 Yen-tang, 鴈蕩, II, 18
 Yen Pi, 閻毗, I, 54
 Yen-tzû, 顏子, I, 74
 Yen Tz'ü-p'ing, 閻次平, II, 75, 76
 Yen Wên-kuei, 燕文貴, I, 137
 Yin Chung-k'an, 殷仲堪, I, 15
 Yin-t'o-lo, 因陀羅, II, 104
Ying Chên t'u, 應真圖, II, 52
 Ying-ch'iu, 營邱, I, 127; II, 15, 19
 Ying-yü-chien, 瑩玉潤, II, 93, 103
 Yo (Yueh) Shih-hsuan, 樂士宣, II, 46
 Yu-ch'eng (Wang Wei), 右丞, I, 88
Yu Yang Tsa Tsu, 酉陽雜俎, I, 93 n
 Yüan-ming (tzü of T'ao Ch'ien), 陶淵明, II, 48
 Yü-chang, 豫章, I, 108
 Yu Ch., 虞集, I, 110
 Yu Chen-wu, 庾肩吾, I, 32
 Yü Chin, 于謹, I, 27
 Yü-k'o (tzü of Wên T'ung), 與可, II, 39, 7, 14, 147
 Yu Shih-nan, 虞世南, II, 15 n
 Yu-t'an (hao of Ch'ien Hsuan), 玉潭, II, 130
 Yü-tien ts'un, 雨點皴, I, 82 n
 Yü-ts'ê kang, 玉册宮, II, 37
 Yü-wên Hua-chi, 字文化吉, I, 27
 Yü-yü (tzü of Hsia Kuei), 禹玉, II, 84
 Yüan-chang (tzü of Mi Fei and of Wang Mien), 元章, II, 25, 148
 Yüan-chên (tzü of Ni Tsan), 元鎮, II, 144
 Yüan Ch'ien, 袁蒨, I, 32
 Yüan-hui (tzü of P'u-kuang), 元暉, II, 104
 Yüan Ming, 員名, I, 78
 Yüan-tsun (tzü of Li Chi), 元駿, II, 30
 Yüan-t'ung, 圓通, II, 54
 Yüeh-shan, 藥山, II, 77
 Yüeh-shan (hao of Jên Jên-fa), 月山, II, 134
 Yüeh Shih-hsuan, 樂士宣, II, 46
Yüeh Shu T'ieh, 閱書帖, II, 27
 Yün-hsi (hao of Ts'ao Chih-pai), 雲西, II, 14
Yün-kai T'ien Wang t'u, 雲蓋天王圖, I, 42, 3
 Yün-kang, 雲岡, I, 26, 29
 Yün-lin (hao of Ni Tsan), 雲林, II, 142
 Yün-men, 雲門, I, 64 n.
 Yün-t'ang ssü, 雲堂寺, I, 108
 Yün-t'ou ts'un, 雲頭皴, I, 82 n.

A HISTORY OF EARLY CHINESE PAINTING

(2) Index to Foreign Names and Terms

- Abe, Mr. F., I, 80, 129, 137 n.; II, 96, 98, 127, 133, 142, 144
 Akabosni Collection, I, 115; II, 41, 97, 99
 Akumoto, Viscount, II, 76, 85, 96, 134, 137
 Alexéeff, Prof. S., I, 88 n.
 Arhats, Lohans, I, 107, 108; II, 55-9, 97, 121
 Asabuki Collection, II, 103
 Asano, Marquis, I, 110; II, 9, 82, 86, 104, 134
 Astana, I, 99, 100
 Ayscough, Mrs. F., I, 71 n., 93 n.

 Bachhofer, Dr. L., I, 29, 48 n., 50, 51
 Bahr, Mr. A. W., I, 96
 Baisan-ri, I, 24
 Bamboo grove, I, 59
 Bamboos, II, 35, 36, 146
 Bercenson, Mr. B., I, 42 n., 44
 Berlin Museum, I, 96; II, 60
 Binyon, Laurence, I, 42 n., 47, 49, 52, 100; II, 82 n.
 Bodhidharma, I, 105; II, 104
 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, I, 8, 11, 47, 60, 61, 98, 116, 118, 128, 131, 133, 135; II, 41, 57, 59, 65-7, 72, 73, 75, 76, 81, 83, 85, 86, 91, 121, 129, 144
 British Museum, I, 16, 47, 84, 115, 116; II, 128
 Bruce, Mr. J. P., I, 62 n.
 Buddhism, I, 6, 13, 14, 21, 23; II, 47, 48, 51, 54, 55, 58, 60, 66, 68, 84, 94, 97
 Bukkokuji, I, 110
 Bushell, I, 38 n.
 Bynner, Witter, I, 79 n.

 Canton, I, 105
 Ch'an *see* Zen
 Chavannes, L., I, 6, 67 n.
 Chionin, II, 122
 Chishakuin, I, 88
 Cho Densu, II, 122
 Chonen, II, 60 n.
 Confucius, I, 5, 6, 22, 32, 73, 104, 127; II, 2, 3, 4, 23, 28, 62, 63, 118, 134
 Couvreur, II, 21

 Daitokuji, I, 73; II, 57, 78, 96, 99, 101, 121, 123
 Dan, Baron T., I, 115; II, 105
 Date, Count, II, 99, 149 n.
 Deering, Mr. C. L., I, 22
 Delhi, I, 52, 100
 Detroit, Institute of Fine Arts, II, 130
 Dhūta sect, II, 104
 Dhyana, *see* Zen
 Doucet Collection, II, 126
 del Drago, Mr. G., II, 127

 Eliot, Sir Charles, I, 14 n., 69 n., 104 n., 105 n.
 Eliséeff, Prof. S., I, 88 n.

 Emery, Mrs. J. J., I, 97 n.
 Eumorfopoulos Collection, I, 38, 47

 Fähræus, Mr. K., I, 86
 Fenollosa, II, 13 n.
 Ferghana, I, 69
 Ferguson, Dr. John C., I, 16, 22 n., 40 n., 65 n., 66 n., 84, 87 n., 97 n., 116 n.; II, 90 n., 91 n., 92, 126 n.
 Fischer, Prof. Otto, I, 5 n., 7, 8, 9 n.
 Fletcher, W. J. B., I, 79 n.
 Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass., I, 47, 49
 Freer Gallery, Washington, I, 16, 20, 23, 42, 43, 65, 73, 75, 123, 131 n., 134, 137 n.; II, 12, 30, 46, 50, 53, 55, 56, 82, 87, 89, 92, 114, 126, 131, 133
 Fuji, Mr., I, 131, 134
 Fujita, I, 110
 Fukuji, Prof., I, 17, 20
 Fukuoka, Viscount, II, 71

 Giles, Prof. Herbert A., I, 30 n., 33, 38 n., 63 n., 76 n., 77, 79 n., 88 n., 97 n., 112 n., 117 n.; II, 13 n., 45 n., 129 n.
 Golubew, M. W., I, 66
 Gowen and Hall, II, 3 n.
 Grantham, Mrs. L., I, 88 n.
 Gualino Collection, I, 29
 Guimet, Musée, I, 51, 52; II, 83
 Gukenri, I, 24, 25
 Gupta, I, 39

 Hakateyama, Mr., I, 115
 Hara, Mr. S., II, 40, 60
 Harada, Prof., I, 10 n.; II, 145
 Hashimoto, Mr., II, 142
 Hayasaki, Mr. B., I, 137; II, 40, 70 n., 90, 99
 Hefter, Mr. J., I, 88 n.
 Herder, A. von, I, 88 n.
 Hirth, I, 38, 87 n.
 Hompoji, II, 130
 Honolulu, II, 45
 Horne, Sir William van, II, 91
 Hōryūji, I, 28, 46
 Hoshakuji, II, 121

 Indara, Indra, II, 104
 India, Indian, I, 13, 14, 39, 101, 108, 109; II, 58, 121
 Indochina, II, 146
 Inouye, Marquis, I, 115; II, 9, 109, 123
 Isogai, Mr. S., II, 97
 Issan, II, 121
 Iwasaki, Baron, II, 78, 80, 83, 86, 96, 100, 104, 134

 Jatakas, I, 14, 29, 30

A HISTORY OF EARLY CHINESE PAINTING

- Kabodha, Kafoto, I, 38 n.
 Kano, II, 122
 Kaō Ryōzen, II, 122
 Karakhod, a, I, 41, 99, 100
 Karakorum, II, 119
 Kawanishi, II, 129
 Kawasaki Collection, II, 72, 104, 123, 129, 132, 134
 Kenninji, II, 122
 Khotan, I, 40; II, 48, 50
 Kobo Daishi, I, 101
 Kōdaiji, I, 109
 Kokuri, I, 25
 Konchu-in, II, 8, 137
 Korea, I, 10, 24, 26, 69
 Kosai, I, 25
 Kosanji, II, 60
 Kucha, I, 29, 30, 43, 44
 Kummel, Prof. O., II, 60 n., 93 n., 104 n.
 Kūndatkwān, II, 60 n., 105, 137
 Kuonji, II, 8
 Kuroda, Marquis, II, 9, 79, 82, 86, 99, 130, 132
 Kushinagara, I, 48

 Laufer, Dr. B., I, 65 n., 73, 83, 129 n.
 Le Coq, A. von, I, 29, 41
 Lehman Collection, I, 87
 Lodge, Mr. J. E., II, 92, 107 n
 Lohan, *see* Arhats
 Loo, Mr. C. T., I, 47
 Louvre, I, 54

 Macgowan, I, 55; II, 2, 118 n
 Maeda, Marquis, II, 149 n.
 Magoshi, Mr. K., II, 78, 80, 99, 132
 Manchu Household Collection, I, 40 n., 65, 75; II, 50 n., 97, 113, 138 n., 143
 Manichæism, Muhamedanism, I, 69
 March, Mr. B., II, 130 n.
 Marco Polo, II, 61, 62, 117, 119, 120
 Masao, Mr. C., II, 87
 Masuda, Baron, II, 71, 96, 101
 Matsudaira, Count, II, 96, 97, 101 3
 Matsukata, Prince, II, 126
 Matsura, Count, II, 101
 Mencius, II, 119
 Metropolitan Museum, New York, I, 137 n.; II, 37, 73, 126
 Meyer, Mrs. Agnes E., II, 50 n., 53, 55, 92
 Mitsui, Baron, II, 82
 Mokuan, II, 96
 Mongols, I, 118; II, 1, 113, 124, 126, 132
 Monte Corvino, Giovanni da, II, 119
 Moore, Mrs. W. H., II, 99
 Motonobu, II, 122
 Müller, Dr. H., I, 42
 Munthe, General J. W., I, 84
 Murakami, Mr., II, 134
 Murayama Collection, II, 97, 103, 104, 108, 121, 130
 Myoshinji, II, 104

 Naito, Prof. K., I, 105 n., 110
 Naito, Dr. T., I, 17 n., 20
 Namba, Mr. T., II, 133
 Nanking, I, 21, 22, 25, 30, 31, 82, 103, 105, 106
 Nanzenji, II, 77
 Nara, I, 46, 97
 Nezu Collection, II, 47, 66, 83, 96, 101, 102, 109
 Nishi Hongwanji, II, 129
 Nukariya, K., II, 94 n., 95 n.

 O'Brien, Miss A., II, 44
 Ogawa, Prof. M., I, 85
 Okada, Mr., II, 89
 Okakura, I, 33, 118; II, 72
 Omura, I, 5 n., 45, 110 n.; II, 122, 145 n.
 Oppenheim, Mr. H., II, 71
 Otani, Count, I, 100

 Pear Garden, I, 70
 Peking, National Museum, I, 134, 137 n.; II, 12, 29, 41, 46, 50, 51, 55, 64, 66 n., 69, 70 n., 85, 86, 88, 113, 127, 131, 133, 143
 Peking, Palace Museum, I, 86, 95 n., 119, 123, 126, 128, 134, 135, 136 n.; II, 11, 29, 37, 39, 43, 66, 69, 71, 75, 80, 81, 83, 85, 89, 90, 126 9, 131-4, 136, 142-5, 147
 Pelliot, Prof. P., I, 28, 29, 33, 38, 39, 47, 49, 51, 78 n.; II, 14 n., 88 n., 90, 104 n.
 Petrucci, I, 33, 67 n.; II, 13 n.
 Philadelphia, I, 47, 66
 Pian Carpini, Giovanni da, II, 119

 Ross, Dr. Denman W., I, 56
 Rubruck, William de, II, 119
 Ryōzen Kaō, II, 122
 Ryūkoin, II, 82, 121

 Sakaï, Count, II, 81 n., 96, 97, 99, 107, 130, 137
 Seiryōji, II, 60 n.
 Sekino, Prof. T., I, 6
 Shinchido, I, 24, 25
 Shingon, I, 100, 101, 104
 Shohoji, I, 110
 Shokokuji, II, 59, 132
 Shomyōji, I, 110 n.
 Shōsoin, I, 19, 100
 Shunjo, I, 109, 120
 Soami, II, 103, 137
 Spriser, Dr. W., II, 89 n., 127 n.
 Stein, Sir Aurel, I, 42 n., 51, 99
 Stockholm National Museum, II, 68, 88, 142
 Stoclet Collection, I, 60; II, 91, 126
 Strehlneck, Mr. E. A., I, 86, 91 n
 Suenobu, II, 84 n., 96

 Takahashi, Baron, I, 109

A HISTORY OF EARLY CHINESE PAINTING

- Takenouchi, Mr. F., II, 131 n
 Taki, Prof. S., I, 32 n., 33, 82 n.; II, 6, 30
 Tamamushi Shrine, I, 28
 Tanaka, Count, II, 79
 Taoism, I, 7, 13, 14, 58, 59, 79, 99, 104, 112;
 II, 3, 4, 33, 47, 48, 54, 58, 66, 84, 94, 97, 121,
 123, 137, 143, 145, 148
 Tartars, II, 126
 Tenryūji, II, 82, 109
 Tibetans, I, 103
 Tocharians, I, 29, 43, 69
 Tōfukūji, I, 74; II, 123
 Tōji, I, 100
 Tokaian, II, 121
 Tokugawa, Count, II, 78
 Tokugawa, Marquis, II, 101, 129
 Tokugawa, Prince, II, 99, 103
 Tokyo, Imperial Art Academy, II, 58, 137
 Tokyo, Imperial Museum, I, 109; II, 148
 Tomita, Mr. K., I, 56-8, 61, 62, 119
 Tosa Mitsunobu, II, 72
 Tsuruga, Count, II, 71
 Turfan, I, 41, 99
 Uigurs, I, 51, 69, 103
 Urumchi, I, 51
 Visser, Prof. M. W. de, II, 56
 Waley, Mr. A., I, 5 n., 13 n., 16, 20, 33, 38, 51 n.,
 60 n., 79 n., 81, 87 n., 88 n., 115 n.; II, 14 n.,
 37 n., 55, 93 n., 94, 104 n
 Warner, Mr. Langdon, I, 49
 Wrinkles, I, 81, 133
 Yamamoto, Mr. T., I, 75, 129 n.; II, 89 n., 139
 Yamazaki, II, 121
 Yasunobu, II, 72
 Yoboku, II, 72
 Yokoyama, Mr., II, 107
 Yotoku-in, II, 134
 Zen, I, 64, 103 n., 104, 105, 106, 108, 110; II,
 5, 7, 63

ILLUSTRATIONS

- LIST OF PLATES IN VOLUME ONE

- Photo Peiping*
- Engraved designs from Hsiao T'ang Shun, Shanting (Before A.D. 126). After Chavannes, *Mission*.
- Engraved designs from the Sacrificial Hall of Chia Wei Chin-hung, Suantung After O. Fothergill.
- The Interior of the Great Canal*
- Manus. Fib. one half Painted brick slab. Boston Museum
- Men in conversation Painted brick slab. Boston M.
- A Man with a Bow and other Figures. Painted brick slab. Boston Museum
- You or Ladies. Painted brick slab. Boston Museum
- Ku Kuo-shih. Lady Pan refuses to ride with the Emperor British Mus.
- Ku Kuo-shih. A Landscape with a Hunter British Museum
- Ku Kuo-shih. A Man seated at a Lady's Bed. British Mu.
- Ku Kuo-shih. A Husband with his family British Mu.
- Ku Kuo-shih. A Lady listening to her Husband's Reproaches British Mu.
- Ku Kuo-shih. The Instructions were before two Ladies. British Museum
- After Chiang Seng-ku. Brushing the Euphrates. Freer Gallery, W.
- A Doctor's Family. - - - painting V VI cent. Shing-chia. Korea After Chuen Kwok-tsu
- Winged Dragon. - - - painting V VI cent. Guk-sin-k. Korea Photo O. Siel
- Tortoise and Snake. - - - painting V VI cent. Guk-sin-k. Korea Photo O. Siel
- Early Wall-painting at Tun Huang. Cave I, end of V cent. A. Perdieu, Les Grottes de Touen Houan
- V cent. A Cave 100 N., beginning of VI cent. After Pelliot, Les Grottes de Touen Houan
- Fresco-paintings from Kara-khoto VII-VIII cent. Berlin Museum
- Vasuvraam after Wei-ch'i-tseung Early copy. Palace Museum. Peiping. 2. Late copy. Freer Gallery, Washington.
- Hsiang-yü-gura and Bodhisattvas Wall-painting Early VII cent. Hsünyü Nara. Photo Japan
- Sakyaniim and Bodhisattvas. Wall-painting Early VII cent. Hsünyü Nara. Photo Japan
- Details of the Wall-paintings in the Kondo of Hsünyü Nara. Photo Japan
- Hakke Mandala. - - - painting. Cave no. 101. VII cent. Pen Museum
- Wall-painting at Tun Huang. Cave 70. Early VII cent. From Pelliot, Les Grottes de Touen Huang
- Wall-painting at Tun Huang. Cave 90. Early V VI cent. From Pelliot, Les Grottes de Touen Huang
- Wall-painting at Tun Huang. Cave 199. A. Early IX cent. From Pe 101, Les Grottes de Touen Huang
- Wa-painting from Tun Huang. VIII cent. Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Ma
- Wa-painting from Tun Huang. VIII cent. Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Ma
- Paintings from Tun Huang. 1 Kusyidpa, dated 729. 2 Kuanyin, X cent. Musée Guimet Paris
- Buddha with Planetary Lii notices. Dated 897 From Tun Huang British Museum
- Paintings from Tun Huang. 1 The Search. British Museum. 2 An Official and his Square
- Paintings from Tun Huang. 3 The Simultaneous Births British Museum
- Yen Li-p'en. Parts of the scroll of the Thirteen Emperors Boston M.
- Yen Li-p'en, Emperor Chien Hsuan Ti. Boston Museum
- Yen Li-p'en, Emperor Chien Wen Ti. Boston Museum
- After Chiang Seng-ku and Yen Li-p'en. The Drunken Taoist St. A. Société, Brussels
- After Chiang Seng-ku and Yen Li-p'en. The Drunken Taoist second half Photo M.
- Ladies of Yen Li-p'en's pictures 1 The Grute Healers. National Museum.
- 2 Collating the Books Boston Museum
- Copy after Yen Li-p'en's "Collating the Books" Central museum, Boston Museum
- Copy after Yen Li-p'en's "Collating the Books" servants and Grooms. Ba Lou Museum
- Copy after Yen Li-p'en's "Collating the Books" Four heads enlarged Boston Museum
- Copy after Li Shih-tsin. Landscape scroll. (Washington, Freer Gallery)
- Li Chao-fu attributed to a Summer Picture. Boston Museum
- Li Chao-fu attributed to a Mountain landscape with Travellers. National Museum, Peiping
- Rabbins after drawn up Wu Tsau-zu. Kan-yin. Lin-soo Shan. Photo Vol. Atlas, Stockholm
- Kubling after a design by Wu Tsau-zu Tortoise and Snake. Cheng-tu. Sichuan Photo
- Rabbins after designs of Wu Tsau-zu 1 Confucius and Yen-tzu. Pei-lin Photo
- Flk-yu Devil. Chu-Yang. H.T.

4. After Wu Tao-zu. Manjari and Samsadharma. Tofukuji, Kyoto. After the K. Photo Japan
5. Copy after Wu Tao-zu. The Birth and Presentation of Buddha. Mr. I Yamamoto. Photo Japan
6. Nine relief of Kan'ei executed in 107 after design by Wu Tao-zu. Free Gallery, Hashimura
7. Engraving on stone after Wang Wei's Wang-ch'uan scroll. Photo by the artist
8. Copy after Wang Wei's scroll. Clearing after Snow etc. Mr. Lo Chen-yü, Tientsin
9. Copy after Wang Wei's scroll. Clearing after Snow etc. Mr. Lo Chen-yü, Tientsin
10. Copy after Wang Wei's scroll. Clearing after Snow etc. Professor M. Ogawa, Kyoto. Photo Japan
11. Wang Wei attributed to. Mountains in Snow. Palace Museum, Peking
12. Wang Wei, attributed to. Snow by the River. Ex-Imperial Household Collection. Photo by the artist
13. After Wang Wei. Waterfall. Chishakuin, Kyoto. Photo Japan
14. Copy after Han Kan. Swans with T'ien-ch'uan Horses. Free Gallery, Washington
15. Han Kan (?). One of Emperor Ming Huang's Horses. Prince Kuo. Photo by the artist
16. Han Kan (?). The Head of the Horse. Prince Kuo's collection. Peking
17. Hsi Sheng. Water-lilies blooming. National Museum, Peking
18. Unknown Painter. Deer in a Wood in Autumn. Palace Museum, Peking
19. Copy after Chang Hsiao. Women preparing Silk. Boston Museum
20. Copy after Chang Hsiao. Women preparing Silk. second part. Boston Museum
21. Copy after Chou Fang. The Fairy Ma-ku. National Museum, Peking
22. Copy after Chou Fang. Playing the Ch'in in a Garden. Mr. Lo Chen-yü, Tientsin
23. Painting from a tomb at Kung-shih. Early VIII cent. Museum, Dili. Photo by the artist
24. Part of a Screen. Early VIII cent. Shoson, Nara. Photo Imperial Household Museum, Tokyo
25. Li Chen. Portrait of the Priest Amoghavajra. Toji, Kyoto. Photo by the artist
26. Li Chen. Portrait of the Priest Kai Kuo. Toji, Kyoto. Photo by the artist
27. Kuan-hsiu (?). One of the Arhats. Imperial Museum, Tokyo
28. Kuan-hsiu (?). One of the Arhats. Imperial Museum, Tokyo
29. Shih Kuo (?). Two Patriarchs with their Monks in Harmony. Shoson, Kyoto. Photo by the artist
30. Huang Ch'uan. Cocks and Rose-Mallows. Part of a scroll. Photo by the artist
31. Huang Ch'uan. Swans and Ducks on the Water. Part of a scroll. Photo by the artist
32. Hsu Hsi, attributed to. Lotus and White Heron. Chionin, Kyoto. Photo Japan
33. Chao Ch'ang. White Jessamine. Marquis Inoue Collection, Tokyo. Photo by the artist
34. Chou Wen-ch'uan. A Child among Rose-Mallows. Boston Museum
35. After Chou Wen-ch'uan. Ladies and Children on a Terrace. British Museum
36. Wang Ch'uan. Lady and Children playing. Boston Museum
37. Hu Kuei, attributed to. Barbarian Horseman. Boston Museum
38. Part of scroll illustrating Lao Wen-ch'uan's life in Mongolia. Boston Museum
39. A Mongolian Camp. Part of the Wei-ch'uan scroll. Boston Museum
40. Horses and Cavalry. Part of the Wei-ch'uan scroll. Boston Museum
41. Wen-ch'uan's return to her home in China. Boston Museum
42. Hsu Hsi, attributed to. Mountain landscape. Free Gallery, Washington
43. Hsu Hsi, attributed to. Mountain landscape. After Ka Kuo's Snow Halls. Boston Museum
44. Li Ch'ang. "Reading by the Stone-table." Mr. F. Abe, Sumitomo. Photo by the artist
45. Hsu Tao-ting. Mountain Peaks in Snow. Palace Museum, Peking. After Ku Kuo
46. Hsu Tao-ting. Mountain landscape. Mr. Wang Hsing-yuan, Peking
47. Hsu Tao-ting (?). A Man in a Pavilion watching the Tide. Boston Museum
48. Li Ch'uan. Part of the scroll "A Clear Day in the Valley." Boston Museum
49. Li Ch'uan. Part of the scroll "A Clear Day in the Valley." Boston Museum
50. Li Ch'uan. Part of the scroll "A Clear Day in the Valley." Boston Museum
51. Ch'ien Hsiao. Mountains and Water. Mr. Shao Fung, Peking
52. Fan K'uan. Old Trees and Snow-covered Summits. Boston Museum
53. Fan K'uan. A Temple in the Gorge of Snow-covered Mountains. Palace Museum, Peking. After Ku Kuo's Snow Halls
54. Fan K'uan. Snow by the River. Boston Museum

In the Annals of the Chin dynasty, Chin Shu Pen Chuan, an interesting account is given of Ku K'ai-chih's characteristics as a painter which ~~may~~ ^{here} be quoted in the form it appears in Shu Hua Pen (vol. 45): "Ku K'ai-chih, whose Pen (Style) was Ch'ang K'ang and ~~whose~~ hao (name de plume) Hu To (Tiger Head) came from Wu Hsi (Kiangsu). He was a learned and skilled man, particularly skilful in handling colour; his paintings were wonderful. Hsieh Ku¹⁾ admired him greatly; he thought that there never had been anybody equal to him in the world.

Whenever K'ai-chih painted human figures, he did not, but in the eyes for several years. Someone asked him about the reason for this, and he answered: 'The limbs may be beautiful or ugly; they are really of little importance in comparison with those mysterious parts (the eyes) through which the spirit may be expressed in portraits.'

Once K'ai-chih painted a portrait of a neighbour's girl on a wall and stuck a sharp thorn through her heart. The girl felt ill and got pains in the heart; but when he took away the thorn, the girl recovered.

K'ai-chih admired Ch'ang K'ang's four word poems and made pictures to them. He remarked: 'It is easy to paint 'The hand playing on the five strings', but difficult to represent, 'The eyes following the returning green.'

He was unsurpassed at his time ~~as~~ ^{as a} portrait painter. Once he made a portrait of P'ei K'ai²⁾ and added three hairs on his chin, which made the beholder feel very strongly the sagacious character of the man. He also painted a portrait of Hsieh Ku³⁾ among rocks and trees and said: 'This man must be placed in a scenery of hills and valleys.' - When ~~he~~ ^{he} wanted to paint a portrait of Yin Chung-k'an⁴⁾, who had sick eyes, the man objected, but K'ai-chih said: 'Your most characteristic features are, indeed, the eyes; their pupils seem like bright spots ~~and~~ rubbed over with thin white. I will make them like the moon covered by light clouds. Wouldn't that be beautiful?'

¹⁾ Hsi Ku (320-385) a famous general and art-lover.

²⁾ Ch'ang K'ang (223-262), one of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove.

³⁾ P'ei K'ai (3d century), a high official noted for his sagacity and learning.

⁴⁾ Hsieh Ku, a scholar and musician of K'ai's generation.

⁵⁾ Yin Chung-k'an, a famous scholar and high military official who for some time employed Ku as a secretary. His eyes had grown sick through his long weeping over his ailing father.

K'ai-chih once made a case into which he put some of his pictures and wrote on it: 'To be delivered to Huan Hsüan.' Hsüan opened the case secretly, took out the pictures, ~~took out the pictures~~, closed it again and returned it to ~~the~~ the painter, pretending that it had not been opened. On receiving it, K'ai-chih simply remarked: 'What wonderful pictures which have changed into living beings and escaped like men & who have become spirits!' He showed no anger.

It was commonly said that K'ai-chih was a true / old genius, exceeding in wit, in painting and in foolishness."

Hsueh Ho, the painter and art-critic who lived ~~about~~ a century after Ku K'ai-chih summarised his opinion about the painter in the following words: "His style was fine and subtle, his brush made no mistakes but his strokes were not equal to his ideas. His fame surpassed his real merit." And most of the later critics take a similar position in praising his creative spirit and extraordinary imaginative faculty rather than the strength of his brushwork.

In the Discussions of Paintings (Hsun Hua), which pass under Ku K'ai-chih's name, the writer points out that "of all kinds of painting, figure painting is the most difficult; then comes landscape painting and thirdly animal painting (dogs and horses). Terraces and buildings are ~~or~~ definite things difficult to accomplish - not easy to handle in a thoughtless way." He also criticises an earlier picture (by Tsai Yung of the 2d cent.) known as the Small Heroines and makes the following remarks about the proper manner of representing women, which are interesting because they have an application on several of the works which ~~are associated with~~ ^{are associated with} his ~~name~~ ^{name}: "In order to represent women in a beautiful way with their costumes and coiffures they should be shown looking up and down (moving freely) in every place and be combined into a picture of grace and charm. ~~But in the picture of the Small Heroines~~ ^{their proud and humble or noble and plebeian appearances may seem easy to represent but the difficulty ~~is much greater than~~ surpasses by far that ~~representation~~ of the present picture}" (i.e. the Small Heroines which were too masculine in appearance).

~~was subtle and abstruse, the mysterious depths of his nature were unfathomable. His skill left behind him a monument of ink and brush, but his spirit soared high above the skies. The beauty of a man's soul can not be expressed in his paintings." (Jf., p. 65.)~~

Several of Ku K'ai-chih's paintings are known through their titles, enumerated in the Li Tai Ming Hua Chi and other books; quite a number of them are Buddhist, but there are also Taoist subjects, portraits, representations of animals and illustrations to poems and legends. Among them, there is "The Lady of the Lo River", a picture known through an early copy in the Freer Gallery in Washington, (and a later copy recently acquired by the British Museum), but not the more important scroll, now in the British Museum, which represents "The Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies". By the seals on the picture and other records it becomes evident, however, that this picture existed in the Sung dynasty, and possibly already about the middle of the T'ang period.*

~~At the end of the 11th century the picture belonged to a man called Liu Yu-fang (see, p. 58); it came into the famous library collection of Emperor Hui Tsung (1101-1125), a fact which is recorded by nearly twenty imperial seals of this period. Besides these there are however one or two seals (particularly a "Hung wen" seal) which may be from the latter part of the T'ang dynasty. Unlike so many other~~

* The historical vicissitudes of this precious picture are ~~completely~~ related in great detail by Walley, *op. cit.* pp. 58-59. Dr. Fergusson points out that there were two copies of Ku K'ai-chih's Admonitions in the Chienlung collection (which however does not appear on the printed catalogue); one would be identical with the picture in Brit. Mus., the other different, provided with seals of Mi Fei and Chao Meng-fu (not to be seen on the picture in Brit. Mus.) but now lost. Dr. Fergusson *op. cit.* p. 53.

according to Dr. J.C. Fergusson (op.cit. p. 53) who bases his remarks on an unpublished catalogue of the paintings belonging to the Manchu emperors, there would have been two copies of Ku H'ai-chih's "Admonitions" in J'ien Lung's collection; the other, which is supposed to have been in the possession of Mi Fei and Jiao Feng-fu (whose seals are not to be found on the Brit. Mus. picture), is however to day entirely unknown.

The picture consists of a series of illustrations to a text by the poet Shan Ju (ca. 10-80), which are arranged in nine groups (originally ten?) evenly distributed over the not too long scroll, each one accompanied by a few lines of writing. Full translations of Shan Ju's text are offered both by Waley and by Fergusson; it may suffice here to indicate the scenes with the shortest possible reference to the texts.

1. Lady Feng, who rescues Emperor Yuan of Han from the assault of a bear when his oxen loose from its ^{keepers} ~~suburbs~~.
2. Lady Yen, who refuses to ride in the state litter when her official master in order 'not to distract her from it from affliction'.
3. A hunter kneeling at the foot of a mountain to be drawn, ready to shoot one of the birds or animals which play on the mountain: 'In nature there is nothing which can be brought down'...
4. A group of ladies at their toilet: 'And the women know how to adorn their persons, but they know how to embellish their souls'.
5. "If the words that you utter are good, all men for a thousand leagues around will respond; but if your heart departs from this principle, even your bed-fellow will distract you". Illustrated at the side of a curtained bed in which a lady in the bed, who looks rather defiant.
6. This scene shows a man in the midst of a large family; the text reads: "Let your hearts be like the locust and your race shall multiply".
7. 'No one can endlessly please; affection can not be forever done;

if it be so, it will end one day in disgust." The picture shows a lady listening to her husband's reproaches.

8. "Fulfill your duties calmly and respectfully"; the good advice is illustrated by a lady who kneels in a humble attitude.

9. The last scene shows a lady writing on a tablet which she holds in front of her, while two other ladies are standing near by exchanging some remarks. The text indicates that this is the instructress charged with the duty of admonishing the ladies of the harem.

By this division into a number of distinct episodes or scenes and the interjection of texts which, at one place, even intrude on the pictures, the unity of the whole scroll is to some extent impaired; it is to be enjoyed in parts rather than as a whole. The design of the various scenes are however admirably balanced, the pictures are highly expressive, the execution in many parts very delicate and refined, though perhaps lacking in strength. A closer study reveals that the picture has passed through many vicissitudes and been extensively retouched. There are many new patches, especially at the bottom of the scroll, and also all along the lower edge. According to the estimate of a Japanese specialist (Prof. Su^{wa}) about 40% of the whole picture is made up by later repairs and restorations, whereas the rest gives the impression of a very early work.

The silk on which this picture is executed is exceedingly fine, pale yellowish green with some darker stripes and patches; the colouring is subdued, the most prominent tones are the crimson red in the borders of some of the garments, and the deep black of the hair of the ladies, but there are also some pale amberine, orange and grey tones. The colours are used in a purely decorative sense, filled in between the carefully drawn thin outlines.

The first scene, representing the lady who enters the

furious bear, is one of the least interesting, as the figures have been much restored. More important is the second one: Emperor Jia'ang (62-73.3.) is seated in a litter in the company of a young lady who seems to be patting a bird. ^[Pl. 8.] He is turning with a startled expression to birds in another lady who is walking just behind: evidently, the virtuous one who refuses to follow the invitation of the emperor. A thin net is extended on bamboo poles over the broad litter, which is carried by eight men, of whom five are fully visible. They form an excellent contrast to the graceful ladies: strongly built, with long and firm strides, they exert themselves to the utmost in carrying the litter with its heavy load. These sturdy porters are represented with a perfect reflection of their physical exertion, and with a tinge of humour which is not a characteristic of Ku K'ai-chih.

The third scene, which represents the hunter with his bow kneeling at the foot of a mountain, aiming at the birds, reveals rather the limitation of Ku K'ai-chih's art. ^[Pl. 9.] The small scale of the mountain in proportion to the figure makes a primitive impression, but each part, taken separately, is perfectly rendered. The artist's intention may have been to suggest a certain distance between the mountain and the hunter, which does not, however, become clear. The figure is quite convincing in form and movement, but the mountain is hardly more than a symbol or a signpost for the animals and birds that are hunted on the cliffs. Landscape painting in the proper sense of the word did not as yet exist; it was altogether a later development; it did not become of equal importance with figure painting until three or four centuries later.

In the fourth, or toilet scene, ^[which is most frequently reproduced] the painter reveals again his remarkable faculty of observation and his admirable draughtsmanship. The group consists of a tall girl combing the hair of her mistress, who is sitting on a mat, is very graceful and expressive, but the rather obtrusive toilet boxes in the front look as if they had been added later.

As in all these scenes, there is no actual stage or horizontal plane on which the figures appear, but nevertheless a suggestion of depth/^{is} conveyed by the placing of the figures (slightly diagonally) and by the indication of a definite foreground by means of the boxes.

Still more remarkable in this respect is the bed scene which follows next. ^[P. 10.] Here the artist has actually created a room in which the figures appear. The ~~large~~ ^{canopied} bed ~~with roof and curtains~~ is drawn in reversed perspective and stretches obliquely towards the back. The emperor is seated at the side of the bed, turning with ~~him~~ a distracting look towards the lady who sits in the bed and meets his look with a very proud expression. The characterisation of the figures is so subtle, and yet so obvious, that the meaning of the scene at once becomes clear. The setting is a little master piece of archaic composition.

[P. 11]

The sixth scene represents another ethical ideal of the Chinese: the big family which results when "you let your hearts be as the locust". The artist has here suggested a third dimension by arranging the figures in a triangular group, the apex of which is pointed towards the background. They appear actually behind each other, and this is emphasised by their gradually diminishing scale, though the artist has not quite succeeded in keeping them all on the same horizontal level. On the right in the foreground sits the paterfamilias (an emperor?); at his side is a princess who seems to be calling one of the children, but the scene is occupied at the opposite side by two other ladies, one with a mirror in her hand. Furthest away two older women are seated ~~at the~~ ^{on either} sides of a man; they are all holding scrolls; evidently a scene of teaching and reading.

The seventh scene is composed of only two figures, but their attitudes are very expressive, and convey a clear idea of the painful truth, alluded to in the text, that the husband's affection cannot be

eternally for one alone'. [Pl. 12.]

The eighth scene is a little lady, kneeling respectfully, but the figure is particularly beautiful from a decorative point of view; the flowing scarfs are painted with a sensitive hand; the costume, as usual, has been restored in parts, but the face and all are preserved. [Pl. 13.]

The same qualities of refinement and decorative beauty are prominent in the last scene, where the instructress stands sitting on a tablet with a brush, while the two accompanying ladies examine her admonitions with more gestures. [Pl. 13.]

The slender ladies in trailing garments are a echo, in to the female figures in the above-mentioned painted brick slabs in Boston; they are representatives of the same ideal of beauty, grace and refinement, although executed in a finer medium, it lacks spontaneity and intensity, in rather a calligraphic fashion. This may be partly due to the fact that the picture is not an original work, but a translation in which the style has been somewhat modified or smoothed. The closest parallel to the landscape may be found in a painting, now a useful instrument (a pipa), in the Museo-In collection, which ~~is considered a piece~~ *is considered a piece* ~~from the beginning of the VIIIth century~~ *from* the beginning of the VIIIth century, although rather archaic in style, and it may also be added that the lo-bench in the Bed Scene and the utensils in the Toilet Scene ~~are very similar to~~ *are very similar to* ~~the Han period~~ *the Han period* ~~parallel in some of the most exquisite early objects in the Museo-In collection~~ *parallel in some of the most exquisite early objects in the Museo-In collection*. The picture contains a whole lot of elements which prevent us from seeing it as a part of the Six Dynasties period (or shortly before), though it must be admitted that ~~on the other hand~~ *There is* ~~is not enough comparative material to prove this in a positive sense~~ *is not enough comparative material to prove this in a positive sense*. It may however be safely said that stylistically, it holds a position between the Han paintings and those which can be ascribed to the T'ang period.

The present condition of the picture, which, as pointed out above, is far from intact, complicates the problem of its actual date. The original picture has in many parts been impaired by later restorations; it has been extensively patched, lines have been retraced and the most prominent colours, such as the red and the black, may have been ~~refreshed~~^{up}. Consequently it becomes rather a matter of subjective opinion whether this original picture was a work of Ku K'ai-chih or an early copy. The latter opinion is ~~the most common~~^{common} among European critics, most of whom consider it a copy after Ku K'ai-chih executed in the early part of the T'ang period. Divergent opinions, however, have been expressed by Chinese and Japanese connoisseurs; the greatest of all Chinese critics, Tung Ch'i-chang (1555-1626) accepted it as an original by the artist, though much restored, and according to prominent Japanese specialists, such as Professor Mukai and Naito, it is a picture executed in the Six Dynasties period, even if it is not an original by Ku K'ai-chih. ^{Prof.} Naito finds his argument in favour of an early date particularly in an analysis of the written texts, which evidently have been added on to the picture some time after its execution. He says in conclusion: "Even if the scroll is no original by Ku K'ai-chih, it must have been painted in the Six Dynasties period not very long after the death of Ku".^x

The other picture by Ku K'ai-chih which has come down to posterity through an early copy (now in the Freer Gallery in Washington) is the Lo Shen scroll, which illustrates a ~~poem~~^{ballad} by the poet Ts'ao Chih ^{about}

x) Cf. T. Naito, The History of Chinese Painting, II. The Bukkyo Shijutsu, nr. 7. 1926. The following passage from Dr. Naito's article may be noted: "If one studies carefully the writing on Ku K'ai-chih's scroll, it is possible to observe a close resemblance with the 'Chien tzu wen' by Chih Yung, the famous calligrapher of the Ch'en dynasty (557-589). This resemblance is much closer than with any writings of the Sung period, be they by Kao Tsung or others. (Some Chinese critics have claimed that the writing might be by Kao Tsung). From this may be drawn the conclusion that the painting was executed not later than the time of Chih Yung, i.e. shortly before the beginning of the T'ang period".

Imperial

222 A.D.). It is a highly fantastic fairy-tale about the Nymph of the Lo River, and Ku K'ai-chih's illustrations no doubt did justice to the imaginative element of the text, which may be read in Waley's English translation. It seems superfluous, however, to dwell here on this painting in detail, because it is an obvious copy, rendered in a style which hardly can have more than a remote resemblance to Ku K'ai-chih's own manner.^{*)} The composition, ^{very} ~~as a whole~~ ^{because} is however interesting, it is continuous, not divided up into a number of separate scenes as in the Admonitions, the connecting element being a landscape ^{scenery} ~~scenery~~ of winding waters, small hills and large trees. These are all represented in a quite primitive fashion, as decorative silhouettes, ^{yet here is a realization} ~~as decorative silhouettes~~ ^{a spatial unity which is not to be found in the picture of the Admonitions} ~~because the impression of a conventionalized design~~. The difference between this so-called Lo River scroll and the Admonitions is considerable if we regard the latter as a fairly accurate representation of technical execution and expressiveness to the Admonitions. This may be due to the copying artist who evidently was further removed from Ku K'ai-chih's own time and style of painting. ~~It has the advantage of being decoratively unified, but the figures have not the intrinsic expressiveness, and the figures are not so refined.~~

The third picture by Ku K'ai-chih which is known not only through historical records but also through later copies or reproductions is the so-called Lieh Nu chuan, Record of Eminent Women. This again consisted of a series of illustrations ^{to some stories} ~~which~~ ^{which} (of the first century B.C.) which already been illustrated twice before Ku K'ai-chih, i.e. in the 2nd century A.D. by Ts'ai Yung and in the 18th century by Lei K'ieh (see above). The former rendering was called "the Small Heroines", the latter "the Large Heroines", ^{they are said to have} ~~and they~~ served as models for Ku's illustrations. The ~~stories were~~ ^{stories were} edited with the illustrations in wood block printing in the 11th century and later again in 1845. Through this last

^{*)} Reproduced for inst. in Chinese Paintings in American Collections pl. 1-2.

edition Xu's illustrations have become known, though in style ^{thoroughly} ~~modified~~ modified by double translations. (A copy of the same picture existed, according to Dr. Fergusson, in the late Emperor's collection in China.)

Beside the above mentioned three pictures a number of others are named in the various historical chronicles but as we know nothing about them beyond the titles it may be superfluous to quote them here. It is of greater interest to us to note what Chang Yen-yuan has to say about Ku Kai-chih's brush-work: "Ku K'ai-chih's brush-stroke was light and strong, connecting and continuous, moving as in a circle, exceedingly swift, accomplishing the design with freedom and ease. It was like a gust of wind or a flash of lightning. The ideas existed before he took up the brush; when the picture was finished, it contained them all, and it was filled with the breath of the spirit."¹⁾ Chang Yen-yuan who lived more than four hundred years after Ku belonged to a generation which always idealised the masters of antiquity at the cost of the contemporary painters and to reiterate the echo of their traditional praise in a more or less poetic form rather than subject their works (which already at that time were exceedingly rare) to a critical examination.

1) Li Tai Hing Hua Chai. II. 2. On the brush-work of Ku, Chu Chang and Wu.

~~the variations in many cases for a more exact copy~~
To those who have seen them in original
of the copy set

Hardly less famous than Ku K'ai-chih was Lu T'an-wei, who worked under the Liu Sung (420-479) and Ch'i'ndynasties in Peking. His particular importance in the history of Chinese painting is connected with his mastership in the handling of the brush: he is said to have applied to painting the same kind of free rhythmic brush stroke as Wang Hsien-chih introduced in writing, ~~doing a whole picture without a break in the lines~~. But it was not done by a dash of the brush, as in many later works; ~~the brush was fine and sharp,~~ ^{"Lu Tan-wei's brush stroke} yet smooth and graceful; ~~it was quite new and strange~~ ^{it was quite new and strange} in its audacity. His fame rose very high in the Sung dynasty and nobody at that time was his equal." (King Hua Chi, II, ~~pp. 11~~).

He painted some excellent portraits, as for instance one of his patron, Emperor Ming Ti of Sung (465-473), but ~~he painted~~ ^{he painted} horses and birds, and particularly Buddhist subjects; of the ten pictures mentioned under his name in the Hsuan-ho Hua P'u, seven represent Buddhas or Devarajas, the three others ~~were~~ ^{a picture of} portrait of Wang Hsien-chih, Five Horses, and the queen of Heaven. But none of these pictures are known to-day even in a copy, and we have thus no chance of reaching as much of an opinion about Lu T'an-wei ~~as about Ku K'ai-chih,~~ ^{who according to} ~~some of the early Chinese critics,~~ ^{were of almost} ~~importance, artistic.~~ ^{importance, artistic.}

On (Chin painting, p. 50) mentions a picture of "a white lion" by Lu T'an-wei, formerly in the collection of the Museum of the University of Chicago. Deering collected it in 1930, to be a copy of Lu's famous lion picture. The lion is a white lion, the original is probably a copy of the original, but the copy would have been executed by a later hand in 1930. The picture was exhibited a few years ago in the Chicago Art Institute, and according to a reliable authority of the Museum, it is said to be an imitation of much more recent date and of no artistic importance.

^{by Lu Tan-wei's} ~~by Lu Tan-wei's~~ ^{the following description of a famous painting} ~~in his Hua Shih~~ ^{the following description of a famous painting} "In Kan Lu ssu (the Temple of Sweet Dew) in Jun-chou there were four Bodhisattvas 4,1 feet high painted by Chang Seng-yu and a picture by Lu Tan-wei representing a spirit with yellow face ^{and} teeth protruding at the corners of the mouth, wearing a golden armour and holding a banner in ~~his~~ hand. At his feet was a white lion of frightening appearance. On the ceiling of the great hall was a "mirror of heaven" under a bright vault. In the room were two pictures by Wu Tao-tzu representing itinerant priests. I had these transferred to the Ching Ming chai to protect them against wind and rain. In the Hui Chang era (841-46) when temples were destroyed during the persecution of Buddhism, this temple was spared because ~~it harboured a large~~ ^{it harboured a large} ~~the big~~ ^{emperor} bronze statue of Ming Huang. But at the end of the Yuan fu era (1098-1100) it was unexpectedly destroyed by fire and all the remains from the Six Dynasties were swept away. In the country along the lower Yang-tze ~~are no longer to be found~~ ^{are no longer to be found} any traces of ~~Tsin~~ ^{Tsin} paintings. - (In this temple were previously preserved writings of the Six Dynasties such as the last volume of Chin Wang Tsung-chih's work) the trees planted by Li Wei kung all the beautiful buildings etc. were destroyed by fire only Li Wei-kung's T'ieh T'a (Iron Pagoda) and the two rooms of Mi-lao-an remain. I wrote a poem of lamentation about it."

Somewhat younger than Lu T'an-wai and Ku K'ai-chih was Chang Seng-yu but his name is often coupled with those of his great predecessors, and he is considered their equal by most of the early historians. His activity developed in Nan-king under the Liang dynasty (502-557), where he became a highly honored official and much employed painter of Emperor Wu Ti (502-549). According to the records commenced in Li Tai Hsing Hua Chi, he served in the T'ien Chien era (502-519) as a ~~state~~ secretary to prince Wu-ling and as a keeper of the paintings in the Chih-shui pavilion and later on was made a general of the Right and governor of Wu-hsing - probably honorary titles rather than actual charges. Emperor Wu Ti employed him to execute wall paintings in many of the newly erected Buddhist temples and ordered him also to make portraits of all the princes who were living away from the capital. When they were finished and the emperor looked at them, he thought that he saw the men themselves before him.

Among his ~~the~~ wall paintings are particularly mentioned one representing Lohan Buddha together with Confucius and ten disciples in T'ien Huang sen and Four White Dragons in An Lo sen. Chang had left the dragons without eyes pupils, because he claimed that they would fly away if he put in the eyes. Some people thought however that this was extravagant talk and asked him to prove it; whereupon Chang painted in the eyes on two dragons. "At once the air became filled with thunder and lightning, the wall broke down and the dragons ascended on clouds to Heaven. But the two other dragons who had no eyes remained at their place." - By this and similar stories the mystic power of this great master is illustrated; his pictures had more spirit than can be explained.

The only ~~writer~~ ^{somewhat} who takes a more critical attitude towards Chang Seng-yu is Yao Ts'ui of the Ch'ien dynasty (557-589). He says that the wall paintings of Chang surpassed ~~the~~ all other paintings of the same kind but the gaze of his Immortals was wanting in spirit and life. He should thus be placed in a lower class than his predecessors. - This criticism met however opposition not only from Chang Yen-yüan but also from a somewhat earlier critic, Chang Huai-kuan who writes: "I can not agree with these words; Chang's thoughts were like bubbling wells, his talents were divine. With one or two strokes of the brush he accom-

plished a whole portrait. As a portraitist Chang Seng-yu painted the flesh, Lu Tsan-wei painted the bones, and Ma H'ar-chih painted the spirit. The same remarks from Hua Tzu are quoted in Shu Hua Pu but there they are wound up ^{with} the following interesting words: "Compared with the calligraphists, Lu and Ma were like Chung Yu¹⁾ but Chang Seng-yu was like T-shao (Wang Hsi-chih).²⁾ This seems to imply that he painted with a long flowing stroke full of energy and expressions; yet, Chang Yen-yuan remarks in another connection³⁾ that "when Chang Seng-yu painted in a sketchy fashion, he used dots and short strokes. He followed Ma's Wei's ⁴⁾ Li Chen-tu; every point and every stroke had its meaning ~~and character~~; they were like hooked spears and sharp swords, very serious and dense." To this striking characterization of Chang Seng-yu's brush-work may still be added a remark of a much later critic Yang Shen of the Ming period (1488-1529)⁵⁾ who claims to have seen a wall painting by Chang in the T-ch'eng temple which, "when seen from afar appeared to the eye in relief but when seen near by was quite flat" (like the flower paintings of Wei-chih T-seng).

Fifteen pictures by Chang Seng-yu were evidently either Buddhist subjects or dragons but among the scrolls by him enumerated in Li Tai Ming Hua Chi are various motives, such as portraits, horses, birds and genre scenes besides dragons and Buddhas; the same variation may be noted in the list of his ^{sixteen} works in the Hsian-ho Hua Pu. These may not have been originals but the motives and compositions were, no doubt, Chang Seng-yu's. Among them appear also a picture known as The Brushing of the Elephant. ~~This motive was~~ ^{The motive was} often repeated by later painters and it has been proposed in an article in the Kokka no 259, to identify Chang Seng-yu's composition with a rendering of the same subject by Chien Hsian. The combination seems to us however for reasons of style and design far from convincing; and we would rather be inclined to trace Chang Seng-yu's ~~and~~ composition in a different rendering of the subject known through a picture in the Free Gallery and ~~also through~~ ^{several other} copies as for instance the one in Mr. ~~the~~ Ching-min's possession which was included in the Tokyo exhibition 1928 and reproduced in the catalogue (p. 137). The picture in the

¹⁾ Chung Yu, d. 230 particularly famous for his skill in Li-writing (model characters)

²⁾ Li Tai Ming Hua Chi, II. 2.

³⁾ Wei Fu-jen, d. 140 A.D. The wife of Governor Li Ch'ü and famous as a calligraphist in the Li style

⁴⁾ Quoted in Shu Hua Pu, vol. 12. 8 notes.

Free Gallery was sometimes attributed to Yen di-pen, because he too is known to have painted The Brushing of the Elephant but it is now catalogued as, probably of the Yüan period. It is difficult to say exactly when the picture was executed but it was evidently done by a man who knew how to preserve the characteristics of its earlier style. The composition may be seen in our reproduction, and it may also be observed ^{there} that the ~~figures~~ figures are of a ^{strange and} very ^{the picture} peculiar character. It is not a dead copy (like later renderings of the same composition), but a thing artistically alive because the drawing has a peculiar rhythmic quality, the lines are sharp, ~~unmistakable~~ very varied in the folds of the garments and the elephant's callous skin, every detail is defined with unusual ~~accuracy~~ exactness. This kind of drawing corresponds better to what we know of the masters of pre-Tang time than to ~~the~~ the linear characteristics of Yen di-pen's ~~own~~ paintings. If the present picture is based on a painting by Yen di-pen (which is by no means certain or necessary) this must in its turn have been a faithful copy of an earlier original, possibly by Chang Seng-yu. His works were, as a matter of fact, highly esteemed by the figure painters of Tang and Northern Sung periods and especially copied ^{over} by great masters like Li Shun-shan. Why should not Yen di-pen have done the same? However this may have been, it seems evident that Chang Seng-yu was the first to give ^{the} classical form to the famous Buddhist motive in which it survived through the ages.

Chang Seng-yu was preeminently a painter of Buddhist subjects but it is significant that ~~his name has~~ ^{his name has} survived particularly in connection with the stories about his dragon painting^s; this was the form of imaginative history that ~~most~~ ^{most} appealed to the Chinese ^{mind} ~~and~~ ^{which were the} ~~of~~ ^{of} paint^{ings} that never grew out of fashion in the country of the Deave by Dragon.

* * *

The Corraunt paintings.

only a minor part of the boxes containing Emperor Ch'ien Lung's paintings had been opened at the time of my last stay in Peking (1930) and among the treasures taken out for exhibition were one or two excellent Chang pictures, but none of an earlier date. As long as there are hidden treasures in the old imperial collections in China, there may be some pleasant surprises, though it must be admitted that these will be of little value for a closer study of Chinese painting so long as photographs of the pictures are unobtainable.

It may also be recalled that several of the popular dragon stories are connected with the paintings of Chang Meng-yu. They may be read in Giles' translation ~~of the~~ and it need hardly be said that the common issue of the stories is to emphasize the mysterious life of the painted images: the dragons caused thunder and lightning, and when they soared away when the painter added skill to their eyes.

35A
We have no means of forming an opinion of the relative importance of Chang Meng-yu's dragon pictures, nor of those of any other painter before the Sung period, yet there are still in existence some large mural paintings of dragons and other fabulous animals. These to some extent may serve as substitutes or as supports for the imagination when we try to reconstruct the lost masterpieces. They are provincial paintings, not to be found in China proper, but in northern Korea, in the neighbourhood of the old capital Ping-yang (Heijo), ^{yet they are} executed in a style which is thoroughly Chinese, and by artists who were indeed no real masters. So long as no complete tombs with painted decorations have been unearthed in China, some of these Korean tomb paintings may well serve as examples of the stylistic tendencies in the pictorial art of the Six Dynasties period. Their style is essentially the same as that of Chinese bronzes and stone sculptures from the Vth and VIth centuries.

It would take us too far to give a full account of the various

*1) Op. cit. p. 30.

tombs at Baisan-ri, Chinchido and Guken-ri, nor would it be relevant to our purpose, because the paintings in the earlier of these tombs are so badly worn that they can be distinguished only with the greatest difficulty; they are seen much more to their advantage in some of the Japanese books of reproduction, such as Chosen Koseki Zufu ^{vol II} than in the originals. In the inner room of the large pillared tomb at Chinchido one can still distinguish some lightly sketched charming small figures, executed with reddish, yellow, green, black and white colours on the plastered walls. [P. 14] In the centre there is represented an interior of a small house, with a man and his wife seated on a platform, while servants are entering from the sides, and on the one side wall are rows of standing figures and men on horseback. The intimacy and artistic expressiveness of these figures are the very entertaining even in their present fragmentary condition.

A little later in date, (probably from the end of the 11th cent.) and much better preserved, are the paintings in the so-called 'sai' tombs at Guken-ri. These were opened more than a generation ago and then found to be empty. According to tradition, they ~~were~~ ^{were} ~~seen~~ ^{seen} for the first time by the monks of the Koxari dynasty (ca 400-600), but nothing definite is known about their occupants. ~~There~~ ^{re} were originally three, but owing to their poor state of preservation; they consist of a stone-lined underground chamber with a short entrance shaft or corridor. The paintings are executed directly on the huge, carefully trimmed stone blocks. On each wall is a large animal, the green dragon on the east wall, the white tiger in the west, the black tortoise (encircled by the snake) in the north, and the red bird (doubled) at both sides of the door on the south wall. [P. 15.] On the upper part of the walls are ornate borders composed of winding honey-suckle or similar tendrils, and on the broad ~~slabs~~ ^{slabs encorbelled} ~~over the corners are painted~~ ^{over the corners are painted} spring asarās, flowers, and birds. The quadrangular slab which forms the top

of the ceiling is decorated with a coiling dragon.

The decorative beauty and expressiveness of all these fantastic animals (the largest of them measuring over 2 m.) depend mainly on the supreme energy of the drawing. It matters little whether they are called dragons or tigers, they all have the same long, slim bodies on elastic spring-like legs, with wings at the shoulders, the same thin necks, curving in S-like fashion and supporting big, horned heads. They are akin to those proud chimaeras and winged lions which stand at the tombs of the Ming dynasty near Nanjing, they are off-shoots of the same imaginative race, but instead of being bulky and static as the stone animals, they are light and fugitive as if they were soaring, across the wall, disappearing in the dim light of the tomb. This impression of fantasy, vision, of movement when is almost freed from material basis, is not heightened by the veil of time and dust which softens the colours and fuses the forms with the grey stone slabs on which they are painted. There is still enough of the white, the bluish green, the black and the vermillion to emphasize the decorative value of these paintings, but as the colours have become subdued, the energy of the drawing stands out more distinctly, the forms become almost transparent, dissolved into ether and light.

When provincial painters at the borderland of China are able to produce such magnificent dragons and tigers, we may indeed suppose that *the same subjects treated by the leading* ~~these~~ ~~the greatest~~ Chinese artists were truly great works of art. No wonder that the dragon paintings by Chang Wen-yu gave rise to stories about their super-natural fierceness and faculty to move at will. However fantastic the wording of these stories may be ~~these paintings are as~~ ~~read in English translation by Giles, op.cit. p.307,~~ they have a certain interest as indication of the general tendency of this art to emphasize in rhythmic lines the fleeting vision and the soaring movements. The general stylistic character of these paintings must have been akin to

that of the best sculptures of the Northern Wei and Northern Ch'i dynasties, which impress us by their tersely synthesised form and the supreme energy of their lines. The correspondence between the painted animals in the Korean tombs and the statues at the Liang tombs ^{has} already ^{been} referred to, but it may be added that the same ornamental borders, composed of energetic tendrils and palmettes, that we find in the Korean tombs, also appear in the Yun-kang caves. In spite of the difference in scope and material and technique, the art is essentially the same, and the style has the same qualities of linear strength and beauty.

The almost complete loss of the original works of the famous masters of the early periods ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~discovered~~ ^{discovered} by writers of the Liang dynasty, such as Chang Yen-yuan. 'Only their fame is left behind', is his laconic reflection, and he offers a condensed historical account of how this irreparable loss, particularly of the imperial collections (which contained the best pictures), was brought about by wars, floods and fires, which may be worth quoting, in part, as it gives a vivid illustration of the vicissitudes of picture collecting in China and the practical impossibility to obtain a first-hand knowledge of the early scenes of Chinese painting. He tells this account in the Li Tai Ming Hua Chi ~~and~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Li Tai Ming Hua Chi~~, and cites as follows:

Smaller type!
"The emperor Wu (141-86 B.C.) of the Han dynasty ~~ordered~~ ^{ordered} a hall to be built for the reception of his paintings and calligraphies. Emperor Ming (58-76 A.D.), who was a lover of paintings, had another building so structured for the same purpose and also a school of art called Hsing (Giles, 5269) ... beautiful things from all over the country were gathered together like clouds. But when at the time of Han Shao's rebellion (190 A.D.) the court fled westwards to Chang-an, the hall

* Li Tai Ming Hua Chi, Chap. I. part 2.

paintings were taken by the soldiers and made into tents and bags. There were more than 70 cartloads. They met heavy rains, which made the roads difficult, and half of them were lost.

Again in the Wei (220-264) and Jin (265-419) periods, certainly a great number were collected, but when the Hsiao people entered Lo Yang, they were all burned.

The emperors of the Sung (439-477), Chi (479-502), Liang (502-556) and Chen (557-587) dynasties had good taste and collected beautiful things. During the Jin dynasty, when Liu Yao (d. 308) started a rebellion, most of them were scattered. Then came Huan Hsuan (another rebel; 369-404), he had a great passion for beautiful and rare things. All the calligraphies and famous paintings of the country were brought to him. At the time of his revolt he took hold of all the objects of the Jin court. Ho Yu-sheng related the following about the book Chia Sheng Hsing: The rebel Liu Hsiao-chun sent his son Chang Hsuan to Emperor Huan Hsuan to offer his submission. Hsuan was delighted and showed him his calligraphies and paintings, which they admired to death. When he was defeated (419), Sung Kao Tsu sent his son, Hsi to the palace to take possession of them. Kao Li (479-485) of the Southern Qi dynasty, had the most valuable ones classified and recorded, and this classification was made not according to periods, but according to merit. There were 42 names from Lu Hsiang-shan to Fan Wei-hsien arranged in 42 sections, 67 classes comprising 348 scrolls. When he was free from affairs of state in the mornings and evenings, he took them out and enjoyed them.

During Kao Li (502-547) added many valuable and rare things and was always trying to complete the collection. Yuan Li (548-585) was very accomplished and talented in the arts; he collected himself a great number of precious and rare old things were accumulate in the palace.

At the time of Hou Jing's rebellion Prince Kang dreamt several times of Jui'in (Juih) Huang and that he burned again all the books. And it really happened so: several hundred pictures in the palace were burned by Hou Jing. When peace was re-established after Hou Jing, all the pictures still left were transported to Chiang-ling (in Lu eh) and then destroyed by General Yu Chin of Western Wei (535-554). When Yuan Li was going to abdicate, he brought together all the most famous pictures, calligraphy and classical books, some 240,000 pieces in all, and ordered a servant of the inner apartment to burn them. The emperor wanted to throw himself into the fire, to burn with the pictures, but a palace lady seized his garment and saved him. He took the precious sword from Lu Yieh, and trying to break it against a pillar, he exclaimed: "O, that Hsiao Shih-ch'eng (a name for himself) has come to this! Learning and culture have come to an end to-night!"

Yu Chin and his followers took out of the palace more than 400 books and paintings and burned them to Jui'an-tan. Therefore Yen Juih-tui wrote a song called Huan Ho Sheng. Millions of people were attracted, a thousand cartloads of books went up in smoke. Nothing like this had been known in history. All literature was destroyed.

In the Hsien-chia era (560-66) of the Northern Qi dynasty the emperor Sh'ien did his utmost to search for more (pictures) and he got together a good number. When the Sui conquered Sh'ien, two official recorders, Wei Jui and Kao Lung, were appointed to take care of them. They collected more than 800 pieces. Sui Yang Ti (606-616) built at the Western Capital (Lo Yang) behind the Kuan Wen tien two towers; the eastern one called the Hsiao Kai (Excellent Patterns) tower and served for the preservation of old writings; the western was called the Hsiao Shih (Green Mountains) tower and served for the storing of old pictures. When Yang Ti went to Yang-chou (606) he took them all with him. During the journey the boat was

upset, and more than half (of the pictures) were lost. When Yang Li died, all his pictures came in the possession of Yu-wen Hua-chi. When Hua-chi went to Liao-ch'eng (these pictures) were all taken by Tou Chien-t'ê, and those left at the Eastern Capital came in the possession of Wang Shih-chung. When the holy Liang dynasty, in the 5th year of Ku t'ê, had conquered the rebels and captured the two false leaders, the precious things left at the two capitals and those taken to Yang-chow all came into the possession of the house of Liang. An official of the Ministry of Agriculture, Sung Ts'un-kuei, was appointed to bring these (treasures) by boat (to the capital), but as he was going westward and was near the capital, the boat sank in the midst of the river and only one or two tenths of the pictures were saved.

At the beginning of the present dynasty there were only 300 pictures together with those of the Sui and the previous dynasties. *After having described at length the collecting of paintings in his own family, Chang adds:* "From old times war and fire often destroyed the pictures (of the imperial collections) and all else in the world; and the other pictures, the most of them were lost. If in those times the emperors did not take an interest in the paintings, nobody searched for them. There were no connoisseurs to appreciate them, nobody to distinguish the good from the bad. - When no great talents appeared and even things as good as dead rats were gems. Truly, nowadays the people are very numerous but the fine arts are very scarce, and painting in particular has much decayed. Though the people *do* not take the ink as of so little value, yet their tigers are like dogs." ^{x)}

The Early Cave Temples at Tun Huang

After all the destruction that has taken place, it will be a resurrection to ~~try~~ expect to find any authentic work by the great masters of the Six Dynasties period. Yet there are some pictures still

x) References to classical stories about Chinese paintings.

existing of this early epoch, though not on silk or paper, nor by any known masters. We refer to the wall paintings in the Buddhist temple caves at Tun Huang, on the extreme western border of China, which still are preserved in part. ~~These famous cave temples at Tun Huang where the pilgrims who went by the northern caravan route to India stopped over to rest and to seek divine protection~~ ^{before} ~~for~~ (the desert crossing) were started in the IVth century, but their decoration with paintings and sculptures seems to have been performed mainly from the middle of the Vth to the first quarter of the VIIth century. To what extent they may have been the work of artists trained at the main centres of contemporary art, or of local painters is a matter of conjecture. Yet it is evident that the paintings were executed in adherence to the prevailing stylistic currents of the respective periods. The earliest preserved ones are thus characteristic specimens of the Vth-century, even though they were done with a didactic rather than ~~an~~ artistic purpose by men who did not belong to the leading class of painters.

The place on the desert border is still difficult of access, and our knowledge of the pictures is based only on the reproductions in Paul Pelliot's well-known publication, to which we still await the explanatory text.^{x)} The reproductions alone are hardly sufficient to give us a proper idea of the decorative beauty and historical importance of these paintings, though they stimulate the interest in carrying out the basis of some observations of a general nature.

It is thus possible to recognize here some characteristic examples of the Six Dynasties style executed by painters who without much individual freedom or power of creation followed a definite artistic tradition. Very interesting in this respect are the plates 33LAAA and 33LAAAH, reproducing large paintings from cave 15, which represent long strips of landscape scenery arranged in three or more tiers, the one

x) P. Pelliot, Les grottes de Touen Kiang, vol. I-VII.

These famous cave temples as a place where the pilgrims who went by the northern caravan route to India stopped over to rest and to seek divine protection before they crossed the desert, were started shortly ~~before~~ ^{after} the middle of the 4th century; the first was founded by the Sramana Lo-tsun in 366 but the earliest ones were probably all destroyed at the Buddhist persecutions in 445-46. The ^{still} remaining ^{temple caves} ~~ones~~ seem to date from the second half of the 5th to the 11th century, ~~not to mention a few posterior ones~~ ^{which} were added in the 13th century. They are abundantly decorated with wall paintings and clay sculptures executed in accordance to the prevailing styles of the respective periods but unfortunately in many cases badly preserved or grossly defaced by later restorations. A thorough discussion and appreciation of the original artistic importance of these decorations is thus hardly longer possible, particularly not for students who like ourselves never visited the Thousand Buddhas Caves (as these Tun Huang temples are called) at the desert border of China. Our source of knowledge is simply the plates in Prof. Pelliot's well-known publication *Les grottes de Touen Houang*, and it is quite obvious that this is far from sufficient, the publication containing only a selection of the very large material in none too clear reproductions.

It seems however possible to recognize in the plates a certain general evolution of style characteristic of the different periods at which the pictures were executed. The painters who worked here may not have been among the leading masters of their respective periods, but ~~yet~~ ^{their} works reflect the stylistic currents and ~~therefore~~ ^{acquire} thus ~~a great~~ ^{a great} ~~historical~~ ^{historical} interest. This is particularly true of the earliest among them as other pictures of pre-T'ang times ~~hardly~~ ^{no} longer are to be found in China. Our knowledge of the style of the Six Dynasties period is mainly based on the sculptures and one or two minor painted monuments in Japan, such as the famous Yamamushi shrine in Horyuji, and it is ex analogia with these that the earliest caves at Tun Huang may be approximately dated. Whenever these caves contain some plastic works beside the paintings in a not altogether defaced condition, little doubt needs to remain as to their approximate period of execution; the correspondence with the almost contemporary ~~well-known~~ ^{and well-known} cave temples at Yün Kung is ~~then~~ in such cases most obvious, and as this correspondence with

the Yün K'ang caves also extends to the painted decorative designs the dating of the earlier Tun Huang caves becomes mainly a matter of visibility. In so far as the stylistic sections and decorative motives can be distinguished in the plates, the period of the work is evident, because, as already pointed out, the ~~style~~ ^{remaining} characteristic features of the style ~~are~~ ^{remain} the same independent of the material in which they are expressed. In regard to the figures and illustrative scenes it may be ~~observed~~ ^{observed} that they in some instances reveal features of a more foreign type indicating that the influences from Central and Western Asia were more strongly felt here at Tun Huang than, for instance, at Chiang-an or Lo-yang. The correspondence between some of these figures and the earliest frescoes from Kuleba in the von Le Coq collection in the Ethnographical Museum in Berlin has been pointed out by Dr. L. Bachhofer in his scholarly analysis of the representation of face in early Chinese painting.

The earliest caves from which Prof. Pelliot offers some reproductions are probably nos 110 and 111a (Pl. 87-92). The sculptures give a clue to the period of decoration which may have been executed in the last quarter of the 5th century or there about. Closely connected with these in style, though possibly a decennium or two later are the ~~caves~~ ^{caves} 103 (Pl. 86) and 111 (Pl. 93-94), the sculptures in the latter ~~showing great~~ ^{showing great} similarity with the plastic decoration in Shih Fo shu at Yün K'ang. ~~Probably~~ ^{Probably} of the same period is also cave 101 (Pl. 179), though the view of the ceiling ^{alone} may not be sufficient for establishing the date. The next stage in the stylistic evolution may be observed in caves 135 (Pl. 280-285) and 120a (Pl. 251-268); the sculptures in the former remind us of certain stelae (found in the Gualino Collect.) which can be dated about 520 ⁻²⁴ and also of ^{the latter cave (120a) is dated by inscription 533-37.} some of the figures from King Hsien (ca 530). The pictures in these caves show however a more foreign, "Tocharian", character. The same painted ~~plinth~~ ^{plinth} as ~~on~~ ^{on} the altar in cave 135 returns in cave 119 (275) which thus may be contemporary. Then follow, probably caves 137b (Pl. 296) and 126b (Pl. 273-274) which also shows figures of "Tocharian" type and sculptures which may have been executed about the middle of the 6th century.

cf. L. Bachhofer, Die Raumdarstellung in der chinesischen Malerei der ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr. Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst, 1951. The article includes the best chronology of the Tun Huang cave painting as yet published, mainly based on stylistic analysis but also in one instance (cave 135) supported by a private communication of M. Pelliot. The relative chronology of Dr. Bachhofer seems to us well founded, even if some of the proposed dates may need some slight modification particularly with a view to the somewhat disturbing foreign influences in the paintings.

or shortly after. Finally may be mentioned cave 77 (Pl. 154-57) which probably leads us over into the 7th century; the painted decorations show a combination of decorative motives surviving from the Six Dynasties period and figures and landscape scenes in early Tang style.

The painted decorations in these early caves at Tun Huang are evidently of varying stylistic character and artistic importance and it seems indeed as if the executing artists in most cases had been men from the "Western countries" rather than from China proper who had assimilated certain elements of Chinese art. ~~The earliest~~ Most interesting from a pictorial point of view are the landscape scenes with figures as in caves 110 and 135. In the former some large animals and figures are placed between miniature mountain ranges. They appear more or less as silhouettes though well characterized by a linear definition of ^{their} forms and their movements. In the somewhat later ~~scenes~~ ^{pictures} in cave 135 the Jataka stories are developed in a much richer fashion with masses of small figures and animals ~~about~~ moving with great freedom between the mountain ranges which still are drawn on a small scale as rows of pointed tents and used for the division of the ~~picture~~ ^{long} compositions into compartments. These long compositions are like horizontal scrolls (Chüan), and they are continued in three tiers, the one below the other so as to afford sufficient space for the ~~depicting~~ illustration of a great number of successive incidents. Each scene forms a separate picture but a certain decorative unity or continuity is created by the ever recurring ranges of peaks and the trees. The small figures on foot or horseback and particularly the animals ~~and~~ display a great variety in their movements and attitudes, but they are still comparatively isolated and there is no ^{cohesion} ~~unity~~ between them and the landscapes. The same cave contains also narrative compositions of Buddhas accompanied by rows of adoring Bodhisattvas and flying apsarases, stiff and thin figures whose scarfs and draperies are drawn out ~~into~~ like pointed wings or feathers. Their connection with the paintings from Kucha and other centres of Buddhist art in Central Asia is at least as close as the correspondence with the remnants of Northern Wei art in China ^{proper} and they form thus interesting proofs ~~for~~ of this Western influence which at the beginning of the 6th century must have been a ~~very important feature~~ ^{very important feature} in the religious painting in China all over.

A similar foreign element is also clearly noticeable in the larger figures in Cave 120ⁿ, and it appears here more to its advantage as the paintings are better preserved. The free and easy drawing imparts life to the figures as well as to the decorative motives which are profuse in extraordinary abundance over the whole room. Every square inch of the walls and the ceiling is covered by paintings; the compositions include not only the traditional Buddhas and Bodhisattvas but also figures of a more mythological origin, demons and earth spirits who support the divinities, adoring monks and donors in great numbers, soaring apsarases, birds and dragons among spiralling clouds and raining flowers, and around them, framing the different sections and niches are borders of angular, rings and waving draperies, flame-like palmellae and tendrils curving like steel springs. The painters have evidently reproduced traditional ornaments and patterns of design and mixed them freely with this medley of figures which seem to be drawn in a rather local style. Their concern was not any kind of architectural division of the large spaces; their paintings are rather like colourful tapestries hung over the walls, a kind of festival decoration, to be enjoyed as in detail than in its entirety. The artistic quality of these paintings is evidently of a very high kind, but the execution bears witness of great technical skill and a stupendous facility to fuse the dissonant motives into a highly entertaining decorative ensemble. The painters who worked at Tung Huang may not have been great creative masters, but they were ~~very~~ ^{well} trained decorators, and their works should not be forgotten in a study of early Chinese painting, particularly as the ^{of a corresponding kind} more important paintings in the temples of Central China are almost without a trace.

Our knowledge of Chinese ~~painting~~ ^{art} in the period of the Six Dynasties is, indeed, very fragmentary but the remnants of this art that still are preserved all tend to prove ~~that the~~ ^{a fundamental} unity of style in spite of various foreign influences and local schools. It was of little consequence whether the works were executed with the brush or with the chisel, on the eastern or on the far western border of the wide empire, whether for tombs or for temples and palaces, their essential elements of style remained the same. They are expressed in the terse linear rhythm, in the peculiar combination of angular stiffness and soaring mobility and, when at their best, ennobled by a youthful freshness and spirited beauty which hardly any other epoch has attained.

The period of the Six Dynasties ^{formed} an important ^{Chapter} in the history of Chinese painting not only through the activity of certain great creative personalities whose works and styles are described by the old critics but also because the general principles of Chinese painting which have remained in force all through the ages were then formulated. The art of painting had already reached a stage when it ~~imposed~~ became subject to a kind of aesthetic interpretation, and it is remarkable that ~~the terms in which this was expressed~~ the very terse and definite terms in which this found expression have been accepted as fundamentals in practically all later interpretations or critical appreciations of painting in China.

Hsieh Ho's short treatise Ku Hua Pin Lu, Notes about the Classification of Old Pictures, is not only the first of its kind in the history of Chinese art but also the one which offers the most comprehensive ^{precepts} of the principles for the criticism of painting. The author was a portrait painter of moderate importance who worked during the Southern Ch'i dynasty ⁽⁴⁷⁹⁻⁵⁰¹⁾ in Nanking, more famous for his learning and knowledge of the old masters than for his own creations. "The practice of copying earlier artists began with Hsieh Ho, and his method subsequently became, from its easiness of execution, a kind of royal road though it was found difficult to transfer the inspiration. True copying consists in studying the thought, not the lines of a picture."^{*)}

It would ~~probably~~ not be correct to consider Hsieh Ho's Six Principles as quite new and original inventions of his own; the essential ideas of these principles were probably more or less known and accepted at the time, though Hsieh Ho was the first who ^{combined} ~~applied~~ them into a Canon of Painting which also has served to carry his name through the ages. For the formulation of these principles he seems to have been dependent on the Book of Changes (I Ching), the most venerated of all the Confucian Classics. Similar treatises on ~~poetry~~ ^{poetry} and calligraphy were also written about the same period, Chung Yung's Shih Pin and Yü Chien's Shue Pin, and they reveal the same inspiration as Hsieh Ho's essay which originally was called simply Hua Pin.^{*)}

*) Cf. Giles, op. cit. p. 28, translation from an unnamed source. Hsieh Ho's position as an able, though not very strong portrait painter is defined by his successor Yao K'uei in his Hsü Hua Pin.

**) Cf. Seiichi Taki's two articles on Hsieh Ho's principles (in Japanese) in Wakoku 358, 359.

Heish Ho writes: "All pictures should be classified according to their merits and faults. There are no pictures which do not exercise some influence, be it of an elevating or a debasing kind. The silent records of past generations are unrolled before us when we open a picture. Although the Six Principles (always) existed, few (artists) have been able to apply them all, but from ancient to modern times there have been those who were good in one (or the other) of the principles."

Which are these Six Principles? The first is: ~~Resonance of the Spirit~~ ^{Resonance of the Spirit}; Movement of Life; the second is: Bone manner (structural) use of the brush, the third is: Conform with the objects (to obtain) their likeness, the fourth is: According to the species ^{apply} the colours; the fifth is: Plan and design; Place and position (composition); the sixth is: Transmit ^{they} models by drawings.

Only Lu Tan-wei and Wei Hsieh have applied completely all (these rules). There has always been good and bad paintings, because and as such is the same whether it is old or modern. I have now carefully arranged some painters of old and modern times and classified them according to the above principles. I enter in no lengthy discussion of the origin (of painting) but transmit simply what has come down from the Immortals (Shang-hsien) not ~~what~~ what has been seen or heard."

Then follows an enumeration of 47 painters divided in six classes of gradually decreasing merit, each name being accompanied by a word of characterisation (but no historical information). At the head of the list, in the foremost class, stand Lu Tan-wei, T'ao Pu-hsing and Wei Hsieh; the second class comprises three little known painters: Ku Chun-chih, Lin Sui and Yüan Ching; in the third class we find Ku K'ai-chih and Tai K'uei beside seven other rather obscure painters and in the following classes names of men who are, practically forgotten in Chinese history.

Heish Ho's words of introduction and his concluding remarks make it clear that he claims no originality for his six canons or precepts of painting. He transmits what has come down from the ancient sages, which may refer to Confucius as well as to Taoist philosophers, and formulates certain conditions which must be fulfilled by good painting and which consequently also may be taken as a basis for classification of pictures. He attaches a moral import to painting and looks upon it also as a revelation of ancient history, ^{in conformity with} ~~according to~~ the earlier Tradition. He is not a critical historian like Chang Yen-yüan of Tang, still less an aesthete like the writers of the Sung period, nor is he

consequently a moral import to painting and considers it also as a revelation of ancient history. He is an aesthete like the men of the ^{the} ~~offspring~~ period who wrote on art, more so he a poet or pantheistic nature worshipper like Wang Wei, Li Ch'eng or Kuo Hsi. He has as a matter of fact no interest in nature as such (in the stricter sense of the word) and keeps his whole ~~interest~~ attention fixed on figure painting. Landscape painting did not exist as an independent branch at the time of Hsieh Ho.

It is therefore misleading when Hsieh Ho has been credited with a whole philosophy of art or at least with the foundation of the principles of art-appreciation in China or when his first and all-inclusive rule has been interpreted in conformity with the ideas of later romantic or pantheistic art-philosophers. Chinese critics and art-historians quote him very liberally, and seldom hesitate to use the formula of his first principle, "chi yung" as ^{a characterization of} ~~an expression of~~ the highest quality in art, but none of them has found it necessary to give a stricter definition of what the old painter meant by this. It was something so general and broad enough to be found in every kind of painting and it could be made to hold Confucian as well as Taoistic or mystical Buddhist ideas. We will find that already the earliest followers of Hsieh Ho among the art critics, like ^{Li Shou-shen} ~~Li Shou-shen~~ and Chang Yen-yuan, did not ^{agree with the classification of} ~~take issue~~ ^{which they found} ~~on that basis~~ Hsieh Ho ^{more or less arbitrary} ~~in his~~ ^{the} ~~division of~~ ~~figures and~~ ~~landscapes~~ ~~of certain artists and consequently disagreed with him.~~

Modern writers in Western languages have also given various interpretations of this first principle ^{without} ~~to~~ ^{at times} in closer accordance with a ^{far more} ~~less~~ developed art and philosophy than with Hsieh Ho's thought. When Giles translates "Rhythmic Vitality" or Okakura writes: "The life Movement of the Spirit through the Rhythm of things," ^{their translations} ~~they~~ ^{imply} ideas which certainly go beyond the historical and intellectual limitations of Hsieh Ho. - Patrucci, on the other hand, explains Hsieh Ho's Six Principles entirely from a Taoistic point of view, assuming that he still considered pictures as a kind of magic creations, which actually could be transformed into the things they represented. (x)

x) Cf. Giles, *op. cit.* p. 49. Okakura, *Ideals of the East* (London 1905) p. 52

xx) Cf. Patrucci, *K'ai Tsan-Yuan Houa Tsouan, Dictionnaire de la Peinture Chinoise*. (Paris 1918) pp. 7-16.

Such ideas may not have been quite foreign to the old painters but the terms he used seem however to have been derived from Confucian rather than from Taoistic sources. Prof. Taki and Waley are of the opinion that ~~what~~ Hsieh Ho speaks of the "Spirit" is not Tao but the Confucian "Spirit of Heaven and Earth"; the "subtle Spirit" of the Book of Changes. The distinction between these different ~~kind~~ conceptions of the spiritual power that imparts life and significance to material forms, may after all, not have been very clear in the mind of the old artists, and it seems thus ~~superfluous~~ ^{futile to} go into any further discussions of this point.

How ever the translations of Hsieh Ho's first principle may vary, it is quite evident that it refers to something beyond the material form, call it character, soul or expression. It depends on the operation of the spirit or on the mysterious breath of life by which the figures may become as if they were moving and breathing. Only the greatest masters possessed this in a complete way; Chang Yü-kuang says that Wu Tao-tzu had so much of ~~of~~ this mysterious power that it hardly could be confined in his paintings. He was truly great because a divine power worked through him, and this was evidently ^{or was} more the case with all the great painters of antiquity as explained by the old critics. Some of them may have conceived this power as Tao, others as the Spirit of Heaven and Earth, the use as well as not very much, it is only a symbol like the words of a text. Their value depends on the degree in which the resonance of the spirit is manifest in them and becomes intelligible through the brush-work and the other qualities defined by Hsieh Ho. Each one of these is of importance for the result as a whole, though none of them is as far-reaching as the first principle.

The structural use of the brush has indeed, as already explained, always been a condition *sine qua non* in Chinese painting. We will have frequent occasions to point out this and need hardly dwell on it further in this connection.

The demand that things should be represented in accordance with their natural shape and that they should be coloured accordingly, may seem rather self-evident but it must not be forgotten that early Chinese art was of a comparatively abstract kind and rarely ^{dependent on} ~~directed from~~ ^{studies} nature. Hsieh Ho lived in a transition period when observation of natural objects ~~was a~~ ^{was a} growing ^{interest among the painters and} ~~part of his own special~~ ^{merit as a painter} is said to have been a great fidelity in the representation.

* Cf. Taki's articles in Kokka 338-339 and Waley, op. cit. p. 73.

Only Lu Tan-wai and Uki Hsieh ^{complied} ~~applied~~ completely with all these principles. There has always been good and poor paintings, because art as such is the same whether old or modern. I have now made a careful classification in all accordance with the above principles, of ancient and modern (masters)

tation of his models, their costumes and peculiarities down to the minutest hairs. This was evidently to him a principle of greater importance than it was to many painters of further progressed periods of painting.

The principle referring to the proper design or composition of the pictures might give rise to a discussion of this highly important element ⁱⁿ art, but as it stands quite unqualified without any indication of how the compositions should be ^{arranged} ~~made~~ in order to ^{conform} ~~submit~~ to the ideals of Hsieh Ho, it may be better to leave the discussions until we have studied some further specimens of Chinese painting. Many of the later writers, particularly among the landscape painters, have enlarged upon ^{the subject} ~~it~~ abundantly and the artistic significance of the figure paintings is also ^{quite often prominently} ~~to a large extent~~ a result of their designs.

Transmission of classical models by copying (in drawing or colour) is something that the Chinese have carried ^{to the} extreme; it was, as a matter of fact, a fundamental feature in their artistic activity. ~~The~~ transmission of classical models meant to them however not only an exact reproduction of the earlier masters' works, done either by tracing over the picture (mu) or by free hand copying (lin) but also a repetition or translation of the old masters' motives and styles in works of individual merit. A large amount of ^{the} Chinese paintings ^{still} ~~now~~ preserved are works of this class and it is to them that we in some instances may gain ~~an~~ ^{any} idea of the classical paintings of earlier times. It is evident that their value depends entirely on the ability of the copying or interpreting ~~master~~ painter. The method was ^{probably} ~~undoubtedly~~ a safeguard against too easy individual extravagances but it acted no doubt also as a retarding element in the evolution.

Hsieh Ho's six precepts were after all ~~not~~ principles of classification and criticism rather than practical advice for painters and he illustrates this himself by the list of painters which is divided in six ^{categories} ~~groups~~. It is possible that his classification of the painters was meant to correspond ^{in order} to the six principles which also may be said to be of gradually decreasing importance, ~~but of this classification remains~~ ^{although this correspondence} rather obscure. Li Shu-ch'en who at the beginning of the Tang dynasty wrote a continuation to Hsieh Ho's treatise, known as Hsü Hua Pin chü, is reported to have opposed in particular Hsieh Ho's classification of Ku K'ai-chih; he said: "How could T'ou-fu like Hsüan Hsü and Wei Hsieh?"
1) Tu Li Tai Ming Hua Chi. IV. (Biography of Ku K'ai-chih)

be placed quite arbitrarily at the head of the list - and also Tsao Pu-hsing above Ku K'ai-chik? Hsieh Ho's criticism is certainly not correct. Ku's ideas were ^{wonderful} ~~great~~ and creative; he reached the mysterious and was inspired by the gods. He was great enough to outstep Lu Tsan-wai and to make Hsün Hsi fall quite low... I would place Ku and Lu together in the highest class."

Chang Yen-yüan devotes a special chapter in his *Shih Hsueh* to a discussion of Hsieh Ho's six canons and though he does not offer anything in the way of explanation some paragraphs of his chapter may be worth quoting as historical illustrations ~~on the~~ of the estimation of Hsieh Ho's writings in the Tang period.

Two painters of old mastered all (the six principles) but I will here discuss them further. Some of the ancient painters knew how to transmit form notwithstanding structure and life (spirit) yet, the art of painting should be sought for beyond form. This is, however, difficult to communicate to common people. Paintings of today may possess outward likeness but the resonance of the spirit does not become visible in them. If a painting is filled with the resonance of the spirit then it also has outward likeness.

The most ancient pictures represent quite crudely ideas in a simple style yet, they are beautiful and true. Among those early painters were Ku K'ai-chik in Tsan-wai and others. The pictures of the middle ancient period are more carefully worked and full of fine details; they also attain beauty. Chan Tzu-chien, Cheng Fa-shih and others were of this time. Pictures of more recent date are luminously brilliant, and also, perfect in their way. The works of present day painters are faulty and confused without any meaning as if they were made by artisans.

Liikeness to nature must be observed in the shapes but these should have ^{bone} ~~shape~~ (i.e. structure) and spirit (i.e. life). ~~Structure, spirit and shape~~ ^{originate in the} ~~hand~~ directing idea and are expressed by the brush-work. Therefore, those who are skilful in painting are also good in calligraphy."

The writer then speaks about the quaint shapes and appearances of ancient figures, horses and buildings and quotes Ku K'ai-chik as to the relative difficulty of painting human figures ^{in comparison} ~~as compared~~ with animals, landscapes and buildings. "Ghosts and human beings possessing life and movement must show the operation of the spirit to be perfect. If they do not have this resonance of the spirit, it is in vain that they exhibit fine shapes, and if the brush-work is not vigorous, their colours are

*) Two painters of the Sui dynasty, mentioned in our next chapter.

useless. Such pictures cannot be called wonderful. - - -

As for planning and design and right positions (i.e. composition) it is the most ^{comprehensive element} general thing in painting.

The pictures by Xu and Lu and their followers are very rare, and it is difficult to discuss them in detail, but if we look at Wu Tao-hsien's paintings, it may be said that they contain all the six principles and are perfect in every respect. A god guided his hand; he was creative to the utmost and the resonance of the spirit was so overwhelmingly strong (in his work) that it hardly could be confined on the silk. His brush-work was very bold and free in the dashing painted wall-pictures, but his small pictures were executed with utmost care. They were divine things.

As for transmitting models by drawing which is the least important of the six principles, the painters of today are fairly good in drawing the outer form and in obtaining some likeness but they give no resonance of the spirit. Their pictures may be prepared with colours but they are wanting in brush-work. How can such things be called painting? Alas, for men of today, they do not reach the art! - - -

The painters of today mix their brushes and their ink with dust and dirt and their colours with mud, producing simply dirty silk. How can that be called painting? In ancient times the great painters were highly cultured and noble minded men, titled scholars and high officials who exercised an influence on their time and whose fame has been transmitted for ages. Truly no ~~mere~~ worthless and mean loafers could do ~~their~~ what they did."

Religious Painting The early ~~part of the~~ ^E Tang period.

The first hundred years of the T'ang dynasty were, in the field of painting, hardly more than an introduction to the brilliant efflorescence, which became manifest in the reign of emperor Ming Huang (713 - 755). Painting followed still to a large extent the same tracks as during the Sui dynasty, the majority of the ~~paintings~~ ^{pictures} produced during this century were of a religious type; others had a moral or political purpose, as for instance Yen Li-pen's representations of foreign envoys bringing tribute to the Chinese court, but comparatively few ^{were} as yet free individual creations such as landscapes, ~~or pictures of animals~~ ^{flowers} or scenes of daily life. It is only towards the end of the 7th century that the pictorial renderings of the life of nature began to acquire an independent importance and painting becomes a means of expressing spiritual ideas of a different order than those belonging to the Buddhist religion.

From the little we know about Chinese painting during these early years of the T'ang period, it may be assumed, that it was rather strongly influenced by the stylistic traditions of India and Central Asia. This influence was transmitted not only by foreign painters such as the above mentioned Wei-chih I-sang but also by many Buddhist pilgrims who brought back with them to China reproductions of famous paintings and sculptures which served as models for the artists at home. We hear also about Chinese artists who went to India as for instance the sculptor and painter Sung Fa-chih, while another artist, Fan Chang-shou, illustrated the Hsi-Kuo-chih, a chronicle about travels to the western countries. The Indian influence may also be observed in many of the finest compositions from Tun Huang which were executed ^{according to} ~~after~~ designs of the 7th and 8th centuries by ~~later~~ ^{later} ~~Chinese~~ ^{Chinese} painters.

The wall paintings in the temples at Chi'ang-an and Lo-yang of which Chang Yen-ghien offers an abundant list, may in part have been of a somewhat more progressed type, many of them were done by the greatest masters of the time, and they became, no doubt, models for similar paintings in other parts of the country. But no trace of the original paintings remain. Many of them may have been destroyed during the severe Buddhist persecutions in ⁸⁴¹⁻⁴⁵ and those which possibly survived have met destruction in later times ~~which~~ as the wooden buildings decayed, burned or were destroyed in wars or other calamities. As far as we know, there are no longer any wall paintings, or so called frescoes, existing in China, which may be dated into the Tang period or earlier, however often this date has been attached to such paintings, particularly when sold to foreign collectors and museums.

Only on the utmost western and beyond the eastern border of China have some great wall paintings survived which may serve to give us an idea of this religious art on a monumental scale, even though not executed by any leading master. Their historical importance is thus greater than their purely aesthetic value, and they are furthermore of great iconographic interest as illustrations to the cult of Amitabha and Bhaisajyaguru, ~~which~~ ^{or the} Western and Eastern Paradise, which had been developing ever ~~since~~ ^{since} the Wei period.

The finest of the ~~surviving~~ ^{still} existing wall painting in Tang style is not in China but in Japan: in the Hondo (Golden Hall) of Horyuji at Nara. They were probably executed at the beginning of the 7th century by painters who came from Corea but whose training and stylistic ideals were thoroughly Chinese. The paintings which they ~~left at~~ ^{left at} Horyuji are as a matter of fact works of the same noble and strong type as the ^{purely} best Chinese products of ^{the} Tang period in stone or bronze.

There are four main compositions, executed al fresco on the plastered walls, each consisting of a ~~central~~ seated Buddha surrounded by standing Bodhisattvas and Bhiksus. The best, preserved picture is the one on the west wall, representing Bhaisajyaguru, the Buddha of Healing, seated in western fashion with both feet on the ground and holding in his lifted right hand the box of medicine, [Pl. 27]. On either side of

him stand two Bodhisattvas, two Lokapālas (the Guardians of the Four Quarters of the World) and a bhīṣu^k (monk). Lower down may be distinguished, rather faintly, two adoring men (now ~~mostly~~^{practically} destroyed). Over the head of the Buddha spreads a decorated canopy and two soaring apsaras (heavenly dancers or "angels"). The composition is impressively hieratic; the figures are powerful, the tall Bodhisattvas appear still, in spite of their highly decorated skirt-like "dhoti", quite manly; ^{and} there is an air of stateliness and refinement about all these divine beings, which carries inspiration, though their beauty has been subjected to the wear and tear of long ages. The colours have darkened (in the central figure) or faded (in the side figures), but the firm, ~~and~~ yet highly sensitive drawing is still plainly distinguished.

The other compositions represent Shakyamuni Buddha seated on the lotus throne in the dharmachakra mudra (gesture of teaching), accompanied by only two Bodhisattvas, which ~~however~~^{are} particularly beautiful; Amitābha Buddha, seated on a high dais, accompanied by four bhikshus and two Bodhisattvas^[Pl. 21], and Ratnasambhava (the Buddha of Precious Birth), seated on a high lotus pedestal attended by three figures on either side. This last composition on the east wall, however, is almost obliterated. The same very poor state of preservation makes also the detached Bodhisattvas, four standing and four seated, very difficult to distinguish. They are hardly more than faint tracings or reflexes of a great religious art; but whatever remains of them is of such nobility that we look in vain for anything of the same quality among the frescoes which have been preserved in China. [Pl. 22.]

The only picture known to us which in style and quality approaches these frescoes is the fragment of the so-called Hokke Mandara, belonging to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. ^[Pl. 23] It represents Shakyamuni seated

~~x) Of Chinese Paintings in American Collections Vol. I, Pl. 4, Paris 1907.~~

on the sacred mountain, "the Vulture Peak", surrounded by devas, Bodhisattvas and bhikshus, a composition which indicates that it was made for a temple of the T'ien-tai school. Unfortunately the lower portion of the picture is now destroyed and the landscape in which the figures are placed is hardly visible. The two Bodhisattvas placed at the sides of Shākyamuni ~~are~~ (rather closely) resembling some of the figures in the Hōryūji paintings. But this picture appears ~~more~~ more Japanese in style than the frescoes, which may be explained by the fact that, according to an inscription, it was restored by a Japanese artist in 1148. The original Chinese painting is thus rather blurred, but it should nevertheless be remembered as a unique specimen of T'ien-tai art of the T'ang dynasty, ~~still~~ suggestive of great dignity and mystic beauty.

Not a few of those numerous fresco paintings which in late years have been transferred from temples in northern China to museums in America (Philadelphia, Cambridge, Toronto) and England (Brit. Mus., Eumorfopoulos Collect.,) have been hailed as specimens of T'ang art.^{x)} Such claims are however mostly echoes of Chinese traditions based on the fact that the compositions reproduce ~~early~~ ^{old} designs, while the execution is of ~~a~~ ^a later ~~period~~ ^{period}. The ~~entire~~ ^{corresponding} lack of ~~dated~~ ^{dated} specimens makes it exceedingly difficult to propose ~~any~~ ^{definite} ~~dates~~ ^{dates} for these detached fresco paintings, but if we may draw some conclusions from a comparison with Buddhist sculpture, it must be ~~admitted~~ ^{presumed} that none of them is earlier than the ~~13th~~ ^{13th} century. The three great Bodhisattvas in the British Museum, which by their extraordinary size and refinement are most impressive, may be works of the ~~13th~~ ^{13th} century (or possibly the ~~14th~~ ^{14th}), while the rest of the frescoes in the British Museum, the Fogg Museum in Cambridge,

x) Cf. L. Binyon. The George Eumorfopoulos Collection, Catalogue of the Chinese Frescoes. London 1927. pp. 8-14, and Prof. Pelliot's review of this publication in La Revue des Arts Asiatiques, Vol. V, Nrs III-IV.

and the same date may be proposed for the very beautiful Bodhisattva frescoes in the entrance hall of the C.T. Loos Chinese house in Paris,

Mass., and the University Museum in Philadelphia probably are works of the Ming ^{dynasty} ~~period~~. No period in Chinese history was more active in restoring and redecorating temples than the Yung Lo epoch (1403-1424). It marked a kind of national renaissance; the general endeavour was then to re-establish as much as possible of the lost glories of the great T'ang era. This was often done in a somewhat ~~crude and~~ superficial fashion, but the principles of design were borrowed as nearly as possible from the remains of T'ang art which ^{at that time} ~~they~~ may still have existed.

~~The only detached Chinese frescoes (besides some fragments from Tun-huang, mentioned below) which may be earlier than the ¹³~~11~~th century are the Bodhisattva figures which are set into the walls of the entrance hall of Mr. C.T. Loo's Chinese house in Paris. ^[p. 24] x) Their stylistic character is practically the same as that of the best wooden sculptures from the second half of the ¹²~~11~~th century, and their execution is of a kind that bears witness of a comparatively early date. The drawing is very delicate, the lines are thin, only slightly detaching themselves from the colours, which are mainly light green, pale rose and brown violet. The haloes round the large heads seem to be made in imitation of radiating lights which shift from a light yellow to bluish green. This combination of sureness in the rendering of form and lightness in the use of colour is in itself evidence of a high standard of artistic tradition. ~~There is~~ Nothing individual about these bodhisattvas; ~~but~~ they are great works of religious art, the importance of which cannot be suggested either by descriptions or by small reproductions. To call paintings of this type masterpieces would be misleading, for they are nothing but average good examples of the highest standard of Buddhist painting in China at a period when it was still the expression of religious fervour.~~

x) For a full description of these paintings see ^{my article,} ~~Sir,~~ The Chinese Pavilion of C.T. Loo & Co. and its Fresco-paintings, in Patheon, 1928.

When a single action is represented in a somewhat larger composition, the result becomes a more complete and finished picture, as may be observed for instance in the representation of the Battle before the city of Kueinagan (when the relics of Buddha were to be divided). The illustration is reduced to its essential elements, the city and the warriors of the tribes in fighting array; the former ^{consisting of} ~~reduced to~~ a kind of swelling or palatial gateway enclosed by high fortified walls, the latter ^{to} two rows of five soldiers each and some other figures which await the result of the battle or march away in recession. The whole thing is, as usual, presented from above and every figure as well as every portion of the architectural motive ^{is drawn} ~~is drawn~~ from a different station point so as to obtain the greatest clearness of detail. But the artist has at the same time accentuated certain leading parallel lines in the drooping of the city walls as well as in the arrangement ^{ment} of the figures and as these recede obliquely towards the background ~~a certain length has been gained~~ in the same fashion as in many Chinese and Japanese picture scrolls of later times. The details have become subject to a relative unity of space which also supports the very strong decorative effect produced by the contrast between the moving figures in the foreground and the city walls in the background. There is an element of strength and severe grandeur in this composition which ~~many~~ ^{many} later representations of similar motives would find have.

The paintings in this cave no 70, form evidently one of the most interesting chapters in the great picture chronicle of Tun Huang which ^{was} ~~has been~~ continued during at least five centuries. They may be, from the middle of the 5th century ^{or shortly before} ~~then~~ ^{about the middle of the 8th century} ~~when~~ Chinese art seems to have reached a relative culmination at this place. ~~But~~ ^{the} Tun Huang came under the domination of the Tibetans who remained the rulers here for nearly a century and during this period there seems to have been some ^{change} ~~change~~ in the general orientation ~~and style~~ of the Tun Huang paintings. The fundamentally Chinese ^{style} ~~character~~ of this art is modified by a closer connection with Indian painting which becomes visible particularly in the hieratic figures.

The relatively high artistic level of these pictures, from the middle of the 8th century may also be observed in the fragments of fresco paintings from cave 140 which Mr. Langdon Warner has brought to

the Fogg Museum in Cambridge, Mass. The plates which Prof Pelliot offers from this cave, (Pl. 307-311) show no paradise but simply rows of Bodhisattvas and legendary illustrations (besides the poorly restored sculptural group on the altar), and these are arranged very much according to the same continuous fashion of composition as in cave 70. The two caves are evidently of the same period which also is verified by the costumes of some of the female figures (for inst. on pl. 307). Two of the fragments in the Fogg Museum represent parts of Bodhisattvas, one of them together with other saints, while the third shows a group of three men, one of whom is lifting an axe aiming a deadly blow at the mouth in front of him. The Bodhisattva heads have the quality of great sculptures, they are not only drawn but modelled with remarkable strength, and the men in the last named fragment possess a high degree of artistic expressiveness. We feel the tension in the slim man with the raised axe, the cowardly styness of the companion who is sneaking behind his back, and the calm composure of the man who in a moment will have his skull fractured. Not having seen any other original fresco paintings from Tun Huang, I was much impressed by the artistic standard of these, and they made me realize that the Tun Huang frescoes of the best period are by no means common artisans' work but are inferior to the pictures on silk or canvas from the same place. It is possible that the style ^{of painting} at Tun Huang remained a little behind that of more central places in China but I doubt that the ordinary wall paintings from Ch'ang'an and Lo-yang ^{exhibited a much} ~~would have been~~ higher standard of style than these fragments from Tun Huang. Very good ~~painters~~ ^{artists} must have been attracted to this place at its time of glory, but ^{the high standard was evidently not sustained.} ~~the high standard was evidently not sustained.~~ during the later centuries of ^{artistic activity} ~~the frescoed decoration~~ at Tun Huang.

One may well speak of an evolution in the representation of space in the later frescoes ^{as} demonstrated by Dr. Vachhoffer, but it is of a very formal kind ^{being fitting in} ~~and being~~ particular the architectural elements of the compositions. The compositions become thus more clearly divided and better unified in an architectural sense, but as far as may be judged from the reproductions, some of the ^{imaginative} ~~best~~ freshness and flowing ease in the ~~illustrations~~ ^{illustrations} is lost, and the style grows more dry and exact. The pictures that illustrate this gradual change are found in the caves 34,

*) (Binyon's opinion that the frescoes at Tun Huang are "decidedly provincial and archaic" is certainly too sweeping. Cf. Catalogue of the Eumorphopoulos collection of Chinese Frescoes. p. 12.) (Pl. 72)

31 (Pl. 66 and 67), 120 C. (Pl. 249) and 139 A (203). Through these pictures one may follow the growing tendency towards a definite partition and architectural ~~disposition~~ disposition of the walls. The illustrative scenes are arranged into series of separate pictures and become thus like album leaves instead of being like a continuous vertical scroll; each one of them is a separate ~~unit~~ ^{or stage} still seen from above and rendered with isometric perspective which evidently was the method ~~most~~ most familiar to the painters of the Far East and best suited to their pictorial imagination. But the large central scenes, ~~representing~~ ^{representing} Amitabha's or Vairocana's paradise, are ~~represented~~ ^{represented} from a lower station point which gradually becomes ~~more~~ ^{relatively} fixed. It would be wrong to speak about a centralised linear perspective with an absolutely fixed station point in these pictures but there is a more or less close approximation to it ~~in the drawing of the architectural framework~~ ^{in the drawing of the architectural framework}. If we look at the picture of Amitabha's paradise in cave 139 A as an example, we find that the two sloped terraces and the enclosing pavilions and gateways are drawn from a central point approximately at the height of the ~~upper~~ ^{upper} figures, ~~with~~ the upper parts are seen from below and the terraces, seen above and the lines are clearly converging. The perspective construction is not strictly carried out in all the part (as for inst. the corner towers) nor does it include the figures but it is a very good approximation ^{which} ~~of the~~ serves to convey a remarkable impression of unified space. It is not usual to ~~find~~ ^{find} such a close approximation of a perspective construction in Chinese paintings and it has been inspired by Indian ~~models~~ models. An evident influence from Indian art is also noticeable in the drawing of the figures, particularly the central Buddha with the narrow waist. The picture may be from the beginning of the 9th century when Tun Huang was dominated by the Tibetans.

The figures are placed as usual on the different terraces in hieratic attitudes: in the middle a large Buddha on ~~high~~ ^{high} raised lotus throne; at his sides four somewhat smaller Bodhisattvas, likewise on lotus thrones, and between them minor saints. Pavilions with other saints are placed at the sides, while the background is filled with large decorative gateways ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ which the canopies of the figures seem to be suspended. In front of this upper terrace are three ~~platforms~~ ^{platforms} rising from a lotus ~~pond~~ ^{pond}; on the middle one a dancing

girl is performing her art with great zeal to the rhythmic music produced by two rows of heavenly musicians, placed at either side of the platform. On the two side platforms are seated Buddhas, accompanied by some minor Bodhisattvas contemplating the heavenly dancer.

This kind of courtly assemblies on balustraded platforms ^{rising from lotus ponds} connected by bridges ~~rising out of~~ are developed with an ever increasing number of divisions and figures in several of the later frescoes. In fact, the compositions become so extensive and rich in details that they hardly can be appreciated in small reproductions. Examples of these later paradises may be seen in the plates from caves 52, Pl. 90, and 241/1134-136). The successive platforms are here so ~~very~~ crowded with figures that one may wonder how the slender poles on which they rest can support the weight. The execution is much more schematic than in the earlier pictures, and the types and costumes of the persons, ^{especially} the donors, have changed. This is no doubt due to a new, predominating influence from the Hsiung who since 8, 3 had ^{become} ~~the~~ ^{the masters of the surrounding} country establishing their capital at Kowuchi. Dr. Baehhofer has pointed out the close resemblance between this later art of Tun Huang and the Hsiung paintings from Tanshan (in Berlin); the stylistic connection is quite evident. The people who acted as donors at Tun Huang in the 10th century must have been almost exclusively Hsiung and they seem to have been even more eager than the Chinese to have their portraits reproduced on a large scale in connection with the paradises. These frescoes carry us truly to the borderland of Chinese art stylistically as well as geographically and into a period when the art of painting in China, proper had found entirely different scopes and ideals than ^{those of} ~~the~~ Buddhist art from the Tang period.

The paintings on silk and canvas from Tun Huang form an important supplement to the frescoes. They have become comparatively well known to Western students through the large collections brought to London and Paris by Sir Aurel Stein and Prof. Paul Pelliot respectively and of the former collection a great number have been beautifully reproduced in Sir Aurel Stein's publications.¹⁾ The great majority of these pictures are however of

¹⁾ Serindia, Vol. IV. Pl. LVI-XCIV. and The Thousand Buddhas etc. with an Introductory Essay by Laurence Binyon. London 1921. The pictures of the Stein collection which now are preserved in the British Museum and the Museum of Central Asian Antiquities, Delhi, has lately (1931) been been catalogued by Arthur Moyle and is most valuable book reached as only after the completion of this manuscript.

a comparatively late period, i.e. from the time after the Tibetan occupation when the artistic activity at T'ien Huang no longer was at its height. They reproduce quite often earlier designs in a schematic fashion and offer thus more interest from an iconographic than from a purely artistic point of view. The earliest date on any of the pictures in London is 864, the latest 983, but among the pictures brought from T'ien Huang by Prof. Pelliot and now exhibited in the Musée Guimet in Paris is a fragment representing the upper part of a Kasyapa figure which has a dated inscription that may be read in accordance with the year 729 A.D. It is a fine silk drawing on silk executed with a fine brush but without any particular accent or strength that would reveal a master hand. It is quoted here merely for the sake of its documentary importance. The other painting from the same collection here reproduced is considerably later; it represents Kuan Yin standing on the waves accompanied by a worshipping donor. The design is elegant and the execution superior to that of most of the pictures in the Musée Guimet; it may not be a direct copy but a free ^{individual} rendering of this popular motive.

The most important pictures from T'ien Huang are however in the Stein collections in London and Delhi and these represent Amitabha's, Shakyamuni's or Bhaisajyaguru's paradise in a similar fashion as the fresco paintings from the ^{latter half} of the eighth and ^{the} beginning of the ninth c. AD. It seems thus hardly necessary to describe ~~these~~ in detail these festival gatherings of heavenly beings on the platforms that rise from the lotus tanks in front of ornamental gateways and pavilions, nor could they be more sympathetically appreciated than by Mr. Vignon in his ^{introductory} text to Pl. I. II in The Thousand Buddhas where he writes: "The artist has been able to control his complex material and multitudes of forms into a wonderful harmony without any restlessness or confusion; we are taken into an atmosphere of strange peace, which yet seems filled with buoyant ~~and~~ motion and with floating strains of music."

Beside these large compositions centered around the principal Buddhas there are numerous representations of the Bodhisattvas either free standing or combined with scenes from their legends. The most frequent is probably Avalokitesvara (Kuan Yin) as a deliverer from various calamities but Kshitigarbha, the saviour from hell, appears also in ^{several} pictures and ^{either} Manjusri together with Samantabhadra or on his visit to Vimalakirti.

Other classical Buddhist motives treated in the T'ang paintings are the Four Guardians (Lokapalas), the Ten Kings of Hell and the Sixteen Arhats. It is evident that this rich display of Buddhist imagery offers an important material for iconographic studies quite of its artistic qualities. Stylistically it exhibits more or less the same influences as the pre-T'ang paintings that is to say: the Chinese fundamental character is in some cases modified by Indo-Tibetan and possibly Hsiang features.

One of the most interesting pictures in the collection reproduced here for historical as well as artistic reasons is the Buddha Tejahlambha and the Deities of the Five Planets, which is dated 897. The Buddha is seated on a high two wheeled cart drawn by a white ox, ^{on the clouds} and around the cart are grouped five genii, some of very strange appearance, which represent the planets. Mr. Binyon points out that the style of this picture is very early: "it comes nearest to the style we find in the K'ai-chih, both in its finer, drier line, in its proportions of the figure, its generally more primitive aspect, and its comparative freedom from Indian influence." These observations seem to us well justified and they may allow the conclusion that the picture was inspired by the work of an earlier Chinese painter of some importance. We know that several of the best masters of T'ang and pre-T'ang times painted stars and heavenly constellations, such pictures are mentioned in the lists of Chang Seng-yu's, Yen di-pen's and Wu Tao-tzu's works in the Hsüan-ho collection. The first named artist did pictures of The Nine Brightnesses (i.e. Sun, Moon and Seven Planets), The Planet Saturn, The Five Planets and Twenty-eight Constellations, while Yen and Wu both painted The Five Planets, and there may have been others by less known men. The T'ang Huang picture is evidently a specimen of the same kind of allegorical stellar compositions and may be a descendant from one or another of the masters' works.

The more or less hieratic compositions of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and the like ~~offered~~ ^{offered} the artists a more limited opportunity of displaying their individual talents and their interest in nature than some of the illustrative motives which often were treated in the framing borders around the large compositions or on separate narrow banners. The Chinese painters could more easily take certain liberties from traditional rules of iconography in these small legendary illustrations and

^{p. 8.}
*) Cf. Binyon's Introductory Essay to The Thousand Buddhas. The picture is described in detail by Sir Aurel Stein on p. 53 and reproduced in colour on plate 38.

Boillisaetons and some smaller

give free reins to their imagination. Most common among these are the scenes from the life of Prince Siddhartha illustrating the successive stages on his path to Buddhahood. We see him take farewell of his faithful horse Kanthaka and the groom Chandaka; we see the messengers of his father searching for the prince among the mountains; we see him cutting his hair and take farewell of his companions and finally meditating alone in the wilderness. The effect of these and similar scenes depends largely on the combination of the figures with certain elements of landscape which in spite of their highly conventional character contribute to give ^{to} the best of these small compositions a tone of solitude and austerity which ~~balances~~ corresponds to the import of the motives.

In other scenes the artists have represented animals with a remarkable feeling for ^{their} characteristics. Examples of this may be seen in ~~some~~ the fragments of a banner representing the so called Simultaneous Births i.e. the births which took place in the animal kingdom at the same time as that of Shakyamuni. Three pairs of animals remain on these fragments: A sheep suckling a lamb, a cow licking the head of its calf (while milked by a woman), and a mare suckling its foal (which became Kanthaka). The animals are placed against green hills with a few flowering plants and painted in light colours, modelled and characterized each according to its species. Thus the white sheep is soft and

woolly, the more sinewy cow is rather bony and ^{is} curving its back as it is being milked. The painter has depicted something he knew by actual observation and done it so naively and accurately that his small pictures, in spite of their "primitiveness", have become convincing representations of animal life. Pictures like these prove, ~~indeed~~ that the painters who worked at Tun huang were by no means incapable of stepping outside the traditional furrows of religious imagery.

A more finished composition is the small picture on paper in the Pelliot collection in Douvre which represents a high official on horseback, followed by his squires who carry a lance. The figures are apparently watching some situation in front of them; they keep perfectly still but seem to be ready to move at any moment. A certain amount of space is suggested by the trees and flowering plants which grow on the hillside. The firm drawing bespeaks of a good master who may have had in mind some great mural painting when he drew this little illustration.

It may not be necessary to go into further details in regard to these portable pictures from Tun Huang. They have been so extensively discussed by various authorities, referred to in the previous pages, from iconographic, historical and artistic points of view. Their importance in the history of Chinese painting has been variously estimated, but as long as other specimens of religious painting of the Tang dynast

In spite of the fact that the pictures of the Tang dynasty are exceedingly rare, it may well be said that the great masters of this period still survive as definite artistic personalities. Their lives and works are extensively recorded by Chang Yen-yuen and other early historians and not a few of their compositions have become known in later reproductions. It is thus by a parallel study of the descriptions of their styles, ~~and~~ and characteristics and of the copies or paintings ~~in the past~~ based on their works that we may reach some idea of their artistic importance. The historical material is, as a matter of fact, in some cases so rich and interesting that it would deserve a much fuller treatment than we can afford in this short survey of early Chinese painting. Yet, it seems to us of greater interest to concentrate our discussion on the leading personalities than to include a mass of information about minor artists whose names cannot be connected with any existing paintings.

The oldest of the men of the first rank was Yen di-pên. He belonged to a family of painters. His father, Yen Pi, was a well known painter in the Sui period who introduced his two sons, Yen di-tê and Yen di-pên into the art of painting. They were both active at the courts of the great emperors Tai Tsung (627-649) and Kao Tsung (650-683) and cooperated in the execution of certain great decorative works as for instance the frescoes in Tzu Lu son. They made both an important official career and were highly esteemed by their imperial patrons not only as artists but also as administrative officials. The older brother di-tê became in 630 President of the Board of Public Works (Kung pu) and was at the time responsible not only for the ~~decorative paintings in the palace~~ ^{imperial buildings and their decorations} but also for the designs for the imperial carriages, umbrellas, hats and fans. He was in this office by di-pên who became Kung pu president about 657. Eleven years later di-pên advanced to the post of one of the two prime ministers of the country, and though he showed no mean ability as an administrator of public affairs, it became a common saying that the one minister was good in painting and the other (his colleague) was good in war. At the court

he was known as the Colours-Magician but emperor Tai Tsung called him simply Yen, the painter and commissioned him with many kinds of picture making. He had to represent Prince Kuei killing the blue tiger, but also the strange bird which the emperor had discovered on the Ch'iu yin lake while boating with his officials. As Yen had to stoop down to the water's edge and execute his picture ~~amidst~~ ^{amid} the curiosity of the courtiers he is said to have felt somewhat humiliated and to have remarked to his son afterwards: "In my youth I studied literature and poetry but now I am known simply as the painter and regarded as a servant. I advise you to keep away from this art!" Whether this anecdote is true or not (Chang Yen-shan expresses strong doubts about it) it is evident that Yen devoted himself with continuous access to the art of painting. When he died in 673 he was honored with ~~a high~~ ^{the} posthumous title Wen Chen (True Scholar) and all the historians of the Tang period and later times mention him as the greatest painter of the early part of the dynasty.

His fame with posterity is based in particular on his ~~pictures~~ ^{portraits} activity as a recorder of past and present personages and events which were considered of political or moral importance in the history of the country. In 626 he was commissioned to paint the eighteen scholars of the Ch'iu dynasty college known as the Abode of the Blessed. In 643 he executed portraits of twenty-four meritorious officials in the Ling-yen pavilion, and these were adorned by writings by the emperor. He made two or more famous paintings of the envoys of western nations arriving with tributes to the ~~great~~ ^{great} emperor, and he is also known to have painted a ~~series~~ ^{series} of portraits of the ancient emperors, from the Han to the Sui dynasty, to which we will revert presently.

Li Shu-chien, the critic of the Tang period said that it was Yen who made figure painting prosper again after a period of decay. "He painted the envoys of many countries arriving at court with tributes of jade from the T'u Mountain and other precious things; he painted the processions of these barbarian people ~~with their high hair ornaments, their hats, and their~~ ^{with their high hair ornaments, their hats, and their} strange and startling costumes such as drinking through the nose and making the head fly, and he did it all with greatest accuracy down to the smallest details."

~~The following quotation from Maegowan's Imperial History of China, p. 297 arrived at the capital to bring tribute to the great conqueror T'ai Tsung. It was of interest as a kind of test to Yen Li-pai's paintings of foreign envoys. Languages that had never been spoken at a royal audience before were now heard in Ch'ang-an.~~

"Men remarked upon the variety of costumes that were seen in the open space in front of the palace, and how picturesque they looked as the ambassadors moved about with their attendants waiting to be received by the Emperor. One of his ministers was so struck by this spectacle that he suggested that artists should be employed to paint from life the different groups as they brought their offerings to court, so that future ages might have some idea of the glory and magnificence of T'ai Tsung's reign." ~~The painter chosen to perform the task was evidently~~

It is well known that Yen Di-pen ^{felt} the greatest admiration for Chang Seng-yu and copied his works whenever he could find them. According to a tradition, Yen would, when he for the first time met with a work by the old master, have declared: "Chang's reputation was ill-deserved; but when he saw it again the next day, he ~~admitted~~ ^{said}: "Among recent painters Chang was a fine master", and on the third ^{day} he arrived at the conclusion: "No artist ever gets more fame than he is entitled to; and remained before the picture for ten days without going home even for the night; he simply lay down in front of it. Most of the old critics mention

der to this publication, where all the historical informations concerning the picture are brought together, ^{and} ~~relating~~ here only a few of the main points in regard to the motive and its artistic presentation.

The thirteen personages who are represented in the picture form a selection of the numerous emperors of various dynasties ^{which} ~~who~~ reigned in China (or over parts of the country) from Chao-wen Ti of the Western Han dynasty (179-157 b.C.) to Yang Ti of the Sui dynasty (605-617). Most of them appear in full regal attire, standing or walking, but there are four exceptions to this rule, figures dressed in simpler garments and not accompanied by their ministers of state but simply by sergants, either male or female. These are all emperors of the short-lived and weak, though artistically gifted Ch'en dynasty (557-587), and they form by far the most interesting portions of the whole picture. Thus Ch'en Hsüan Ti is carried on a litter by four grooms while other grooms are carrying tall fans on both sides of the emperor; ^[R] Ch'en Wen Ti, the noblest character of this dynasty, sits on a dais with two ladies in waiting standing behind him; ^[R] Fei Ti likewise, forming a somewhat weaker pendant to the former, while the last ruler of the house of Ch'en, Hou-chu, is represented as a small man in long loose garments with simply a train-bearer in attendance. ~~It may indeed be said that each emperor with his accompanying servants or ministers forms a separate picture, and these successive groups have~~ ^{formal} ~~no connection between themselves.~~ The main interest lies in the characterisation of the figures, the more or less imaginary portraits which, no doubt, are based on earlier originals. The strongest emphasis is naturally laid on the emperors but some of the secondary figures, the ministers, the servants and the ladies, reveal more intimate features of human character and offer thus more interest from an artistic point of view.

The method of expression is mainly linear and in certain of the figures of a somewhat mechanical character, but then too, as pointed out by

Mr Tomita, "there are attempts in modelling of the faces by means of shading in pale red and in various colours on the folds of the costumes - a technique which disappeared from the latter part of the T'ang dynasty (except in Buddhist paintings)... The principal colours used on the scroll are black, white, red, green, yellow, brown, and violet; all have deteriorated greatly and are darkened by age, as is the silk on which they are applied."

Several documents are attached to the painting all containing testimonials by prominent critics as to its execution by Yen Li-pên. The earliest of these writings dates probably from about 1000, or shortly before, and in this it is stated that the picture was painted by Yen Li-pên in the Chêng-kuan era (627-649). ^{Some known in the period} ~~Several prominent Sung scholars~~ have expressed their opinion to the same effect, ^{but} one of them, the state minister Chou Pi-ta, qualifies this opinion as applying only to one section of the picture. He saw the picture first in its ruined original condition and then after it had been remounted in 1188, and wrote on it as follows: "I examined it and of the thirteen emperors, only in Hsüan Ti of the Ch'en dynasty, his two ministers, the two fan-carriers, two attendants and four litter-bearers is the vigour of the brush especially excellent. The silk in this part, moreover, is particularly worn. I have no doubt that this portion, is the genuine work of Yen Li-pên. The rest appears to me to have been copied from the old and is therefore somewhat better preserved." - This observation is, no doubt, well founded in so far as the ~~whole~~ picture is not executed uniformly by one hand yet, it seems far from certain that ~~only the portrait of Hsüan Ti~~ ^{alone} would be the ~~work of~~ ^{by} Yen Li-pên. Mr Tomita has arrived at a different conclusion after a careful examination of the silk and the colours. He admits that the first six groups are replacements of earlier ones, which may have been destroyed beyond repair in the tenth or eleventh century; they show fresher colours and a somewhat coarser drawing than the

other seven groups and the silk is different, but the rest are "all from the same hand" and the silk in this second half of the scroll is uniform: "In fact the same irregularity of threads in the weaving runs from 7 through 13 inclusively. For these reasons, we believe that if the Hsüan Ti group be genuine, then the groups 8 to 13 must be equally so."

However this may be, it can hardly be denied that the group representing Hsüan Ti carried on a litter, is the finest and most interesting in the whole series, not only because of the great variations in the assistant figures but also through the remarkably intimate characterisation of the emperor. Chou Pi-ta had good reasons for extolling it above the rest of the painting. Yet, it seems hardly possible to draw a line of demarcation (between this group and those of the two following Ch'en emperors) in regard to style and technical execution. And the same may be ^{said in regard} ~~argued as~~ to the execution of the three last emperors, Wu Ti of the Northern Chou and Wen Ti and Yang Ti of the Sui dynasty, although they are represented in the same stiff ceremonial attitudes as the six first emperors at the beginning of the scroll. We have thus no ~~actual~~ reason to discard Mm. Tomita's conclusion that the groups 7 to 13 may be by Yen Li-pên.

To what extent he has copied the figures from earlier portraits or composed them by imagination is difficult to tell, but it might be supposed that the four Ch'en emperors, who are represented in a so much freer fashion and with more life-like and varied assistants than the others, are more imaginative inventions by the artist than the uniformly ceremonial personages in regal attire,. The groups of Hsüan Ti and Wen Ti in particular, may indeed, be reckoned among the most interesting remnants of early T'ang painting, which have survived to our days.

In addition to the pictures by or after Yen Li-pên described above may be mentioned ~~two~~ ^{two} or ~~three~~ ^{three} works which ~~very likely are based on his designs, though the connection in these cases is more difficult to prove.~~ ^{no doubt have a very close connection} and most likely may be classified as early copies after Yen. ^(with his art)

In our discussion of Chang Seng-yu we had already occasion to point out how this master in particular served as a model for Yen Li-gen, and it was also mentioned that among the works which Yen painted after (or copied from) Chang Seng-yu was not only The Brushing of the Elephant but also a picture of A Drunken Monk. Chang Seng-yu's representation of this subject seems to have enjoyed a great fame; it is mentioned by Chang Yen-yüan and by Kuo To-hsü, who says that it caused merrow among the Taoists, as they considered it, perfas or nefas, a skirt on the Buddhist monks. To defend or revenge themselves some of these collected a sum of money and ordered Yen Li-gen to make a picture of A Drunken Taoist Monk. Such is the popular tradition which ~~probably originates from~~ appears to us a late invention particularly when we remember that more than a hundred years divided ~~between~~ the two artists. Yet, it seems quite evident from the informations related below that Yen painted a picture of A Drunken Taoist Monk in rather close resemblance to Chang's Monk. The two pictures are discussed by the Sung critic Tung Yu (Tsu, Yen-yüan) in his ^{book} ~~work~~ Huang-chuan Hua Po; he divides his discussion in two parts, devoting the first to the Buddhist and the second to the Taoist picture. The picture of the Drunken Buddhist monk was, according to ~~the~~ tradition of the Sung period a work by Chang Seng-yu, but it was also said that Ku K'ai-chih observed such defamatory scenes in the temples and amused himself to paint them (which however, according to Tung Yu, is not proved by any reliable records). Liu Ju (a scholar of the Tsin-pao era, 742-55) said that Yen Li-gen added Taoist cap ~~and~~ ^{and} thus changed it into a representation of A Drunken Taoist Monk, but this is not correct, according to the author. He then goes on to speak about the monastic rules.

His discussion of the other picture, The Drunken Taoist Monk contains however some more informations of interest and may therefore be quoted here: "Fan Shu-kung says the picture of the Drunken Buddhist Monk was altered by Yen Li-gen who added a Taoist cap. Huang Wang-tao said: it was Ku K'ai-chih's picture of The Drunken Guest; but somebody who doubted this remarked: Ku K'ai-chih was in possession of the records, while Wang simply repeated popular tradition; if we look up in the Hua Chi and other books, we find that Ku K'ai-chih made only the Picture of the Western Garden Hsi-yü t'u, of which we are still

* Quoted in Wang Shih Hua yüan. Vol. 11 l. 42-43.

elise which are quite different from this picture (of the Drunken Taoist).
 Lin Su said: Minister Yen made another picture of A Drunken Taoist
Monk and besides this there was a picture of The Drunken Buddhist
Monk. These utterances are not correct. Yet, the costumes, the coiled
 cogs, and the wine vessels are all such as were used from the Chin to
 the Sui period and no doubt made by a man of that time. This is a
 quite definite point. — As to the loose manners and excessive
 drinking they were like those of the Retired Scholars of the Hamoo
 Grove, who also were aiming at good manners but were unable to re-
 strain themselves and ended in self-indulgence and licentiousness.
 Those who have not reached the world of drunkenness and ecstasy
 through wine will not understand it (the picture), properly. They
 talk about its shapes and the spirit are rendered by the second
 old-fashioned brush-work, but that is only like tasting the seeds
 of the painting without understanding the real significance of it.

Tung Yu does not seem to have been quite certain how the picture of The
Drunken Taoist Monk was made; the preponderance of evidence was in
 favour of Yen Lixen, but the costumes and utensils were of an earlier
 type than those of the Tang period. The conclusion seems most natural
 that the picture in question was based on an earlier original, be it that
 Yen had simply made certain additions to Chang's picture or ~~added~~
~~it~~ copied ~~partly~~ more or less faithfully adding certain features of his
 own. Unfortunately we get no description of the composition, but I
 believe that no modern student of Chinese painting who reads the
 above remarks can help recalling the well known picture in W. A. Hoe-
 let's collection representing a drunken man in a tent assisted and
 surrounded by ^{a number of} companions. Walley was the first to call the picture "The
Classical Orgy" and he expressed the opinion that it would be a copy
 by Li Tung-mien after Chang Sen-yu's picture of the Drunken Budd-
hist Monk. This opinion ^{is however} ~~is~~ to us acceptable only in part.

It may be asked whether the big man with the long beard who
 sits on the platform in a state of profound unconsciousness, assisted
 by a man and a woman, is a Buddhist monk. He is at least very
 unlike Buddhist monks of later times who do not wear a beard. The
 very strange ornamental cap which a third assistant is keeping ready
 for his head ~~seems~~ ^{seems} also to indicate that the principal

person cannot be a Buddhist monk. A similar, high crested and multi-coloured cap is worn by the woman behind him; they are very prominent and may be taken to signify that the personages are Taoists. Behind the main group are three figures, two servants bringing more wine in large bowls of classic shapes, and a woman ^{consoling} with a baby in her arms which may be an indication that the man trespassed also other monastic rules than that of not drinking wine. The other half of the picture is filled with a no less fascinating group of nine monks who also evidently have enjoyed wine in excess; three of them are lying unconscious on the ground, two are making merrily (one a drum and a lute), the rest are expressing their interest or fearful reverence in attitudes and mimicry of rare eloquence. The whole thing is steeped in an atmosphere of profound pathos, accentuated rather than disturbed by the grotesque features.

The picture is, as a matter of fact, quite unlike anything else known to us of Chinese painting and the reason for this may be that it reflects faithfully a work ^{for rather a style} of earlier type than we are used to. It is possible that the execution is of the Northern Sung period, though this should also require renewed studies) but its mode of expression, the ^{bold} characterization of the figures, the ^{very} fine linear drawing, the costumes and utensils and above all, the singularly powerful conception, are certainly of an earlier period. If the picture, as explained above, represents The Drunken Taoist Monk rather than the Buddhist Monk, it may well be Yen di-pen's version of the motive, possibly in a later execution. But ~~the~~ the Tang master did his picture in close adherence to Chang Seng-yu's composition of a hundred years earlier, as indicated by Tung Yu. The fundamental characteristics of the 5th c. picture are very early but somehow they seem to be utilised in a freer way than a ~~pre-Tang painter would have been able to do, it reveals a relationship of execution which, however, does not conceal the original conception.~~ pre-Tang painter would have been able to do. Still, we know as yet so very little about the actual state of Chinese painting ~~at~~ the time of Chang Seng-yu that it ^{would be} ~~is~~ futile to try to define how far the style is his or that of Yen di-pen. But for historical reasons it seems most natural to include the picture in the discussion of Yen di-pen's works.

~~The~~ ^{in the Boston Museum} short scroll representing Scholars of Northern Ch'i Dynasty Collating Classic Texts, ~~which also recently has become part of the Rees collection~~ ^{also} in The Boston Museum, has been attributed to Yen or described as a picture in his manner by prominent critics ever since the Sung dynasty.^{x/} In a colophon on the picture written by Fan Ch'eng-ta (1126-1193) it is stated: "This picture of Collating Books in the Northern Ch'i is traditionally said to be done in the manner of Yen Li-pên. It is described fully in Huang T'ing-chien's (1050-1110) Record of Paintings. This scroll, however, lacks the seven scholars who are seated on two daises. It is clear that half (of the whole picture) has been lost." - The other four inscriptions by men of the Sung period refer to the motive of the picture and not to the artist, but in the later colophons by connoisseurs of the Ch'ing dynasty the picture is again commended as a work by Yen Li-pên and it is also described as such by An I-chou in Mo Yüan Hui Kuan and by Lu Hsin-yüan in Jang Li Kuan Kuo Yen Lu. In the Boston Museum it is now catalogued as a work of the Northern Sung period probably after a design by Yen Li-pên which, no doubt, is the most exact definition that may be given to this picture.

~~The present picture which~~ ^{and} represents a gathering of five scholars assisted by a number of male and female servants, occupied in reading and copying ancient writings, reproduces probably (as stated above) only one half of the original composition. The scholars who were appointed in 556 by emperor Wen Hsüan of the Northern Ch'i dynasty to collate the classic texts were twelve in number, and, according to Huang T'ing-chien, the original picture or drawing (fên-pên) represented the whole company. The very free and animated composition may be seen in our reproduction; ^[cf.] it reaches its culmination in the group on the dais where one of the worthy scholars is pulling the strap of the trousers of one of his colleagues who is preparing to go away and who resists with a smile the friendly pull.

x/ Cf. Mr. K. Tomita's article on this picture containing all the historical informations regarding it in The Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
Aug. 1931.

This central group is ~~it~~^{by} itself a masterpiece^{e/} of composition, and it must have become particularly famous because we find it reproduced also in another picture now in the Palace Museum in ~~Peking~~^{Beiping} and attributed to Chin Wen-po, a less known painter of the 10th century. In this picture, which is known to me only in reproduction, the dais with the four scholars and the female servants standing behind and at the side (carrying the chin and the big cushion?) are placed in a garden landscape. There are rockeries and some high trees behind it, the whole picture being treated as a hanging scroll. The figures are distinctly weaker and of ~~a~~^{more} modern type; whether the picture is a work of the 10th century, is impossible to tell from a reproduction, but it is quite evident that it is a later rendering^{of the motive} than the scroll in Boston. And as the grooms with the horses and the two figures nearest to them also are left out, one may ask whether this later picture was made after the Boston scroll or after some other original^{from} which ~~possibly~~
~~the scroll also may have been copied.~~
~~ly also was copied in the scroll.~~ There is said to have existed an earlier rendering of this motive, "Collating the Books in the Northern Ch'i", by Yang Tzu-hua, a sixth century painter, who was particularly admired by Yen Li-pen.^{xx/} The probability lies near at hand that Yen followed this earlier representation at least in part, but we would venture the supposition that he added on his own account the horses and grooms which stand in a rather loose connection with the rest and which to us seem particularly characteristic of Yen Li-pen. The bearded groom of T'archic type reminds us of certain figures in the Hsi Yü t'u ~~scroll~~ in the National Museum in ~~Peking~~^{Beiping}, and the horses are quite like those of ~~the~~^{Emperor} Tai Tsung's tomb which also were done from drawings by Yen Li-pen.

The probability that the Boston scroll faithfully reproduces a work of Yen Li-pen seems to us very great, but it is evident, that the execution

x/ Cf. The Palace Museum publication, Ku Kung, Nr.1.

xx/ Cf. Mr. Tomita's article in the Bulletin. XXIX.p.62.

must be later. It is very delicate and ^{Painted}~~done~~ in a fashion that was practised ⁱⁿ at Hui Tsung's academy in K'ai-feng. The drawing is done all through with fine ink lines and over this are spread thin pigments with a light hand. The picture has darkened by age, but the sensitiveness of the colouring and the fine quality of the drawing may still be perceived. To quote Mr Tomita: "Although the lines are extremely delicate, the assurance and strength of the hand which drew them are marked. The soft and stiff materials (of the costumes), whether falling loosely or in plaits, are clearly differentiated. But most remarkable of all are the faces, especially those of the scholars. ^[1] Their seriousness, their eagerness to accomplish the task entrusted to them, their jocularly when a moment of idle relaxation is their reward, are admirably expressed. The faces, which are only about one inch and a half in height in the original, when enlarged, reveal a master-hand capable of delineating vivid portraits in thin brush-strokes without any attempt at light or shadow." The merit of this extraordinary quality of draughtmanship may be largely due to the executing artist, who must have been one of the great masters of the Northern Sung period, but the types, their character and expressiveness must also have existed in Yen Li-pên's original.

Yen Li-pên painted also Buddhist pictures, though of a more unusual kind, as for instance, Manjus'ri's visit to Vimalakirti and the Brushing of the Elephant, which are mentioned by Chang Ch'ou. ^{They may have been free renderings of earlier compositions.} After having described the former of these two pictures, he says that it was no exaggeration when Yen was called "The Colour Magician". ~~The latter picture is not described by Chang Ch'ou, but the composition is known through later copies of which the best belongs to the Freer Gallery. This picture is somewhat surprising because not only the general appearance of the composition but also the types of the figures correspond quite closely to the T'ang mode whereas the materials on~~

which it is painted, a glossy silk or satin, seems to be of a much later origin. It is difficult to say at what time the picture was executed, but it was evidently done by a man who knew how to preserve the characteristics of T'ang style. It is not a dead copy, but a thing which is artistically alive, in spite, or perhaps because of its rather worn condition, which adds to the difficulty of arriving at a conclusion as to its age. The colouring with its blue and cinneber red pigments is also of a decidedly early type.

~~His great merit as an artist must however have been a perfect~~
It was, ^{however} after all, the extraordinary vitality and character of Yen Li-pên's figures which aroused the enthusiasm of the old critics. He is said to have mastered all "the six principles", but his greatness as a genius depended on the chi yung, ^{resonance of the} "the spirit ~~harmony~~" to use Hsieh Ho's expression. He was original, fantastic, creative even to the degree of neglecting natural verisimilitude and the laws of nature. Very telling in this respect are some of the remarks made by ^{the Sung critic} a twelfth century writer, Tung Yu, ^{about Li-pên's} ~~on Yen's picture~~ Wei Ch'iao t'u (The Bridge on the Wei River):^{x/}

"The picture represented the Court of Han accepting homages from some foreign tribes on the Wei River at the first month of the year. Its length and breadth, far and near, could not be measured. Hibiscus, apricots and plums were all blooming together. Men, horses, houses and trees were all out of shape. It was not like the pictures of to-day. What was the reason of its excellence? It seems to me that the people who discuss pictures attach too much importance to outward likeness, which is not the real thing in art. If an artist is to reach spiritual significance, he must give an original interpretation and avoid the traditional. It is not enough to copy the shapes and lay on colours. That is like taking off the clothes and to sit crosslegged instead of laying down to rest, which will enable you to move freely afterwards. In such a way people will never reach a proper appreciation of the brush-work of a man like Yen Li-pen."

L. 97-38

x/ Quoted in Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Fang, III, after Xuang Chuan Hua Po.

"For an eternity my entire household stumbled forward on foot.... in mud, in mire we dragged, clung to one another", writes Tu Fu and then, after a description of the burning of the imperial palaces and the massacre of the people, he adds: "Old men who had seen years ^{x/}pace one hundred cycles, in secret wept with silent tears."

Tu Fu was captured by An Lu-shan's men and taken back into a kind of captivity ^{to} the capital; Han Wei, the famous poet-painter, who held a high official post, was forced to serve the rebel chief; other prominent men committed suicide. "What happened to Tu Tao-tzu? Did he stay on in the capital or did he escape to some quieter place, where his gods and dragons were in greater demand? History is silent on this point. We do not know even how long he survived this political disaster, but the chances ^{are} that he died in his sixties about 760.

. / .

Tu Tao-tzu.

Were we to write an imaginative history of Chinese painting, great deal could be said about him and his great fresco compositions (which are said to have reached the number of 300), but as such is not our task, we must not submit to the appeal of the ~~travelling~~ ^{fascinating} stories told about him. We must rather turn to the scraps of historical information about his works that have been preserved.

The earliest is probably a poetical allocution by Po Chü-an, who in 814 travelled to the temple of Tu-ch'en near Ch'ang-an, where he saw "on a plastered wall frescoes from the hand of Tu, whose pen-

x/ cf. Florence Ayscough, Tu Fu, the Autobiography of a Chinese Poet (London 1929) p. 209, 213

No Chinese painter has to the same extent as Wu Tao-tzu kindled the imagination and enthusiasm of later critics and historians, and the reason for this may be that he was a more than usual imaginative personality who in his ~~work~~ creative moments must have been quite detached from ordinary limitations of material life. The anecdotal stories about his famous paintings and his manner of working are much more abundant than the historical notes about his career.

From the traditions gathered in Li Tai Ming Hua Chü and Trang Chao Ming Hua Lu we learn that Wu Tao-tzu, whose official name later on was changed to Wu Tao-hsüan came from Yang-chai (or, ts) in Ho-nan and that he was a poor orphan boy, who at an early age showed an extraordinary genius for painting. We are not told about any teacher of his in painting but later on he studied calligraphy with Chang Hsin, the bibulous writer who became known as the "Living Grasshopper"; as he did not, however, reach very far in calligraphy he devoted himself entirely to painting. When ~~Chang Hsin~~ Ming Huang heard about his skill in painting he was attached to the court and here he was first employed as an instructor and ordered to paint only by imperial command; but then he became "as an official the friend of Prince Ning" (the emperor's brother) which no doubt meant a promotion. But ~~we~~ ^{it is} also reported that he served some time as a secretary to general Wei Tzu-li and accompanied the general to Shu (Szechuan) where he painted so many landscapes. An event of particular importance which is differently reported by various historians was Wu's meeting with general Shi Min in Loyang about the middle of the Kai-yuan era (713-741). The general asked Wu to execute a temple painting and offered him money for it but Wu ~~did~~ refused to take the money and said that he would paint only if the general would reform the sword-day for which he was famous. As Tao-tzu saw him playing with the sword and observed how the spirit was appearing and disappearing, he became inspired to the most wonderful brush-work. The picture was done with the speed of a whirling wind, and as Chang Hsin wrote a long inscription on one of the walls of the same temple, the people of the city said: "We have in one day witnessed three great wonders!"

In the T'ien-pao era (742-755) ^{the} emperor sent Wu to paint the scenarios of the Chia-ling river in Szechuan.

* Li Tai Ming Hua Chü, Trang Chao Ming Hua Lu quoted in Pei Wen Chai Shu Hua P'u, vol. 43. The accounts are both utilized in Hsüan-ho Hua Pu and also ^{where}

~~Lu's catalogue~~

The most faithful and interesting reproductions of Lu's designs are probably the stone engravings which have become widely known through squeezes or rubbings in black and white. They are as a rule not disfigured by any additions or arbitrary elements and may thus (in the best instances) give a truer idea about Lu's style than the painted copies, particularly as we are told that the master executed many of his wall paintings simply with bold strokes in ochre. Most popular among these engravings after Lu's designs are the representations of Kuanyin, the Merciful Bodhisattva, which seems to have been a favourite motive of Lu's. There are three or four variations on this motive, all indicated as having been executed by Tao-tzu on slabs in the Wei-lin in Szechuan, and several others known through rubbings or painted copies. In most of these the Bodhisattva is represented standing on billowing waters, wearing a long robe which is blown by the wind, so that the folds take on the movement as the waves, and crowned by a high diadem. In some of the latter renderings she is accompanied by a small boy attendant, the T'ien Ts'ai, or her two acolytes, as may be seen in the circular rubbing in the Freyer Gallery, Kunming with the T'ien Ts'ai, the last being a rather free and lavish composition of Lu's famous design. One of the best versions of this Kuanyin type known to us is the rubbing of a Lin-lao shan, which is reproduced here from a rubbing acquired in Peking. ^{x/ [2]} It represents the Bodhisattva without any extra additions and with a very characteristic treatment of the wavy billowing folds.

Quite distinct from this type is the Kuanyin seated on a cliff

x/ Other stone engravings after Lu Tao-tzu's standing Kuanyin are to be found in Lin-feng ssu at Sun T'ai-lsien in Szechuan (dated 1521) and Ta-shih-ko, likewise in Szechuan. A third one was in the Ts'ung sheng temple at Ta-liu-fu, Yunnan. Cf. Laufer in Ostasiat. Zeitschr. 1, p. 39.

at the sea shore with some worshippers at her feet. The most famous and beautiful version of this design is the large picture in Taiko-kuji in Kyōto, which is traditionally ascribed to Lu Tao-tzu, though it hardly could have been executed before the end of the Sung dynasty. The figure is represented in life size in the li-asana-posture (with one leg placed crosswise over the knee of the other), and the significance of the design is heightened by the two large circles, one forming an aureol around the head, the other a nimbus around the body. At his feet are a number of realistically treated figures clinging to the lotus leaves on the water. The composition is probably a free transposition of some design by Wu.

Another group of stone engravings said to be after the best designs represent the portraits of Confucius, of which the most famous is in the memorial temple at Ch'u-an. In Pei-lin at Chin-shu there is a minor representation of Confucius and his pupil Yen-tzu walking side by side. [a.] Particularly the former is a highly impressive realization of a powerful and venerable Chinese type, though it can hardly be called a characteristic portrait in the ordinary sense of the word.

The British Museum possesses a remarkable rubbing of an engraved stone said to exist at Chen-tu in Szechuan, representing the "Black Warrior of the North", i.e. a big tortoise encircled by a snake (her male counterpart, according to Chinese mythology). It bears Lu Tao-tzu's name, and it may well be said that the rather strange motive here is treated with a combination of plastic form and ornamental beauty worthy of a great master. [a.]

A very interesting stone engraving which probably reproduces quite faithfully a design by Wu is the Flying Devil at the terrace of the Tung-yüeh miao or Tao Wang tien in Chü-yang hsien, Chihli. This

bouncing devil-like guardian, who leaps through the air with a spear on his shoulder while the wind is dragging his clothes and hair into long fluttering pennants, is dominated by that peculiar whirling movement, which, to judge by the old descriptions of his works, must have been most characteristic of Wu's designs. [A.] The figure is repeated in two engravings, one on each side of the broad staircase which leads up to the terrace. The older one, on the west side, may be of the 17th century; it carries the following inscription: "Wu Tao-tzu's brush. The magistrate Chao Tai from Tung-lu (Shantung) engraved this stone. Po Hsing, a spirit of the Fung Mountain flying down like a white devil with a spear. Swift as the wind he descends from the clouds to kill and to strike, an agent of Heaven, who deals out punishment and clears up the dark secrets so that the country and the people may be peaceful for ever." An additional inscription of similar contents is written by a magistrate of Chi-nan.

The engraving on the opposite side of the staircase was executed in 1847, when the earlier ^{one} had begun to show signs of deterioration. It may furthermore be noticed that this same Flying Devil appears in a great wall painting in the main hall of the temple which (naturally) also is ascribed to Wu. It represents a heavenly being with a long retinue descending on clouds, an impressive design which may be a free rendering of a composition by Wu, though hardly executed before the latter part of the Ming period. The present building does not give the impression of greater age, but it is no doubt preceded by an earlier building on the same site. The place was the centre of a small kingdom at the end of the Tang dynasty.

When we turn to the paintings ascribed to Wu the connecting links become looser. We do not know any one which could be accepted as an absolutely faithful translation of his composition. The most famous ones are probably the three pictures forming a trinity - Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra - at Jofukuji, Kyōto, large ink-paintings, impressive in design but rather slack in execution. The very broad brush-strokes with a wavy movement retain perhaps some echo of Wu's manner, but they are lacking in strength and significance. They may well be, as generally accepted, works of the Yüan dynasty, but to what extent they reproduce designs by Wu, is impossible to tell. A later recreation of the central figure, Śākyamuni, is in the Freer Gallery in Washington.

Another painting which often has been quoted under a Tao-tzu's name is the scroll known as T'ien Wang lung-tzu, the Birth or Presentation of Buddha, formerly in the Manchu Household collection in Peking and now belonging to Mr. Yamoto Jiro in Kyoto. It is interesting as a novel and fantastic interpretation of a traditional motive. A heavenly king, Tzu Ts'ai (Śiva?), accompanied by some guardians and court-ladies, is receiving a hug from a child held by two men, who exert themselves to the utmost, while Buddha's mother seems to receive a message from another celestial being, (a kind of Fudo) surrounded by flames in which various apparitions including the future Buddha appear. The last group shows King Budhodana and queen Maya walking away with the new born baby. The inscriptions accompanying the picture is one purporting to be by Li Lu-mien. However this may be, the execution of the picture cannot be very early; it is obviously lacking in strength and decision, though skilful as a calligraphic performance.

The painted copies after Wu's designs offer indeed very little of artistic interest but the stone engravings may
~~It seems superfluous to dwell here on other paintings which~~
~~with more or less reason have been connected with the art of Wu~~
~~Tao-tzu. Those mentioned above, particularly some of the rubbings~~
~~of the stone engravings, may already~~ serve to convey some idea of
his peculiar style as a draughtsman. The quality of his line, the
~~immense~~ energy of the brush-stroke must have been immense,
a fact which is emphasized over and over again by the Chinese critics
of the Tang, Sung and later times who describe his art from obser-
vation or hearsay. We are told that he worked in a kind of frenzy
which he often increased by taking wine before he took up the brush
and wielded the brush with a freedom and sureness that nobody be-
fore or after him could reach. As the people saw him draw the ~~the~~
~~nimbus~~ ^{nimbus} around the head of a divinity with one powerful stroke of the
brush, they shouted with joy and said that his hand was guided by
a god.

The earliest critical account of Wu's style is given by Chang
Yen-yuan in Chapter II of the second section of Li Tai-ping Hua Chi,
~~under the title~~ ^{under the title} ~~where he~~ ^{where he} ~~Discusses~~ ^{Discusses} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Brush-~~ ^{Brush-} ~~work~~ ^{work} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~Lu H'ai-chih, Lu Tan-wei, Chang~~
~~Sen-yu and Wu Tao-hsuan. (the original name of the painter).~~ ^{Sen-yu and Wu Tao-hsuan. (the original name of the painter).} It
has served as basis for most of the later ~~writings on~~ ^{writings on} the same
subject and may therefore, ^{in so far as it refers to Wu Tao-tzu,} be given here in translation. ^{He writes:}
~~have been able to set out the complete character of the style of~~
~~a short characterization of the three earlier masters' brush-~~
~~work. He writes:~~

"Wu Tao-hsuan of the present dynasty, stands alone (above every-
body) in old and modern times. Of his predecessors not even Li H'ai-
chih and Lu Tan-wei may be called his equals, and among his followers
is nobody (of equal importance). He learned his brush-method from

Chang Hsi^{x/} and from this we may again realize that the use of the brush is the same in writing and painting. As Chang was ~~called "the~~ ^{said to} ~~crazy calligraphist"~~, so Tu may be called the ~~miraculous (or divine)~~ painter. When heaven creates a great spirit, he is made brave and divine without limit.

The common people fix their attention on the finished design and on the outward shapes and likeness, but I pay attention to the splitting and spreading of the dots and strokes and try to avoid the vulgar and commonplace. In painting curves, lines straight as a lance, standing pillars and connecting beams - he did not use ruler and foot-measure. He painted the curly beard and the foot long tufts at the temples (of his figures) so that every hair was waving and fluttering and the muscles protruding with strength. There was, indeed, such an excess (of life) that he must have been in the possession of a great secret. People could not understand how it was possible for him to start a several feet large picture either with an arm or with a foot and then take it into a significant and imposing thing, with the blood circulating in the skin. He succeeded where Geng-yu.

Someone asked me: How is it possible that he did not use ruler and foot measure and yet could draw (perfect) curves and arcs, lines straight as a lance, standing pillars and connecting beams? To which I answered: He concentrated his spirit and harmonised it with the works of Nature (or the Creator) rendering them through the power of his brush. His ideas were, as has been said, ~~clear and~~ fixed before he took up the brush; when the picture was finished, it expressed them all.

x/ One of the most extravagant poets and calligraphists of the 6th century. He was one of the Eight Immortals of the Nine-cup and a marvellous writer of grass characters. Giles, Iconographical dict. 59.

Everything truly wonderful has been done in this way, not only painting. Thus worked the cook who knew how to avoid the whetstone^{x/} and the stone-mason from Ying^{xx/} who knew how to use the adze. To imitate the knitted eyebrows (of Hsi-shih)^{xxx/} is vain trouble for offering the heart, and he who chops (the meat) in stead of (cutting with skill) will wound his hands. If the ideas of a man are confused, he will become the slave of exterior conditions.

Who could paint a circle with the left hand and a square with the right? He who does it with the help of ruler and foot-measure produces a dead picture, while he who does it through the co-operation of his spirit creates a real picture. Pictures on a wall are simply like dirty plaster. In real pictures every brush stroke reveals life. He who *deliberates and moves the brush intent upon making a picture misses to a still greater extent the art of painting, while he who cogitates and moves the brush without any intention of making a picture reaches the art* by the other does not think himself part of the picture, he reaches the art of painting. His hands will not get stiff, his ^{inspiration} not grow cold and without knowing; ~~even for~~ he accomplishes it. *even for* curves and arcs, the straight lines, the standing pillars and connecting *in his pictures there is no need of* beams ~~and not even with ruler and foot-measure. yes, they are all there.~~

x/ Prince Tui's cook who kept his cho per for ~~man~~ seven years as though fresh from the whetstone, because he ~~and~~ he ~~could~~ it according to the laws of nature. Cf. Giles, Shan-tzu, sec. ed. 1956 p. 34.

xx/ A man from Ying who had his nose covered with a hard scab, no thicker than a fly's wing, sent for a stone-mason who chipped it off without hurting the nose. cf. Giles, Shan-tzu p. 34.

xxx/ The famous beauty Hsi Chih knitted her brows, and all who tried to imitate her; the result was that everybody fell for her. That woman saw the beauty of the knitted brows but she did not see wherein the beauty of the knitted brows lay. cf. Giles, Shan-tzu p. 182.

Some one asked me: How is it that subtle and deep thoughts may be expressed in pictures which are not finished in a thorough and complete fashion? To which I answered: Ku K'ui-chih's and Lu Tan-wei's spirit cannot be seen in their designs, although their pictures are executed in a complete and thorough fashion. Chang Chen-yu and Lu Tao-tzu did their pictures with one or two strokes of their wonderful brush or by splitting and spreading the dots and strokes; their pictures looked all broken up, their brush-work was not of the complete kind, yet, their thoughts were completely expressed. It should be remembered, that there are two kinds of painting, the shu and the chi (the sketchy and the finished manner), then we may discuss painting... My interrogator bowed and went away."

~~Critics of the Sung period who still may have had an opportunity of seeing some remains of Wu's great temple paintings emphasize the sculptural quality of his figures. Su Tung-p'o goes over to this effect, saying that Wu's figures seem to be able to step out of the picture and back into it again. 103a~~
~~"Wu Tao-tzu's figures remind one of sculpture. One can see them side-ways and all round. His line-work consists of short curved like rolled copper wire; however thickly his red and white paint is laid on, the structure of the form and the modelling of the flesh are never obscured."~~ 103a

Wu Tao-tzu himself is also said to have modelled in clay like his fellow pupil Yang Hui-chih and his works are evidently of the kind that may have inspired contemporary sculptors.
~~The observation is interesting and no doubt to the point; it is confirmed by the reports about statues modelled by Wu Tao-tzu. In fact, there must have been a rather close connection between the works of the great painters and sculptors of that time; Wu's fellow pupil Yang Hui-chih became a sculptor when he did not succeed in painting.~~

~~x/ A relation is clearly seen in the fact that Wu Tao-tzu was a sculptor.~~

xx/ cf. Pelliot, Notes sur quelques artistes etc. T'oung T'ao 1923. 72-73

4

Chang Yen-yuan's characterization of Wu Tao-tzu's style is further developed and defined by critics of the Sung period such as Kuo fo-hsi, Su Tung-p'o and Tung Yu and fortunately these critics, who still had an opportunity of seeing some works by the master, sometimes ^{refer to more} ~~pointed out~~ definite points ~~of style in his manner of painting~~, which serve to give us a clearer idea about Wu Tao-tzu's position in Chinese art-history. Particularly interesting in this respect is the following writing by Su Tung-p'o on a picture by Wu:

"The men who knew invented things, those who were skillful transmitted them, ~~by~~ this (referring to art and culture) was not all done by one man. The scholars promoted it (i.e. culture) by their study; the various kinds of workmen by their skill. The evolution ^{was on} ~~was~~ from the Three (ancient) Dynasties through the Han^{up} to the Tang period. Thus poetry was perfected by Tu Fu, literature by Han Yu, calligraphy by Yen Lu-kung¹ and painting by Wu Tao-tzu. As the efforts of ancient and modern times were brought to completion by these men.

Tao-tzu painted his figures like the shadows produced by a lamp. They were moving forward and inward; when ~~seen~~ ^{seen} from the side, they seemed to be leaning out; when criss cross (i.e. placed behind each other), they formed an even plane, and ^{relative} decrease and increase each one had its natural degree (size). Not the least detail was wrong.

He ~~formed~~ ^{found} new rules of calculation in art and followed mysterious principles even in his most impassioned work as expressed in the saying: Room for the blade to move and to spare², the revolvings of the hatchet like the wind. He was really unique among ancient and modern painters.

I may not be quite certain about the names of other painters but when I see (so called) Wu Tao-tzu pictures, I know by a glance whether they are true or not. But now a days there are very few true ones like those in the possession of Shih Ch'uan-shu which I have seen once or twice in my life." (Written in 1085 by Su Tung-p'o).

¹ Yen Chen-ch'ang (709-785) the great statesman and patriot known for his opposition to An Lu-shan and his tempestuous career, was also one of the greatest calligraphists of the time.

² Cf. Giles, Dictionary, nr. 13423. The expression is used of a person, whose work seems a mere child's play to him. It refers to Chuang Tzu's story about Prince Hui's marvellous cook, previously mentioned on p.

Lu Tsung-po's characterisation of Wu Tao-tzu's style makes us realize that the great admiration evoked by the master's works did not depend simply on ~~the~~ his impassioned way of painting and the strength of his brush-work but also on the fact that he mastered the technical means of representing space, movement and plastic (three dimensional) volumes in a hitherto unknown degree. His pictures must have possessed an extraordinary power of illusion; the figures moved ~~that~~ ^{as if they} freely in every direction and when they stood behind each other, there was no crowding but they seemed to recede into the background as naturally as if they had been seen spread over a perfectly horizontal plane. The third dimension was evidently rendered in a more complete and convincing way than had been done by the earlier masters and the figures were distinguished by an extraordinary degree of reality.

The plastic quality of Wu's painted figures is particularly emphasized in some writings by Tung Yu who furthermore gives the most definite characterisation of his ~~figures~~ ^{front} structural drawing; and in ~~many~~ sand by curving and bending brush-stroke. He writes:*)

"Wu's paintings ^{are} were like clay sculptures. His figures ^{have projecting} ~~had large curving~~ chins ^{and} large ^{curving} noses, prominent eyes and sunk in faces. It cannot be said that he used the ink thickly, yet, the faces and the eyes looked quite real, not otherwise than in the clay sculptures. In ordinary paintings these parts are ~~usually~~ put on with thick layers of colour, but the eyes, noses, cheek-bones and foreheads are not well separated.

Yang Hui-chih ^{and} ~~worked with~~ Wu Tao-tzu ^{both came to the fore} in the Kai-yuan era but ^{the former} ~~did not~~ succeed in his studies. He changed therefore from painting to clay sculpture. He found it easier to make sculptures in clay and to decorate them with colour than to execute paintings on silk which indeed is more difficult.

Wu painted his figures like clay sculptures; they ^{can} ~~could~~ be seen from the side and all around and ^{are} ~~were~~ good on all four sides. The strokes of his brush ^{are} ~~were~~ curving and fine as coiling copper wire. However thick the colours may be, one can always see underneath them the bony structure and the modelling of the flesh. All these parts are properly rendered. Fearing that the beholder cannot find it out for himself I am also telling this about the colouring. The present picture has quite small figures but their ^{"resonance of the"} spirit ~~is~~ ^{is} nevertheless exceedingly bold and free."

The close connection between Wu's paintings and contemporary sculpture is quite evident. He is said to have executed himself figures in clay and among his associates and pupils were several who turned to sculpture when they did not succeed as painters. Chang Yen-guan mentions not only Yang Hui-chih but also some pupils of Wu viz. Chang Hsi-eh, Guan Hing and Ch'ing Chin who became known for their works in clay and stone.¹⁾ Some of their works have been identified but among the existing Buddhist sculptures may be observed figures which by their virile types and the manner in which the billowing mantlefolds are arranged reflect similar ideals of style as we find in the rubbings of the Wu Tao-tzu designs.²⁾

It should also be remembered that there are still stone reliefs in existence made after drawings by Wu Tao-tzu as for instance the beautiful representation of Kuan Yin with the willow branch seated at the sea shore. ^{well balanced} This figure is composed within a circular half which however may be the invention of the executing sculptor. According to the inscription ~~his~~ ^{his} name was Wei Hsin from Po-yang; he made the relief in 1107 after ^{by} Wu Tao-tzu.

Wu's particular qualities as a figure painter are thus more or less brought out by the old critics and illustrated by the rubbings from the engraved designs but as to his landscape paintings we have no information which ~~make~~ ^{make} it possible to form some idea beyond pure conjectures. Chang Yen-guan says that he formed ~~a~~ ^a new style of his own in landscape but he ~~does not tell~~ ^{does not tell} ~~about it~~ ^{about it} how or why it was new. Only in his special chapter on landscape painting he praises ~~the strange and weird~~ ^{the strange and weird} character of Wu's mountains and his gigantic waves, ~~says that~~ ^{says that} and his pictures were so illusive that one felt like stooping down to drink of the water.³⁾ Then we are told about Wu's and Li Sui-hsin's, ^{one} way to Szechuan where they went on imperial command to paint some famous views. When they came back Li produced a carefully worked out scroll, but Wu had nothing to show; ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{the} enquiries of the emperor he answered by the remark: "I have it all in my mind (or belly)," and in half a day he produced a great picture. — Whatever truth there may be in the story, it serves to emphasize the highly imaginative quality of Wu's art and his impetuous way of creating.

¹⁾ Li Tai Hing Hua Chi, I; at the end of the notes on Wu. Cf. Palliot, *Notes sur quelques artistes etc.* *T'oung Pao* 1923. p. 72-73

²⁾ Cf. *A History of Early Chinese Art. III. (Sculpture)* pp. 85. 85. 86 and 87.

³⁾ Li Tai Hing Hua Chi I. 5.

Lu Tung p'o's characterisation of Mr Tao-tzu's ~~style~~ manner of painting ~~make us realize~~ that the marvellous effect of his pictures did not depend simply on the ~~strength~~ of his brush-work and his impassioned way of painting but also on the fact that he mastered to a hitherto unknown degree representation of space and the drawing of the human figure in every possible position and movement. His pictures possessed evidently an extraordinary power of illusion, his figures went out and in like moving shadows and his crowds receded towards the background as if the picture had stretched ^{far} out in a perfectly horizontal sense.

It is evident that whatever motifs were touched by this great genius they received a new meaning, a deeper significance than in the works of any preceding or contemporary master. He may have been in the first place an interpreter of Buddhist subjects but he painted with equal success Taoist Immortals, stellar divinities, dragons and devils, portraits and landscapes. And whatever he represented he made it live not only through a convincing representation of ~~space~~, ^{in every sense of the word} cubic form and movement, but also through a suggestion of an inner reality a spiritual power which he grasped by harmonising his spirit by that of the Creator (to use the words of Chang Yen-yuan). Painting was to him a true creative art, an act of magic, like great music, and the brush a tool by which the fire of the gods could be brought down to earth.

. . .

Yang Wei.

Yang Wei was exactly contemporary with a Tao-tzu, but the two painters do not seem to have had many points in common. He is represented by the Chinese historians as the perfect poet-painter, to whom painting never was of more importance than his other artistic activities: music, poetry and calligraphy, in all of which he ~~had~~ reached a high degree of perfection. It may be safely assumed that Yang Wei never would have become so famous with posterity, if he had been active only as a painter; pictures are sooner lost and forgotten than poems, particularly in an essentially literary nation. Yang Wei's lyrical poems are still counted among the gems of Chinese literature and have been translated into various languages,^{x/} whereas his original paintings are irretrievably lost and his artistic style may be studied only in later imitations or copies. It is thus evident that one can do justice to the artistic personality of a man only by dissecting the records and remains of his pictorial activity, yet, that is the material to which we, in this connection, are lending our attention.

Because of his established position in the literary world of China Yang Wei's curriculum vitae has also been well recorded. We know the dates of his birth (699), of his children's ^{birth} dates, of his appointments first to a minor official post and then

x/ cf. Giles, Chinese Literature, Wiley op.cit. p. 141-42. J. E. Fletcher, More Gems of Chinese Poetry, Shanghai 1937. H. B. Bynner, The Jade Mountain, New York 1930. Besides these translations into English there are others into French and German.

and then to that of a ^junior Censor at the court. It is furthermore recorded that he lost his wife in 730 and ~~after that time~~ spent most of his time in solitude, or with one or two Buddhist friends, at his country home, Wang-sh'uan in Shensi, and that he, at the death of his mother, turned this place into a Buddhist monastery. The deep religious bent of his nature seems to have become more and more ~~evident~~ ^{manifest} towards the end of his life.

The momentous events which took place in 756 when the imperial court was scattered and the palaces in the capital sacked by the soldiers of An Lu-shan, brought also a brusque change in the life of Wang Wei. After a vain attempt to save himself by flight, he was forced by An Lu-shan to accept the position of a censor at the rebel's court, an event which was counted as a black spot on his official record, when the imperial house a few months later was reestablished. Wang Wei was again imprisoned and would have met the same fate as other rebels, had not his brother, who then was in favour at the court, been able to save him.

His unshaken ^{faithfulness} ~~faithfulness~~ to the imperial house was also expressed in a famous poem, "The Frozen Pearl", which reached the ears of the emperor and helped to save him. He was released and given an official charge in the household of the Crown Prince, but he had then only a couple of years left of his life; his death occurred in 759.

Wang Wei's artistic activity was evidently strongly coloured by his religious and poetic interests. The main part of his oeuvre consisted of Buddhist pictures and of landscapes with a poetic undercurrent. He made several representations of ^{Vimalakirti} ~~Vimalakirti~~, the Indian ascetic who is said to have been one of the earliest apostles

of Buddhism in China and who was particularly venerated by the painters for his unsullied purity of life and thought. Wang Wei's "style name", Mo-ch'i, was composed after the name of this Buddhist teacher, Wei Mo-chih, which is the Chinese for Vimalakirti. No less than four Vimalakirti-pictures by Wang Wei are mentioned in the catalogue of emperor Hui Tsung's collection; they indicate his predilection for the motive even if they not all were originals. Mi Fei mentions a picture of a Pratyeka-Buddha by Wang Wei, in which the painter had introduced himself, wearing a yellow mantle and a peach-coloured cap, at the foot of the Buddha.

Another of Wang Wei's paintings which may be recalled in this connection represented Lu Cheng, the famous scholar of the 3d century B.C. who is said to have preserved certain sections of ~~the Shue Ching~~ *Shue Ching* from the burning of the books under Ch'in Shih Huang ti. This picture which was in the Hsüan-ho collection and is mentioned by several critics has been identified with one now in the possession of Mr. ^{at Sumiyoshi} Abe in Japan and reproduced in his magnificent catalogue. To judge by this reproduction, the picture is certainly not later than the Northern Sung period but whether it actually is a T'ang painting, as claimed in the writings on it, is ~~difficult to tell~~ *difficult to tell* ^{from a reproduction} ~~lower to judge~~. The figure, an old man in ~~rough~~ ^{scant} clothing, seated on a straw mat at a low table, is singularly sensitive, characterised with penetrating force and sympathy, and executed in a most delicate linear style, which still reminds us of the early pre-T'ang masters. It seems thus quite probable that it represents Wang Wei's design, though the question as to its ^{t/} date of execution must be left open.

He executed furthermore a number of wall paintings in Buddhist

temples in Ch'ang-an (for instance in Tzu-shu ssü, the temple which contained paintings by all the best contemporary masters) and in Feng-hsiang, the district where his country home was situated. Here was the Nai-yuan ssü which Su Tung-p'o visited in 1060 when he was in search for the old masters' works. The poem in which he describes this picture and Wu Tao-zi's painting in Pin-men ssü is a gem difficult to render in English, but the context relating to Wang Wei's picture is as follows: "Mo Chieh was really a great poet who wrote: 'I carried fives in my girdle and my garment was lined with fragrant orchids'. Now as I see his wall painting I find it like his poetry in purity and exquisiteness. The pupils in the garden of Buddha [Jetaavana] are all thin as cranes; in their hearts the passions are dead as ashes ^{which can not} ~~that~~ be rekindled. In front of the gate there are two clumps of bamboo; their snowy joints reach down to the foot-bound roots. They cling to each other, their stalks are confused and their leaves agitated by the cold wind - ^[a few characters are here missing - the words are in our edition] ~~the wonderful~~." ^[a few characters are here missing - the words are in our edition]

Mo Chieh reached beyond the outward shapes, he had the wings of an Immortal to soar above the cage - I saw the pictures of these two men both divine and perfect but before Wang Wei I collected myself in silence without a word⁴⁾

Wang Wei's picture in Nai-yuan ssü must have been a wonderful thing but it may be doubted whether it ever appeared more wonderful ~~than~~ ⁱⁿ the poetic transcription of Su Tung-p'o. It was to a large extent due to him and to Mi Fei and, later on, to Tung Ch'ü-ch'ang that Wang Wei

was hailed as one of the very greatest masters of Chinese painting. He may have been admired and loved by many of his contemporaries, but his position as the founder of the "Southern School" and the originator of all that was best and purest in Chinese landscape painting was not established until the Sung period. The significance of this classification was already explained in the quotation from Tung Ch'ü-ch'ang in reference to Li Ssü-hsün's position as the founder of the "Northern School", which to the ^{Wing-critic} ~~major~~ represented a far inferior current of style. His enthusiasm for Wang Wei and ^{his} tireless efforts to obtain some true work by the master are vividly reflected in several passages in his Hua Yen, from which some paragraphs here may be quoted as testimonies of Wang Wei's unique position according to Chinese tradition:

⁴⁾ Su Tung-p'o, Shih Chi. IV. The poem has been rendered in a somewhat more beautiful translation by Waley, op. cit. p. 148

~~must have been~~, if it was introduced by Wu.

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"Wang Wei was among painters the same as Wang Hsi-chih among calligraphists; such men are seldom seen. Some years ago I saw in the possession of the great scholar Hsiang Yüan-pien in Chia-~~hsing~~ the Hsüeh Chiang t'u (Snow on the River) ~~which had no rain-~~ It had no rain-
ted wrinkles but only contours. The imitations made of it in later times such as Wang Shu-mu's Chien Ho t'u ~~which had no wrinkles~~ are in regard to brush-work and ideas rather like Li Chung-chih's work, and I doubt their faithfulness to Wang Wei's style. Then I acquired in Ch'ang-an Chao Ta-nien's copy of Wang Wei's Yu Chai Ching Hsia t'u (The Village at the Lake on a Bright Summer Day) and this too had no wrinkles and was somewhat similar to the Hsüeh Chiang scroll belonging to the Hsiang family. Yet, I thought the copy could not be altogether of the same effect as Wang Wei's picture, because Chao Ta-nien's finest works are remarkable for their wrinkles. At last I also acquired Luo Chung-shu's coloured (?) copy of the Wang-ch'uan scroll which showed fine wrinkles. According to tradition,

Wang-ch'uan

x/ The wrinkles or ts'un form one of the essential characteristics of Chinese landscape painting. They are strokes or dots, sometimes only the finishing portion or the hook at the end of a line and they serve to render the surface aspect of the mountains but also of stones, trees and other elements in the landscape. They have been classified under sixteen (or eighteen) different names which more or less describe their appearance and some of these ts'un were considered as specially characteristic of certain masters. The difference between the Northern and the Southern school was largely a question of different ts'un or modes of drawing the wrinkles, crevices and contours of the mountains. The sixteen kinds of wrinkles are named as follows: 1. Pi-ma ts'un (hemp fibre wrinkles), 2. Luan-ta ts'un (tangled hemp fibres), 3. Ho-yeh ts'un (veins of lotus leaves), 4. Chie-so ts'un (twists of a rope), 5. Yün-tou ts'un (thunder head), 6. Chih-ma ts'un (fibres on the ling-cieh fungus), 7. Pi-mo ts'un (bullocks hair), 8. T'an-wo ts'un (eddying water), 9. Yü-tien ts'un (raindrops), 10. Luan-ch'ai ts'un (heaped firewood), 11. Pan-t'ou ts'un (alms crystals), 12. Luei-p'i ts'un (wrinkles on the face of a deer), 13. Ta-fu-p'i ts'un (cuts of a large axe), 14. Hsiao-fu-p'i ts'un (cuts of a small axe), 15. Ma-ya ts'un (horse's teeth), 16. Che-tri ts'un (folds of a belt). Number 5 is sometimes also called Shüen-tai ts'un (convoluted clouds) and number 10 Po-wang ts'un (broken net). For a further discussion of this classification, which probably was not introduced until the Sung dynasty, see S. Taki, The Southern and Northern Schools of Landscape painting, Three Essays on Oriental Painting, London, 1910.

and

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the real picture was in Wu-Lin and since it was considered a copy, it could not be very far removed from the original, yet, the picture I saw was a rather common thing which could not be taken as a standard for judging Wang Wei's style.

But general Yang Kuo-yu in the capital has a small snow scene by Chao Meng-fu, painted with gold powder, remarkable for its tranquil distance and limpid light; quite different from common pictures. When I saw this, I at once realized that he had learned from Wang Wei. Someone said: How can you know that he learned from Wang Wei? To which I answered: All the painters from T'ang to Sung made their wrinkles differently, according to various schools. It was like the division of Ch'an into five schools; if one hears part of a fable, it may be enough to tell from which of the schools the speaker comes. Now in this picture of Chao Meng-fu the brush-work is not like Han Seng-yu's, nor like Li Tsü-hsün's, Chiang Kuo's or Liun Kuo's, and I also realize that he did not follow Tung Yuan, Chü Jan, Li Chü or Fan Kuan; from whom could he then have learned if not from Wang Wei?

^{the} In autumn of this year I heard that Wang Wei's Chiang Kuo Chi Hsueh Chuan (Clearing after Snowfall on the Hills by the River) was in the possession of Tung Lung-shu (in Nanling). I asked a friend who went to Wu-Lin (Nanling) to examine it. (In another version of the same story the author says that he dispatched a messenger to borrow the picture). Lung-shu considered the picture as precious as his head, his eyes or his brain, but as he learned about my passion for Wang Wei's pictures, he made an exception to set aside his and sent the picture to the author. I fasted for three days; when I unrolled it and saw at once that it really was in the same style as the little Chao Meng-fu. It made me very glad. (In the other version

small type!

of the story he says: I got from it something I never had experienced before^{x/}).

Wang Wei himself said: He who is a poor writer must in a former life have been a painter. I had never seen a real work by him but only thought of it in my heart; now I found that the picture of my thoughts corresponded to reality. Is it possible that I in a former life entered Wang Wei's studio and saw him seated at his work and that I had not forgotten what I then learned and observed^{xx/} ~~Wang Wei (768-822) (H.C.)~~.

Tung Ch'i-ch'ang then tells how the picture was found, together with two other scrolls, in the pillar of an old ~~house~~ in the capital (other authors say, that it was found in a brush⁶ pile in a ~~house~~), and that he, on the request of Mr. Fang, wrote a colophon of several hundred characters on the picture. In this he expressed the opinion that there were many great painters before Wang Wei, skilled in every branch of the art, "but they could not express a critical reality in their landscapes. From Yang Hsi onwards, the ~~style~~ ^{method} ~~of painting~~ ^{of painting} to use wrinkles (to'ui fa) and the flowing ink method (shui fa) ~~was~~ ^{was} and dye manner). He changed the methods of painting, ~~and~~ ^{and} Wang Wei changed the style of Chang-yu. It was ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~style~~ ^{style} of the soaring of the sun and moon" (the male and female phoenix).

It would be tempting to go on quoting more of the appreciations of Wang Wei's paintings offered by Su Tung-p'o, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and other prominent connoisseurs of the Sung and Ming dynasties, ~~but~~ ^{because}

x/ In another connection Tung Ch'i-ch'ang says, that he borrowed the picture from Mr. Fang and studied it for a year, "but now I have left it and cannot find it again like the fisherman who went out of the peach-garden." The reference is to Tao Yuan-ming's (365-427) well known story about the Peach blossom garden, a kind of paradisaical spot, which a fisherman once was permitted to visit, but which he could find again.

xx/ Hsiao Hsiang Hsiao
Yin. III.

xx/ A great calligraphist (d. 230 A.D.) who represented the ~~style~~ ^{more formal} ~~style~~ ^{Li} style of writing.

they are in some respects more interesting and evocative than the pictorial remains that may be connected with the master, but it would ~~require too much space~~ ^{require too much space} ~~take us too far from our main road~~. The pictures which perpetuate some of his most famous compositions or reflect his style, are lacking in that element of spontaneous brushmanship ^{and} individual touch, which ~~more than anything could~~ ^{might} serve to give us an impression of the great artist's hand and mind. They ~~leave~~ ^{leave} us also in doubt as to the technical methods of the painter. According to tradition, the monochrome ink painting, either with contours (mo-hua) or with ~~flowing ink~~ ^{flowing ink} (mo-ro) would have been his favourite medium of expression, but some of the copies are coloured as was also the small picture after the one by Chao Meng-fu mentioned by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. It may be that he had tried different manners or modes of painting (as many of the other painters), though he is in later periods ~~became~~ ^{became} particularly associated as a monochrome painter.

Most famous among his great landscape compositions is the ~~Wang-sh'uan~~ ^{Wang-sh'uan} scroll, in which Wang Wei is supposed to have given an illustration of his country home and the landscape surrounding it. The composition exists in a number of copies, among which should be included in the first place those engraved on stone/slabs, as they probably ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~less~~ ^{less} ~~than the painted~~ ^{than the painted} copies, though stripped of all pictorial atmosphere. Of such engravings after the Wang-sh'uan scroll there existed at least five different versions, made in the late Ming and early Ch'ing periods, at Lo-t'ien, a district not far from ~~Wang-fu (Ch'ing-an)~~ ^{Fang-hsiang-fu} ^{district} in which Wang Wei's country home ~~also~~ was situated. Executed at this particular place, the stone engravings served as a kind of historical records or memorials to the great artist, through whose activity the locality had gained its fame and become a place of pilgrimage for poets and art lovers. This was

furthermore emphasized in a special chronicle, the Wang-ch'uan chi, containing biographical notes about Wang Wei and a list of other artists and poets who had been active there.*

Dr. Laufer has given a detailed account of the various engravings, which were executed on eight, five, four or one slab, and apparently all from a drawing by the Sung painter, Kuo Chung-shu. The original which is said to have been left by the painter to the temple at Wang-ch'uan, may have been lost at a comparatively early period, but its fame spread far and wide, "it was loved for a long time all over the empire", and made the subject of many enthusiastic and poetical commentaries (which however to a large extent must have been based on copies). The Kao Chung-shu copy is said to have been the smaller of two different renderings, which still existed at the beginning of the 19th century. [18.] Dr. Ferguson claims to have seen it - though he does not tell in which collection - and he notes several comments on ^{the} picture as for inst. the following by Chao Chun-mu: "There are two Wang Ch'uan pictures, This is a copy of the narrower one and shows greater freedom of conception." ^{xx/} ~~Notice that among the seals on it, is that of Chao Hong-fa, who is said to have made a copy of the picture.~~

The composition of the scroll is rendered rather differently in the stone engravings and the painted copies, though the principal features and localities, (marked by names) are the same. It gives, ^{in the words of} ~~according to~~ Dr. Laufer, "a graphic account of a great variety of scenery, not wild nature scenery, however, but an historical landscape as transformed and cultivated by the hand of man. The mountain range in the background merely forms the frame by which the

x/ Cf. B.Laufer, A Landscape of Wang Wei. Ostasiat. Zeitschr. I. 28-35
xx/ Cf. J.C.Ferguson, Wang Ch'uan. Ostasiat. Zeitschr. III. p. 80.

gardens and buildings composing the villa of the poet-painter are set off". ~~There are the Hua-shan hills, the Apricot Resthouse, the Cloven Bamboo Bridge, the Deer Park, the Magnolia Park, the Lake Pavilion, the South Residence, the Notched Lake, the Wavy Willows, the Fountain of Pure Gold, the North Residence, the Bamboo Resthouse, a Park of Peppar trees, a Park of Vainish trees, etc. - a succession of gardens, plantations, orchards, pavilions and pictorial villas in a richly growing nature, pictures which~~ ^{c/} ~~impress us rather as illustrations to Wang Wei's dreams and poetical fancies about an ideal country estate than as representations of actual~~ ^{landscapes} ~~sceneries~~. This impression is strengthened by the poems, which Wang Wei, assisted by his friend Wei Ti, composed about the ~~various localities, named on the map ch'uan t'u~~ ^{these}. ~~Forster has translated some samples of these poems; they contain rather vague reflections about the beauty of nature but no local clues, except the poetical names. It may be that some features of the ch'uan t'u were suggested by the country place where Wang Wei spent much time in company with his Buddhist friends, but they are freely combined with imaginative elements; the mountains have grown into fantastic shapes and the buildings have become very elaborate. Wang Wei was, as a matter of fact, never very closely bound by objective reality; "when he felt like painting, he would even disregard the four seasons; with regard to flowers he introduced peach, apricot, hibiscus and waterlily into the same scene. He painted a picture with a bamboo in the snow. The inspiration of his heart was carried out instantly by his hand.... He was a born genius who worked according to his own principles. At this is difficult to discuss with the common crowd."~~⁴⁾

There is however very little of this spontaneity and poetical inspiration to be discovered in the still existing copies of the ~~ch'uan t'u~~ ^{ch'uan t'u}, one of which is in the British Museum, another in Geneva.

⁴⁾ Quotation from *Ching-ho Shu Hua Fang* III. 1. 75.

Munthe's collection in Peking. They are both rather superficial renderings, executed in a dry and minute style with green and blue colours. The scroll in British Museum is provided with an inscription according to which it would have been painted by Chao Meng-fu in the year 1309 "in the manner of Wang Wei". It ~~is possible~~ ^{is possible} that Chao Meng-fu did such a picture but the one now conserved in the British Museum is evidently a later rendering, ~~possibly from the end of the Ming period.~~

Another of Wang Wei's famous compositions which has called forth a great deal of comments in prose and poetry is the Ch'ong Shen Hsieh Chi t'u, Clearing after Snowfall on the Hills by the River, evidently also a long scroll ~~showing in the background~~ ^{of} mountain ranges, and water courses ~~in the foreground~~, framed by terraced rocks and clusters of ~~dry~~ ^{of} trees. It was a monochrome ink painting possibly with some addition of white, and ~~it~~ ^{had} included to it colophons by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, Chen-chi and others. The famous collector of the late Ming period, Fung Hsi-ch'ang is reported to have said about this picture, then in his collection: "Whenever I owned the Ch'ong Shen Hsieh Chi t'u, I ~~felt~~ ^{had} the spirit of the mountains, the freshness of the stream, the list over the spring garden. It was like silkworms producing silk or insects eating a good, so fine was every detail, even the minutest things, and they all conveyed some thoughts. It was ~~Wang Wei's~~ ^{Ch'ang's} bright spirit together with his skill in handling the ink that accomplished this precious picture."

We have already told something about Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's enthusiasm for the same picture; his efforts to see it and the almost religious devotion with which he handled it when it was sent to him for inspection. To him it seems to have been the supreme example of Wang Wei's art.

x, Ch'ing ho Chi Hsue Pan III. 54, after Lu Hsiang-shan.

Does it still exist? ~~We~~ hardly believe so, in spite of some claims to the contrary; but there are several interesting copies of the picture, some of which go back to the Sung period. The most suggestive copy known to ~~me~~ ^{us} used to be in the possession of Mr. do Ch'eng-yü in Tientsin, where I saw it in 1922. The soft tone and flowing execution of this picture may even be observed in our reproductions; it carries a very definite atmosphere, though it is difficult to decide to what extent this ~~is~~ ^{is} due to Wang Wei's original or to the copying master. The great progress noticeable here over landscapes of the di-type lies less in the formal rendering of ^{any} particular part than in the interpretation of a ~~general~~ ^{celestial} mood of nature. The snowy mountains and the bare trees have become the carriers of an individual ~~expression~~ ^{expression, a} subtle, poetic significance which communicates itself through the tone as much as through the design. The unity of the whole thing is better preserved than in ~~any~~ ^{the} earlier landscape scrolls and the suggestion of space by the aerial perspective is ~~much more~~ ^{much more} effective. T'ang Ch'i-ch'ang was evidently right in praising ~~particularly~~ the tranquil distance and the misty atmosphere in this picture. ~~of Wang Wei~~. ~~It~~ ^{almost} seems as if these qualities ~~particularly~~ ^{had been} accentuated in the present copy.

Another copy of the same composition belongs to Prof. M. Ogawa in Kyoto. It is executed in a somewhat drier fashion with more insistence on details such as the net-work of the tree branches and the "wrinkles" of the mountains. ~~The style of this picture makes in some respects a more old-fashioned impression even though the age if may not be of any greater age.~~ ^{The wrinkles of the mountains} ~~are here made according to the "lotus fibre" method which was considered a characteristic of Wang Wei as also appears from the mountains in the style of Wang Wei reproduced in the Chieh-tzu Yuan (1676).~~

A third copy of less importance was in the Strehlneck collection which later on passed into the possession of Mr. Fähræus which now is disposed. This picture was a relatively recent reproduction of the scroll owned by Mr. do Ch'eng-yü, executed by an inferior artist.

In the imperial Manchian collection in Peking was a small picture called Hsueh Hsi-t'u (Snow by the Stream) and considered ~~by~~ as an original by Wang Wei. We reproduce it from a photograph acquired in Peking which evidently does no justice to the picture. The conception as a whole, the snow covered hillocks and the sensitively drawn trees are evidently in the manner of Wang Wei but the execution does not seem to be as refined as we would expect in an original work by the master.

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Emperor Hui Tsung, or the writers of his catalogue, do not seem to have been very strict in the use of the master's name: no less than 126 paintings are there ascribed to Wang Wei, and it seems doubtful whether any one of them was an original. Mi Fei had evidently excellent reason for his remarks: "Paintings of snow scenes by Ch'iang-nan artists in a style resembling that of Wang Wei are usually hailed as the master's works." ^{x/} And Cheng-ch'ou (the author of Shi Hua Fang) tells us that the signatures on the pictures were often forged in order to give them a higher value on the art-market.

~~(Wang Wei's speciality as a landscape painter was evidently the snow~~

~~x/ Mi Fei, Hua Shih, also quoted in Ch'ing Ho Shi Hua Fang, IN.1.73~~

in a tone of greyish mist. Here again the artistic significance of the rendering depends largely on the tonality, though the ~~signale~~ forms and details are drawn with great precision. Wang Wei's manner had evidently still something ~~left~~ of the old fashioned exactness of detail but this was combined ~~but this was combined~~ with a sense of colouristic ^{values} (rendered in more or less monochrome and dim) ^{by} which his landscapes received their poetic ^{beauty} ~~character~~ and expressiveness. And this he revealed particularly in the ever recurring snow scenes.

Consequently it became soon a tradition to ascribe to Wang Wei snow[#]sceneries of an old fashioned type. Mi Fei had, no doubt, excellent reason for his remarks: "Paintings of snow scenes by Ch'iang-nan artists in a style resembling that of Wang Wei are usually hailed as the master's works". And other critics point out that the signatures were often forged in order to give the pictures a higher value on the market.*)

Yet, the Wang-ch'uan scroll, the picture of his--

*) Cf. Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Fang IIb. C. 78.

[~~section~~] He must have loved the snow above everything else in nature. The harmonious quietness and peace that an abundant snow-fall spreads over the landscape must have made a particular appeal to his sensitive soul. Beside the pictures described above, several snow landscapes by him are mentioned by old and modern critics, as for instance: Angling in Snow (mentioned by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang), Snow piled up on a Thousand Peaks (mentioned by Kao Shih-chi, a critic of the 17th century), ^{x/} The P'a Bridge in Snow Storm (in the Liang Chang-chū collection), Falling Snow by the River (formerly Tuan Fang, now, R. Lehman collect. New York), ^{xx/} The Bananain Snow (mentioned by several critics, known in a late copy) ^{xxx/} and others. ~~Let, the Wang Ch'uan t'u,~~ the picture of his country home, showed scenes of blossoming spring time, and there were other pictures of his representing autumn mists or spring rains. The range of his motives was however not very wide. Like the great poets of the same period he returned over and over again to certain favourite motives expressing them with a depth of feeling and a realization of their spiritual significance that was his own personal secret. It matters little what we call this secret, this vision or lyrical interpretation - music or poetry - it was something of his heart as well as of his brush, and it made him beloved as only a great poet may be. When Su Tung-p'o had studied Wang Wei's picture Mist-rain at Lan-tien, which also was provided with a short poem, he wrote: "In reading Mo-ch'i's poem I find in it a picture, in looking at Mo-ch'i's picture I feel a poem." The poem on the picture was as follows:

The air is cold, the red leaves scarce.
On mountain paths no rain as yet.
The air is moist and wets the clothes.

"This is Mo-ch'i's poetry; though someone objected and said that it may have been added by an amateur on Mo-ch'i's picture." ^{§/}

x/ Cf. Waley, p.149.

xx/ Cf. Ferguson, p.74

xxx/ Cf. Hirth, Scraps etc.(1905) p.84-86.

§/Su Tung-p'o's colophons; also quoted in Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Fang.III.1.80

splashing ink. The only picture executed according to the latter method sometimes ascribed to Wang Wei, is the wonderful Waterfall, belonging to Chishaku-in in Kyoto, a rather expressionistic work of great freedom and beauty. ^[Pl. 5] It would be interesting to know if there is any historical reason for the traditional attribution, ^{the picture} ~~of this picture~~ ^{rather} which looks like the creation of a full-fledged romantic landscape painter of the Southern Sung or Yuan period. However this may be, ^{it} ~~the picture~~ should be remembered as a typical example of the Southern School for which Wang Wei was the accepted head and originator.

The importance of the pure ink painting is also emphatically emphasized in the essay on landscape-painting which often has been counted among the writings of Wang Wei. The tradition ^{of} ~~attributed~~ of the authorship is certainly not correct, but the statements that this essay contains about technique, composition and similar matters may, to some extent, be based on a study of Wang Wei's paintings, and it ^{seems} ~~is~~ thus be appropriate to add here a translation of the famous essay.

The text is reproduced with considerable variations in different reprints showing that there must have been some doubt in ^{as to its proper form.} Some of the reprints, as for instance, ⁱⁿ ~~Chia~~ Hui Kuo, contain only the latter part of it, under the title "Shan Sui Lun" (Discussion of Landscape), in other collections such as Hua Hsüeh Hsin Yin, the essay is divided into "Chü Chüeh" (the Secret of Landscape painting) and "Shan Sui Lun", whereas the whole text is published under the title: Hua Hsüeh Chüeh (The Secret of Learning Painting) in the collected works of Wang Wei edited by Chao Tien-ch'ang (c. 1737). ^{x/} In the preface to

x/ The translations into foreign languages show also considerable differences and most of them are incomplete. ^{with the exception of} ~~with the exception of~~ prof. Alexséeff's translation into Russian, published in Moscow (1922), which is not known to us. This served as basis for a free rendering into French by prof. C. Blissett in Revue des Arts Asiatiques 1927, which however contains considerable deviations from the text known to us. Another translation into French of the main sections of the essay was published in L.-T. Grantham's pamphlet Wang Wei Paysagiste (Pekin, 1922). Some parts were translated into German by A. von Herder in his article, Wang Wei, Der Maler des Tang-Zeit, in Sinica, 1930.H.4., and the second half of the essay by Jonny Heffer, in Ostasiat. Zeitschr. 1931, H.3-4. Minor sections have been rendered in English by Giles, op.cit.p.56 and Waley, op.cit.p.161.

this edition (of which there are later reprints) the editor tells that some part of the text was engraved on stone tablets at Luan Chung (Shensi?). ^{He}~~and~~ expresses the opinion that the whole thing was the composition of a later man, who "borrowed the name of Yu-ch'eng" (Wang Wei), and ~~he~~ adds: "It should not be included, but as it from old to present times often has been quoted as 'Yu-ch'eng's (writing) and as it has served as a guide (or rule) for painters, it would be a pity to leave it out, consequently we add it here, at the end, for the benefit of students." The ^{as}remarks seem to us ^{well founded today} as ~~if~~ they were two hundred years ago; we can do no better than follow the same course.

— Hua Hsiieh Mi Chieh —

"In the art of painting ink is the foremost; by it the characteristics of nature may be perfected and the Creator's work completed. ^{Thus} In a picture of a few inches may ~~be~~ represented a scenery of ~~4~~ thousand li. East, West, South and North appear before the eye, Spring, Summer, autumn and winter are born under the brush. [One should start with the outlines of the water and avoid making the mountains floating about; then one should lay out the branching roads and not make them into one continuous big road. The main peak must be made very high and lofty, the smaller mountains should stretch forward and embrace the spot where the hermit's hut is situated. On the banks of the water some human dwelling should be placed. Around the village there should be numerous trees to form a grove, and their branches should embrace their trunks. The mountains should be made steep, and the water rushing right down and not ^{be made} running about in confusion from the springs. The farm-port should be quiet. The walking men should be few. The road-ports and the bridges on boats should be high and lofty, but the boats

in which the fishermen are angling should be low, so that they meet no obstructions. Between the overhanging dangerous cliffs some strange trees may be placed, and there should be no passage where the mountain ~~sides~~ are steep and the peaks precipitous. The ~~high~~ ^{ding tone} summits should reach the clouds and fuse with the ~~horizon~~ ^{sky} of the distant sky. The place where the water comes out in abundance should be enclosed by clear mountains. Palisaded roads should be made at places where the passage is dangerous. On the low ground may be high terraced building and near-by large willow ~~groves~~ ^{groves} ~~situated~~ the dwellings of men. The Buddhist and Taoist temples on the fierce mountains should be indicated by strange pine trees and ornamental towers. [Distant scenes are enveloped in mist, high peaks surrounded by clouds. The sign of a wine shop hangs high over the road. The traveller on the water hoists down his sails. ^{x/} Distant mountains should form a low row; the nearby trees should stand scattered about.

When the hand becomes acquainted with the brush and the ink-stone, it sometimes happens that it moves about as in play without any attachment, trying to explore the hidden secrets, while the years and the months become long as eternity. The finest realization does not consist in many words; the best method of study is to return to the guiding rules."

The following sentences seem to be added by a different writer: "The top of a pagoda should reach up to heaven but the temple should not be visible; it should seem as if there were nothing above and nothing below but hillocks of grass or mud. Of the eaves of the pavilions only the half should be shown and of the grass lawns and attached pavilions only some poles and beams should appear. The sun-
x/ The two last sentences sound as titles of pictures.

tain has eight sides, the stone three parts (visible). Avoid to give the clouds the appearance of fungus plants. The figures should not exceed 1 inch, the pines and cypresses should approach 2 feet."

The above text is the so called Shan Shui chüan, but these "secrets" of landscape painting are hardly anything more than a formulation of the most common elements in Chinese landscape composition as ~~it had developed during the Sung period. It is difficult to imagine that the text could have been composed before the Ming time, it might be later.~~ ^{They had been defined by the great landscape painters of the 10th century} The continuation, known as Shan Shui lin, confirms this impression; it is certainly no more classical or worthy of Wang Wei as a painter and ^{a poet} ~~than~~ than the first part, ^{nor does it} ~~and~~ contains ^{any} ~~nothing~~ of particular interest ~~from an aesthetic or a historical point of view; it is communicated here for the sake of completeness:~~

"When painting landscape the idea must exist before the brush is taken up. The mountains should be 10 feet, the trees 1 foot, the horses 1 inch, the men 1/10 inch (the relative proportions). Far away men have no eyes, far away trees no branches, far away mountains no stones; they should be thin and flat as eyebrows. Far away water has no waves and reaches up to the clouds. These are the secrets.

The waist (middle part) of the mountains should be covered with clouds, the stores by dripping water, the high buildings or terraces by trees, the roads with people.

Of the stones three sides should be seen, of the roads both ends, of the trees only the tops. Water should be seen according to the wind. These are the three methods.

In painting landscape it is common to make a dominant sharp

peak and to connect the precipitous cliffs into a chain, ^(furthermore) ~~(besides)~~ caves in the gorges, the steep mountain-walls with overhanging stones, hills of rounded shape and streams in the passage-ways. The path between two mountains is called a ho (gully); the water running between two mountains is called a chien (torrent). A mountain range of certain height is called a ling (mounds), a stretch of open ground is called a fan (slope).

He who follows this understands roughly something about landscape. He who is contemplating (a landscape) should first look at the appearance of the atmosphere, whether it is clear or covered. Then he should decide the places and proportions of the host and the guests and arrange the numerous peaks in a dignified way. Too many produce confusion, too few ^{appear} ~~are~~ careless; not too many and not too few (is right).

One must divide the far from the near (objects). The far away mountains should not be connected with the near-by ones, not the far off water with the near-by. About the middle of the mountain where it is covered up should be placed temples and small huts. At the broken cliffs of the sloping riverbank should be placed a small bridge. When there is a road there should be trees, at the broken embankment should be an old ferry. Where the water is cut off should be trees in mist, where the water is wide travelling gulls; in the dense forest human dwellings.

At the precipices should be old trees with broken roots and creepers winding around them. The stones and cliffs where they over the streams should be strange and furrowed by water.

When painting forests, the far away trees should be made few and level, the near ones high and numerous. Branches with leaves

should be soft and waving, but those without leaves hard and strong. The bark of the pine should be like fish scales, the bark of the cypress winding around its trunk. Trees which grow up from the level ground have long roots and straight trunks, those which grow among stones are twisted and lonely. On the old trees many of the joints are almost dead. In the cold forest there is scanty protection and an air of desolation.

When it is raining there should be no division between heaven and earth; it is impossible to distinguish East and West. When there is wind and no rain only the branches of the trees are seen. When there is rain and no wind, the tops of the trees are ~~seen~~ ^{bent} down; the wanderers are carrying umbrellas and straw hats, the fishermen their grass cloths.

When the rain is ceasing and the clouds disappearing, the sky is becoming blue and transparent, the driving mists quite scarce and the moist green of the mountains is increased. The sun draws nearer and its beams are slanting.

In the morning view one sees a thousand mountains at the point of daybreak; the mist and the clouds are scarce, the world soon is growing dim, the colour of the atmosphere is quite indistinct. In the evening view the mountains seem to absorb the red sun, the sails are hoisted down at the river isles; the people on the roads are hurrying, and the cottage doors are half closed.

The spring view is vaporous as enclosed in a cage of haze, the mist is driving in long white strips; the water is indigo blue; the colour of the mountains is growing green. In the summer view the sky is concealed by trees, the blue water has no waves, the waterfall passes through the clouds, and there are quiet pavilions at the near water.

In the autumn views the sky has the colour of water; the forests are dark and mysterious, the wild geese and swans are on the water, reed-birds on the sand-banks. In the winter view the ground is all covered by snow, the wood cutters are carrying fuel; the fishing-boats are moored at the bank; the water is shallow and the sand-beach flat.

Landscape paintings should be done according to the seasons, as for instance: Covered by haze in a cage of mist, or the peaks of Ch'u with assembling clouds, or the autumn sky at day break after rain, or Old tombs and broken tablets, or Spring colours over the Tung t'ing lake, or Desolate roads with wanderers astray; such subjects may be represented in painting.

The tops of the mountains should not all be alike; the tops of the trees not all the same. The mountains avail themselves of the trees as clothing and they are like bones to the trees. The trees should not be too many, so that the beauty of the mountains may appear. The mountains should not be confused; they must all have the spirit (character) of the trees to appear. One who can do everything in this way may be considered a master of landscape painting."

This text is followed by a repetition of the first portion of the same (with minor variations) which is said to have been engraved on a stone tablet.

Wang Wei's importance as a precursor of the 'po-lo'-technique is emphasized by some of his immediate followers who became famous particularly through this kind of painting. They revelled in ink and applied it not only with broad brushes but also with the fingers or with the hair. It is ~~there~~^{for instance} told of Chang Tsao (ca. 730-20) that "he would smear ink on the silk with his hand", when he did not use ~~a brush~~^{bold/}. Accordingly he was asked in what school he had been trained; to which he replied: "Externally I have followed the teachings of Nature; internally the dictates of my own heart." ¹ Sometimes he would work with two brushes simultaneously, painting with the one a dead and with the other a live branch. The 'live' would burst forth from his brushes mist and vapour and glowing flames, and the terrors of frost and wind and rain. The living branch would be fresh with the sap of spring, the dead branch would be withered under autumn's blight.

Pictures in the "splash-ink" technique of flowering and pine-branches are sometimes ascribed to him, but those I have seen are more likely executed in the 13th century when Chang Tsao was successfully imitated by the famous finger-painter Ho Hsiang-shan.

A still more erratic way of handling the ink was employed by Wang Hsi, also known as Wang Ho, 'Ink Man', who used to dip his hair into the ink and splash it down on the silk. Chang Tsao's son who knew his brother (who served as supervising officer of a provincial circuit) tells us that he was a crack fellow and a bit mad on wine. ³ "He painted pine trees, rocks and landscapes and even though he failed to reach the high and wonderful (in art) and

1/ cf. Giles, op cit. p. 67-68.

2/ Strehlbeck, Chinese Pictorial Art, p. 70.

3/ At the very end of Li-tai Hsiang-hua-chi.

belonged to the vulgar, yet, he was good. When drunk, he took up the ink with the tresses of his hair and rubbed it on the silk to paint. In his youth he learned how to use the brush from ^{1/}Chen Kuang (Wen-chien) at T'ai-chou^{2/}. He died and was buried in the year 804 at Jun-chou. His contemporaries were as nothing to him; they looked upon him as a magician, and there were many amusing stories about him. When Ku (Chu tso)^{3/} was a recording officer (in the navy) at Hsin ting, Wang Mo became a patrol officer, and as somebody asked the reason for it, he answered: in order to paint the landscape in the sea. He resigned, however after half a year and painted then in the most extraordinary and amusing fashion." The author adds that he heard more stories about Wang Mo than he cared to repeat, but what has been transmitted to posterity seems enough to secure him the honour of one of the strangest and most ink-crazy painters in Chinese history.

* * *

1/ A city in Chechian

2/ A port-city in Kiangsu, later called Chen-chiang

3/ Ku K'uang, a poet and painter, known for his humorous and erratic ways; he wrote also about painting; but retired finally into the mountains, and became Hua yang Shan jen.

Animal Painters

The attitude of the ^{early} Chinese painters towards motives of the animal kingdom was essentially the same as their attitude towards other aspects of ~~life in~~ nature such as trees, stones and water. They were, on the whole, less interested in the representation of individual features or momentary impressions than in the general ideas or types of the various species; their characterisations were synthetic but at the same time alive with movement and energy. The Chinese animals may be conventionalized but they are always ~~expressive~~ artistically significant.

The paintings of animals were in the Chinese catalogues placed in a special class, called Quadrupeds (tsou shou) which usually is ranked above pictures of ladies (shih nü), and the importance of this kind of paintings was evidently considered no less than that of religious ^{and} profane figure paintings or of landscapes. Many of the greatest masters have cultivated this special branch of art which was carried to a degree of perfection that is hardly reached in other countries. This does not mean however that the Chinese horses and oxen would be better drawn and characterized than corresponding representations in European art but they seem to be alive with a different spirit; they are less motives of study or illustration ^{than symbolic} ~~that the~~ expressions of the painter's own ideas and reactions to an all pervading force or life.

Horses in particular formed a favorite subject of the Chinese painters, and they were, as a rule, represented free, pasturing or frolicking, or as saddled steeds but very seldom harnessed to a vehicle, as so often was the case in Western art. It is true that mules and oxen were more common in China as draught animals, yet horses were also used, or the same, ^{in certain parts of the} ~~in some parts of the~~ country, but it seems that the Chinese idea of a horse was that of a free and proud animal that carries the rider with ease and elegance or plays with its mates as joyfully as any human beings. Some of the horse paintings are:

It is well known that Yen Li-pen ^{had a great admiration for Chang} ~~had a most intimate relation~~ Seng-ya
and studied most intimately the works of the old master

as a matter of fact explained by the Chinese critics in a symbolic sense: they are proud and elegant in their manners as noble dukes and courtiers or happy and carefree on the pasture as officials who take a rest from their ~~daily~~ daily routine.

Many of the paintings of horses in the T'ang period were also made as a kind of records of the wonderful tributes which were sent from various countries in Central and Western Asia to the Chinese emperor. These precious horses were all riding animals and they were counted among the most cherished possessions of the great emperors. They were tokens of ~~wealth~~ ^{might} and wealth and luxury just as much as all the foreign servants or the ladies of the harem. This interest in horses developed

into a ~~most~~ craze in the reign of emperor Hsin Shuang, who is said to have had over 40,000 ~~precious~~ ^{costly} horses in his stables, and of these a certain number were trained for regular circus performances. They as well as the ladies of the imperial harem were taught to dance to the tunes of the imperial orchestra; "Horses performed posturing dances; were skilled at climbing steps", writes Tu Fu.

~~Under the T'ang dynasty the painters of horses were many in number~~, but among these there were two who excelled all the others: Ts'ao P'a and Han Kan. The former is to us however only a name, a great name, recorded by several critics and also in some verses by Tu Fu. ^{xx/} None of his works have been preserved in copies or imitations, though he seems to have been much ~~appreciated~~ ^{admired} at the court. In 750 he was summoned by the emperor to "paint the imperial horses and portraits of distinguished officials for the Ling-yen gallery." Fortunately the case is different in regard to Ts'ao P'a's great pupil Han Kan; we may still reach some idea about his art from existing paintings and from the descriptions of writers who had an opportunity of examining Han Kan's works. But it should be remembered that the name has been freely used for many kinds of horse paintings in China; it has indeed become a habit to call such pictures Han Kan, when they are not associated

x/ Cf. Florence Ayscough, Tu Fu, the Autobiography of a Chinese poet (1929) p.154.

xx/ Cf. ~~Chen, op. cit. p. 151.~~

Several artists are mentioned in the records of the Tang period who specialized in horse painting but only two among them reached the highest class: T'ao Pa and Han Kan. The former is however nowadays hardly more than a great name, immortalized by Tu Fu and mentioned by the old critics in connection with portraits and horse paintings; none of his works seems to have survived in copies or the like. But with Han Kan (who sometimes is considered as T'ao Pa's pupil or immediate follower) the case is different; we may still reach some idea about his art from the descriptions of the old writers and from existing paintings, even though it would be misleading to consider all pictures inscribed with Han Kan's name as faithful renderings of his designs. His name has become an almost generic appellation for horse paintings, among which only a few may be traced back to his own works.

According to an early tradition, he worked as a boy in the shop of a wine merchant, "where Wang Wei and his brothers often bought wine on credit for their picnicks. When the boy came to collect the money at Wang Wei's house, he sometimes amused himself in drawing figures and horses in the sand. Wang Wei was startled by the talent and interest (of the boy) and gave him a yearly ^{over} support of 2000 cash (\$5) and directed his studies in painting for ten years."¹

This record of Han Kan's beginnings as a painter is supplemented by the account in T'ang Ch'ao King Shu. Here it is said that Han Kan was called to the court about the middle of the T'ien-pao era (742-55) and ordered to study horse painting under Chen Hsien, ~~an official painter of portraits and horses~~. But as the emperor found that he was painting in an entirely different fashion from this official court painter, he asked how this was possible, to which Han Kan replied: "I have my own teachers; they are all the horses in Your Majesty's stables!" - one of the most famous replicas in Chinese art history. In the same account it is however told that Han Kan painted besides the numerous horses ~~religious pictures~~ such as a Bodhisattva and a Paradise in Pao Ying ssu and the 24 Sages in Tzu Sheng ssu.²

Among Han Kan's most famous pictures of Emperor Ming Huang's horses are particularly mentioned The Jade Flower Horse and The Shining Light of the Night (see below) and furthermore: The Emperor exa-

¹ P'ei Wen Chai: Shu Hua P'u, vol 47, quoted from Yu Yang T'ao Tsu

² In other accounts it is stated that he painted the 42 Sages in two galleries at the Kuangyin garden in Tzu Sheng ssu.

winning a horse and Prince Ning playing Polo etc.

Su Tung-p'o ^{describes in detail two pictures by} ~~gives quite vivid descriptions of~~ of Han Kan's famous compositions, ^{one with} ~~the one representing~~ Fourteen horses, the other ^{was composed} ~~with~~ Four Horses. The latter ~~is described~~ as follows: "One horse stood on land with raised head and the mane in disorder, as if it was looking for something, stamping ^{with} the hoofs and neighing. Another was on the point of stepping into the water, the hip up and the head down, but it was ^{bending round} ~~turning~~ and hesitating before taking out the step. Two more horses were already standing in the water, one of them looking backwards as if speaking through his muzzle, but the one behind did not answer because it was drinking and remained quite immovable. They were like stable ~~domestic~~ horses, though without the restraint of bridles or whip, but at the same time like wild horses with sharply cut eyes and ~~waitedly standing~~ ^{strong} strong chests and fine tails. They were well behaved like worthy officials and noble dukes who meet and salute each other ceremoniously". ^{Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Fang. IV. 78.}

Fifty-two pictures by Han Kan representing horses and hunting scenes are mentioned in the Yüan-ho Hua P'u. One of these may have been the picture now in Freer Gallery, which bears a date in style of emperor ^{Ming Huang} ~~Hsiao Tung~~. It is a short roll representing several men of Turco-Mongolian type leading three richly caparisoned horses, evidently tributes from Central Asia. ^{Pl. 7} The picture is executed with great skill in deep and rich colours, ^e ~~highlighted~~ ^A with gold. The decorative effect is excellent, and the characterization of both the horses and the men is done by a master of high grade. The design is very likely Han Kan's but the style of execution seems more characteristic for some artist of the Sung period. The horses are drawn in a fashion that reminds us of Li Lu-shan's horse paintings, ^{and might have been executed by somebody familiar with his} ~~who may not have been made by him personally~~

* Su Tung-p'o's colophons, also quoted in Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Fang. IV. 78 ^{type of work}

More difficult to date and to appreciate is the small ink painting on paper (29½ x 35 cm) belonging to the brother of the former Prince Kung in Peking which represents one of Emperor Ming Shuang's famous horses "The Shining Light of the Night" (Chao Yeh Po), because it is evidently an old picture which in part has been retouched. The horse is a short riding steed of the Mongolian pony type though without saddle. It is bound with a rope from the halter at a pole but ^{makes} ~~shows~~ a violent effort to get away, the hoofs are stamping, the mane is flowing, the head lifted with a sharp neigh. The whole animal seems to quiver by restlessness and excessive energy. But it is only in the fore part, the head and the neck, that ~~this~~ ^{the} character stands out convincingly; the hind part and the legs are weaker, probably because of some wear and retouching. The ~~form~~ ^{drawing} is here lacking in structure and the tail is missing, ~~the broadly synthesized form becomes empty~~. It is thus only by concentrating our attention on the best portion of the picture that we receive the impression of a masterpiece that possibly could be Han Kan's work. Here too the wear is noticeable but the structural quality of the broadly synthesized form has not been obliterated and the sensitive life of the muzzle and the eye is still to be enjoyed. The head reminds us of the finest horse heads in clay from the end of the Han period; it has the quality of great archaic art. [Pl. 1]

The earliest inscription on the picture is by Emperor Li Hou-chu ~~Li Hou-chu~~ (937-978) of the Southern Sung state, but the picture also carries the seals of Chen An-t'ao, ^(the well known critic of the models of the 9th cent.) ~~active artist of the 9th century~~ and of Li T'ao. Other inscriptions are by Hsiang Tzu-yen (dated 1130) and Yu Chuo (Yu Yu-) likewise of the Southern Sung period. Sent to the painting are several colophons by literati of the Yuan period, and Emperor Ch'ien Lung has provided it with an autograph, in which he tells that the picture was formerly in the Hsien ~~the~~ collection, and that he acquired it in the year 1741. In the meantime it belonged, according to Chang-chou, to the academician Han Ts'un-liang and the Wen family. The picture has furthermore been celebrated in an allegorical poem by Wang Yun (1227-1304).

In consequence of all these literary records, inscriptions and seals, which have been scrutinized by some of China's best connoisseurs of ancient paintings (and ~~in later times~~ also by

Japanese amateurs, ^{the picture} ~~it~~ has acquired a great fame and is ^{generally} ~~commonly~~ ^{accepted} ~~known~~ as an authentic work by Han Kan. I have heard this testified by men of great experience and independent judgment. To Occidental students, for whom inscriptions and literary records have less weight, it must remain more of a problem. But this may be due, as stated above, to the fact that ^{it} ~~the picture~~ is no longer in a pristine state of preservation. It gives at least ^{some strong} ~~an idea~~ ^{reflexes of} ~~about~~ the style of Han Kan, which evidently was characterized by more boldness and energy than any of the later horse-painters possessed. ~~With all its weaknesses it is a picture which at 11~~

Among the painters of horses and other animals who were active during the 8th and early part of the 9th century may still be mentioned Wei Yen, Han Huang and Tai Sung, who all are extensively recorded by the Chinese historians. Wei Yen, says Chang Yen-yuan, is commonly known only as a horse painter but he did also landscapes with trees, stones etc. which in spite of their small size contained large distances. In T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu we are told that he had great ideas and an easy manner. "He painted in a dotted manner saddled horses, figures and landscapes with mist and cloud effects; the animals were represented with endless variety sometimes prancing, sometimes leaning down, eating or drinking, frightened or ~~standing~~ quite still, walking or rising, standing on tips or toes or craning the neck, when they were quite small the head was ^{made} ~~pointed~~ with a dot, the tail in one stroke; the mountains he painted with a turning stroke, the water with a rub of the brush, but everything was wonderfully true and natural". Wei Yen's name is also immortalized by the Fu who wrote a poem about his picture of two pine trees. His fame seems to have been almost equal to Han Kan's but we have no longer any opportunity of reaching a visual idea about his works; none of them seems to be preserved even in a copy.

Han Huang (723-787) was a kinsman of Han Kan who made a great as an official; he became a governor of Chakamp and was an noble Duke of Chien. He painted horses, donkeys and oxen and scenes of country life. A rather pretty picture in the Free Gallery representing A Man in red cloak ^{is quoted in} Pei Wen Chai Shu Hua Pu. 47.

Riding on a Donkey over Snow-covered Ground, bear his name and may ^{possibly} be based on some composition of his, but as the picture ~~shows a style of~~ ^{certainly is executed} in the Yuan or early Ming period, it is difficult to tell to what extent it reflects an earlier original. The very decorative colour effect is, ~~not of an early type.~~ ^{no doubt of later origin. x/}

The most frequently represented animals beside the horses were the water buffaloes. They formed a favourite motive of several painters during the late Tang and early Sung period; their bulky shapes and energetic movements seem to have attracted the artists, and it may well be admitted that there are no animals more intimately with the undulating river landscapes of the lower Yang-tze valley than these monumental beasts.

The buffalo paintings by Han Huang are no longer known either in copies or original but of those painted by his pupil Tai Sung who is said to have surpassed his master as a buffalo painter, ^{two or three} examples are reserved. Most important among these is a long

scroll, Grazing Buffaloes, executed in ink on paper, and now in the collection of Mr. A.W. Behr of New York. The motive is here represented with great variety; the composition is a river landscape, where the animals are engaged themselves in the water. Still as of 1906. A smaller picture in the National Museum represents two

Fighting Bulls. ^{Pl. 7.} The furious movement of the charging bull is splendidly rendered, it comes on at a diagonal thus through the elastic body and finds its outlet, so to say, in the curving points of the curving horns. The other bull, which is wounded in the hind-leg, is an equally excellent example of bovine energy and swiftness.

A little fan-shaped picture now in the ~~last~~ ^{last} ~~state~~ ^{state} museum in Berlin shows a hilly landscape with several trees shaded by the

^{See} x. Reproduced in Pl. 123. Chinese Paintings in the Berlin Collection

x*) Cf. Hsüan-ho Hua Pu, where also 38 pictures by Tai Sung are listed.

There were several good paintings

It was evidently a favourite forerunner of later bird-painters and frequently copied in the Yuan and Ming periods.

+ * *

Portrait and Genre Painters.

None of the great artists who ^{were} ~~have been~~ mentioned in the previous ^{chapters} ~~pages~~ could be ~~properly~~ classified as a ~~group~~ of ~~refined~~ genre motives. Their fine paintings had usually a religious, ^a ~~theoretical~~ ^{moral or historical} significance and even their portraits seem to have been ~~more~~ ^{more} of a typical or descriptive kind than ~~the~~ ^{characters} ~~of~~ individuals. They represented many strange and extraordinary types, as for instance ~~the~~ foreign envoys or ~~occasionally~~ ^{they} ~~were~~ burly peasant, but did not take a ~~series~~ ^{series} of the most intimate scenes from the life that surrounded them. Only in the field of landscape painting did we find something of that same sense of ~~the~~ ^{the} ideal beauty which is so characteristic of the contemporary work.

It is particularly through this kind of painting that the great masters of the 13th century gave expression to their keen observation of nature and their emotional interpretation.

A kind of ~~concern~~ ^{this is formed by the illustrations to} to the ~~public~~ ^{lives of noble ladies} ~~lives of noble ladies~~ flourished in the middle T'ang period ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~to be found in many of the~~ ^{the} ~~paintings with scenes from the lives of some women which also some~~ ^{times} ~~times had a rather lyrical character.~~ Very few of them have been preserved, but if we judge by their titles, they must have been pictures closely related in spirit to Li Po's immortal songs about spring and full moon and beautiful girls. Chang Hsün (c. a 713-742) excelled in this kind of painting. From his most famous pictures

dies and the like, and it is particularly through the latter that he has won his great fame. His highly refined style and peculiar full types may still be recognized in a number of copies of relatively late date.

In Wen-hua tien ^{of the "National Museum"} in Peking there ^{was} a picture ascribed to Chou Fan representing the Fairy Hsü Hsü who, on her return from P'eng-lai, offers some precious things to Wang-fan-nung and Ts'ai-chin, two famous Taoists. ^{Lot 7} The picture which is ^{the} provided with an inscription by ~~the~~ Emperor Ch'ien Lung, is evidently not of great age, but the style of the figures is that of the Ming period and the simple but well balanced composition is remarkable for its reposeful refinement.

Another composition by Chou Fan known through three or four copies (published in a pamphlet by Lo Chen-yü) represents three ladies in a garden, one of them playing the ch'in and the two others listening, while two younger women servants stand at the sides, carrying some refreshments. ^{Lot 7} This too is exceedingly simple; the garden is reduced to a cliff and two small trees; there is no indication of different planes (~~rather horizontal or vertical~~), no attempt to define a foreground or a background. ^{arranged} The figures are placed against the neutral silk ground so that it suggests space. The wide distance between them does not isolate but serves rather to bring out the spiritual import of the composition - the silence of the listeners, the quiet strain of music. If we compare it in thought with some of the Dutch 17th century pictures representing similar subjects, for instance Terborgh's ladies playing the lute or the spinet, we can realize without further ~~comment~~ how the Chinese by omission of every -

thing unessential succeeded in expressing more of the inner meaning of the motive than the most skilful European painters could do with their accomplished representation of material appearances.

Chou Fang must, indeed, have been one of the greatest masters in suggesting the tone or mood of such romantic assemblies. He painted the "Secret Pleasures of a Spring night", "Ladies with Fans" (of which a copy exists in the Metropolitan Museum), "The Flying of the Kite", and it is said that his graceful ladies were remarkable for their high eye-brows and their full cheeks, which were signs of ideal beauty in the T'ang period. We are furthermore told ~~by the~~ ^{Fai} ~~that~~ ~~he~~ ~~took~~ ~~great~~ ~~care~~ ~~in~~ ~~preparing~~ ~~the~~ ~~silks~~ so as to give his pictures the most elegant appearance. He used the method of adding a kind of chalk powder to the water in which the silk was boiled and then of beating it into a 'silver cloud'. On this exquisitely smooth and fine surface the finest lines could be perfectly drawn and the figures stood out most transparently beautiful.

The original works of Chou Fang have not with destruction but there have in late years come to light some pictures of the T'ang period which evidently reflect the same ^{feminine} ~~and ideal~~ ^{and ideals} ~~modesty~~ of his art, though in a somewhat coarser technical execution. We are thinking of the fragments of a silk painting recovered by Sir Aurel Stein from a tomb at the cemetery of Astana in the vicinity of Kara-Ikhodja, the ancient capital of the Turfan district ~~in Chinese Turkestan~~, which ^{with the help of some dated documents found at the same place, Sir Aurel Stein arrived at the conclusion that these paintings must be from} ^{may be dated to} (the first quarter of the 8th century, ^{i.e.} ~~or in other words~~, the early part of Ming Huang's reign, when so many of the great ^{est} ~~masters~~ ^{worked} ~~of~~ ~~T'ang~~ ~~appeared~~ at the imperial court. ^{The pictures are evidently not} ~~They may not be at the present~~

The late T'ang and Five Dynasties period.

Political and Religious Dissolution. The Rise of Ch'an Buddhism

The brilliant artistic culture of the middle T'ang period, brought about by some of ^{China's} ~~the~~ greatest poets and painters ~~that ever lived in China~~, was never ^{fully} ~~revived or equalled~~ even though the ~~Imperial~~ ^{dynasty} ~~dynasty~~ was reestablished ^{in 756} after the rebellion of An Lu-shan ~~and~~ and continued its reign for another 150 years ^(i.e. until 906). ~~The~~ ^{The} ~~of the Imperial House~~ ^{political} power was gradually weakened through series of revolts by local governors, who had established themselves almost as independent rulers in outlying provinces, and ^{also} through ~~series of~~ ^{also} disastrous wars with border tribes, particularly the ^{Uighurs} ~~Mongols~~ and the Tibetans. In 763 the Tibetans sacked Ch'ang-an and although driven out again, the state of warfare lasted for another 20 years until a peace treaty was signed, in which the Chinese emperor was styled "uncle" and the Tibetan ruler "nephew".

During the following century the greatest dangers were not caused by outer enemies but by ambitious eunuchs at the court and revolting governors. The rebellion which broke out in 831 under the leadership of Wang Chih-hsien and his successor, Huang-ch'ao, spread gradually over the whole country, and became the signal for the downfall of the T'ang dynasty. The third leader of this rebellion accepted, to begin with, the authority of the imperial house, but as soon as an opportunity offered itself, he had the last scion of T'ang put to death (906). He founded a dynasty at Lo-yang under the name of Liang, but this did not last for more than 16 years and its rule was limited to the central part of the empire.

This so called Posterior Liang dynasty was followed by the posterior T'ang which lasted for twelve years to 935, then came the Posterior Chin until 946, and the Posterior Han until 950, and fi-

ral prominent painters, particularly among the landscapists, worked in the capital preparing the way, so to say, for the great school of landscape painting, which flourished here during the first 150 years of the Sung dynasty.

The particular importance of the period of the Five Dynasties in the field of painting depends ^{mainly} ~~on~~ on the fact that the formal traditions of T'ang and earlier periods were now definitely abandoned and new modes of composition and technique were introduced, which became the foundation for the development during the Sung period. The classical and old-fashioned was changed into something freer and more individualistic. It is also practically possible to draw a line of ^{separation} ~~distinction~~ between the arts of the short period ^{named} ~~called~~ after the Five Dynasties and those of the early Sung, particularly as some important painters worked during both of the political periods. ~~But~~ We will therefore include in the present chapter some of these painters who usually are counted among the Southern Sung artists; ~~because~~ they started before the beginning of Sung and carried on the stylistic traditions of the Five Dynasties.

The original paintings preserved from this period are not quite as rare as the pictures of T'ang, etc., but still in no way equal to the great number of painters and ^{pictures} ~~works~~ recorded in the historical chronicles. The above mentioned I-ch'ang ⁱⁿ Hu Lu contains the biographies of over fifty painters in Hu and this was only one of the centres of activity. At this distant place painting seems to have remained comparatively conservative. Several of the T'ang painters had found their way here from Ch'ang-an when the political conditions in the capital became too uncertain, and they formed schools which became of determining influence. There were

thus since T'ang times three families of painters, who worked particularly for the temples, to wit. the Chao (Chao Kung-yu, Chao Wen-ch'i, Chao Te-ch'i), the Ch'angs (Ch'ang Tsan and his son Ch'ang Chung-yin), and the Kao (Kao Tao-hsing, Kao Ts'ung-yü, Kao Wen-chin and his sons Hwai-chieh and Hwai-pao, who worked in the Sung period). Their works were to a large extent wall-paintings and no traces of them remain. Still other painters of religious subjects are mentioned in the I-chou Ming-Hua Lu, but as their works are completely lost, it may not be necessary to lengthen the list of names.

Buddhist Painters.

The only painter of Buddhist subjects in Shi whose style still may be observed in certain pictures traditionally associated with his name is Kuan-hsiu or Ch'an-yüeh Ta-shih. He was however not native of Shu but ^{came from} ~~born~~ (about 832) at Chin-hua (Yu-chou) in Shensi. He received his education in a Ch'an monastery and became widely known as an expounder of the Ch'an spirit in painting and poetry. His fame as a poet and a calligrapher was as a matter of fact, at least in his home-country, greater than his name as a painter, though his poems are said to be of a much more conventional kind than his paintings. It was only at the end of the 9th century, when he was well over sixty, that he moved to Ch'ang-tu, where he was received with great honours; the king bestowed upon him a purple rank and called him the Great Master of the Ch'an moon (Ch'an yüeh).

"The people considered him like Luai Su (a famous calligrapher of the T'ang dynasty). In painting he followed the style of Yen Li-pen. He painted the Sixteen Lohan with bushy eyebrows, big eyes, bearing

x/ Kuan-hsiu's biography has been translated from Sung hao seng chuan by Edv. Chavannes in his article Les "Seize Arhat, Protecteurs de la Loi", in Journal Asiatique, sept.-oct. 1916, in which article he also communicates some of the historical information re. Kuan-hsiu's Arhat pictures.

The foremost painter of Buddhist subjects in the period of the Five Dynasties was evidently Kuan-hsin who became famous particularly through his representations of the Sixteen Arhats. He was prominent also as a poet and a master of Ch'an and ^{certain} a number of data regarding his life and work have been preserved.^{*)} He was born in 832 at Chin-lua in Chekiang and placed by his parents in a Ch'an monastery for education as a monk. He made rapid progress in the study of the scriptures but showed also at an early age his talents as a poet and a painter. From his native country he went to Yu-chang (Nan-chang) the capital of Kiangsi, and painted here in the Yun-tung sui a series of Arhats (mentioned by Hsu, Ku-hsi); then he resided in ~~Ching-te~~ Pei-ching-ta sui in Fu-chou where he also painted some Arhats. At the age 63 he went in an official mission to the ^{rules} ~~king~~ of Wu Yüeh at Hang-chou, and in this city (in the Shang-yin sui) there were also shown, in later times, a series of 18 Arhats by Kuan-hsin. In the year 896 the famous monk came to the court of another local ruler in the province of Hupai, and though received with honours as everywhere he had the misfortune of being involved in ^{political} trouble, and was obliged to ~~leave~~ ^{quit} the country. He went ⁽⁹⁰¹⁻⁹⁰³⁾ then to Ch'ing-tu, the capital of the Shu kingdom and here he was received as a great poet and teacher. The ruler ^{bestowed} ~~conferred~~ upon him a purple mantle and the title Ch'ün-yüeh Ta shih (the great master of the Ch'an moon), the name under which he usually is mentioned. He died in 912, 81 years old.

Beside the four series of Arhats by Kuan-hsin mentioned above five more are recorded in various temples in Canton, Shao-ning fu (Chekiang), Ch'ing-tu and Peking.^{**)} They may not all have been originals by the master but they increase the evidence of his fame as a painter of Arhats. In this respect Kuan-hsin stood in a class of his own; he created a definite type of Arhats, strange and weird old men, more expressive of dramatic force than, except holiness. And the type held its own in Chinese art at least into the Yuan period in spite of the fact that didung-mien created another more harmonious and Chinese looking type which in the Sung period reached great popularity. The almost violent expressiveness and highly imaginative character of Kuan-hsin's Arhats seem to have appealed particularly to the adherents of Ch'an Buddhism.

*) The biographical data on Kuan-hsin are related in *Sung Kao Seng Chuan* ~~which~~ translated by P. Charvannes in his article Les Seize Arhats, Protectors de la loi in *Journal Asiatique*, Sept-Oct 1886. Some additional information in *I-chou Ming Hua Lu* III. 23-4. **) Cf. Charvannes' above mentioned article, p. 280-83.

The extraordinary appearance of Kuan-hsin's Ashats is quite vividly described by Huang Hsue-fu in *I-chou Ming Hua yü* (written 1005) who also gives some hints about his artistic derivation in the following paragraph: "The people of his time considered him as another Hwai Su.^{*)} As a painter he followed Yen ti-pen. His Sixteen Lohans had bushy eyebrows, large eyes, hanging cheeks and high noses. They were seated in landscapes, leaning against pine trees and stones. ~~Their appearance~~ They looked and behaved like Hindus or Indians. When someone asked where he had seen such men, he answered: 'In my dream!' - He painted also Shakyamuni's ten disciples in a similar fashion. The people found his pictures very strange but his pupils treasured them highly. He was often asked to write poetry, and such writings of his may still be seen but they cannot be obtained. At the beginning of the T'ai-ying Hsing-kue era (976) when Emperor Tai Tsung searched everywhere for old pictures, Chen-yü who then ruled over Shu made a present of Kuan-hsin's Sixteen Lohans to the Emperor."

Kuan-hsin's name is traditionally attached to several series of Lohan pictures now in Japanese collections but it is doubtful whether any of them are his original works. Those which ~~are~~ correspond most closely to the above description are the pictures belonging to Kodaiji in Kyoto.^[Toyo, VIII, pp. XII-XIII] The figures are in these pictures placed at the foot of trees or seated on rocks and ~~they contain~~ elements of landscapes; the old grim-looking men are of a very strange type that may be called Hindu or Indian. But the execution is lacking in strength and can evidently not be ~~considered~~ as early as the compositions. ^[Pl. 7] According to the temple records, these pictures were brought from China by ^{the priest} Shunji in 1211th and ~~then~~ were at the time considered as Kuan-hsin's works but the chances are that Kuan-hsin's famous compositions already at that time ~~were reproduced~~ ^{existed} in faithful copies ^{executed by skillful} ~~by~~ ^{artists} painters. The Kodaiji pictures have thus a great documentary value even though not executed before the 12th century.

More important from an artistic point of view and more different to date are the Ashats which formerly belonged to Baron Tokuhashi but ^{which} now are in the Imperial Household Museum in Tokyo. They are evidently ~~more~~ ^{more} archaic ~~than~~ not only in design but also in execution. ^[Toyo, VIII, pp. X-XI] ~~but they have been subjected to later restoration.~~

*) Hwai Su, a Buddhist priest of the 7th cent. who was a famous writer of gross characters.
xx) Cf. *Kokka* 253. Where the temple records are quoted.

These pictures have however been subject to rather thorough ~~later~~ restorations through which the original quality of the workmanship has been spoiled; some of them have taken on a rather crude appearance, and as they have been cut down in size, they figures ~~are~~ more or less cramped, if not mutilated. The compositions are ~~quite~~ quite different from those of the Kodaigi pictures; the Arhats are placed on rocky ledges, but with two exceptions, they have no backgrounds of trees and cliffs. ^{The artist} has concentrated his interest on the characterisation, which is brought out not only in the enormous heads but also in the postures, and he seems to have felt a need of making the Arhats violently ugly in order to emphasize their superhuman qualities. Their bodies are dried up and the skin is clinging like rags to the disproportioned frames as if they had been sealed in movable, for ages. But the heads have grown in to extraordinary sizes and developed strange bumps during their endless meditations. - Some of them are almost terrifying, as if possessed by an overpowering spirit; others are quietly ~~intro~~ intro, actively, others again teaching or directing their attention to some listener with compelling force. The differences are as a matter of fact so, real, that one cannot help questioning, whether all these figures are created by the same man. It seems difficult to believe that such differences ~~have~~ been caused ~~only~~ by unequal restorations. The lines are in ~~some~~ instances quite dead and mechanical, the shading harsh and meaningless, ~~but at other places they are better and there may be observed~~ ^{at other places they are better and there may be observed} ~~but nevertheless there is an element of great~~ ^{the somewhat wide shapes} power and expressiveness which shines through ~~the somewhat wide shapes~~ and makes these pictures uncommonly interesting and problematic works of art.*

* Omura writes about ~~these pictures~~ ^{them} as follows: "They not only bear Kuang-hsin's legend but the brush-work and colour scheme make it most clear that they were really by Ch'an-yüeh himself. They are truly among the rarest treasures in the world, and there are no others by which we can more satisfactorily judge of the artist's style." *Toyo Bōjutsu Taikwan*, VIII, p. 9.

Among other paintings in ~~Japanese collections~~ which have been attributed to Kuang-hsin may be mentioned three Arhats in Iwano Fujita's collect. (*Kokkei*, 456) and one in Masque's Asano's collect. (*Kokkei*, 400). They ^{last ones} are executed in monochrome ink possibly in the Yuan period.

(a series of sixteen Arhats in the Shōmyōji (Kanaizawa),) Furthermore there is a

series of thirty-two Kuangins, representing different aspects of the Bodhisattva in Dukkokuji in Fushimi, also ascribed to Kuang-hsin.

The extraordinary appearance of Kuan-hsin's ~~shats~~ ⁽¹⁰⁰⁵⁾ is quite vividly described by Huang Hsin-hu in I-chou Ming Hua Lu, who also gives some hints about his style in general; he writes:

An entirely different rendering of similar motives may be seen in two pictures which also are ascribed to a painter who worked in ~~the~~ Ch'ing tu at the beginning of the 10th century. They belong to Shohoji temple in Kyoto and are ~~also~~ traditionally known as "Two Patriarchs ^{with their minds in Harmony (Togyo Jui, XI-XVII-XVIII)} ~~pictures~~". The pictures which originally may have formed part of one scroll are accompanied by a lengthy inscription ^{over the name of} ~~and to be of~~ ^{a well known critic,} ~~of the~~ ^{of the} ~~Yuan period,~~ in which they are ascribed to the painter Shih K'o. The writing has been declared a later forgery but the pictures are nevertheless generally considered as Shih K'o's works. If the attribution is correct, it seems evident that the special type of Ch'an painting in a sketchy ink style ^(p'o mo) which reached its height in the South Sung period had been far developed already in the 10th century. The lack of comparative material makes it practically impossible to reach a safe conclusion ~~as to the date of these pictures,~~ but as long as the traditional attribution cannot be disproved, they may be described at this place.

The paintings represent two rugged old men seated in profound meditation, the one leaning on a tiger, the other half naked, supporting his bearded chin on his hand. ^(Pl. 5) The figures are sketched with a few swift strokes of the brush, dashed off with some patches of light and shade rather than drawn or modelled, but so suggestive is the brush-work, so skilful the handling of light and shade, that the volumes stand out with full plasticity and yet, as living as a fleeting vision. The pictorial rendering corresponds thus perfectly to the

motives: Ch'an monks in meditation seeking that sudden ^{illumination} flash-like by which the spiritual secrets are revealed. They are utterly detached from ^{the} material ~~of~~ objective world; their forms exist only as, fleeting symbols of their minds.

Ch'ian

The foremost of ~~all~~ the flower-and-bird-painters in Shu and probably one of the greatest masters (in this ~~special~~ field) that ever worked in China, was Huang Ch'ian. He was active about the middle of the 10th century in Ch'êng-tu under Wang Yen (919-25) and Meng Ch'ang (934-965), two rulers of the later Shu kingdom, who honoured him with high titles and official charges. We are told that when Wang Yen asked him to improve an eye in Wu Tao-yüan's painting of Chung Kuei he refused to do it, pointing out that the whole meaning of the picture could be destroyed and made instead a copy, painted ^{ing it} in the fashion ~~and~~ the ruler desired.*)

His paintings were executed with the greatest care: "He selected the best points of various schools and combined them: Flower- and bamboo painting he learned from T'eng Ch'ang-yu, bird painting from Tiao Kuang-yin, landscape from Li Ch'ang, cranes from Hsueh Chi, dragons from Sun yü (Sung Wei). Though he studied in this way (the various masters) his brush-work was strong and daring; he threw off ~~himself from~~ all the traditional rules and surpassed greatly his various teachers. It is generally said that in Tu Fu's poems and in Han Yü's essays every character has a definite source, in the same sense it may be said, that Ch'ian brought together the most wonderful parts of various styles. There was no man of old nor anyone of later times equal to him. He painted all the mountain flowers (of Szechuan) the wild herbs, the rare birds, the strange animals, the river-banks and the rocky islands, angling boats and old rafts on the waters, and everything with utmost refinement." The pheasants which he painted in the year 953 in the Fa Kua hall of the king's palace were so natural that when some foreign envoys came with an eagle to the king, this bird tried several times to attack the pheasants by the neck.*) One of his contemporaries Pule Fan Chen in Shu, who was a specialist in raising eagles and hawks (for hunting), said that Ch'ian grasped the very life of the birds and did ~~by no means~~ ^{not simply} ~~copy~~.

*) Cf. Hsüan-ho ^{Shu} Hua Pu *) This story is told in I-chou Ming Hua Lu, where also a similar story is told about the Crane which he painted in another hall of the king's palace.

~~himself with the~~ imitate ~~and~~ earlier bird painters. No less than 349 of his pictures are listed in the Hsüan-ho catalogue in succession to the above remarks; the great majority of these pictures represent birds in landscapes, but there are also a few Buddhist and Taoist motives among them.

Stories from other sources may be quoted to illustrate the extraordinary life-likeness of ^{his} ~~Huang Chüan's~~ birds but it seems hardly necessary. Huang Chüan was evidently right when he said about himself that he drew things as they are. ^{x/} He is said to have used an exceedingly fine brush, so that the ink lines were hardly visible, and the effect of his pictures may, on the whole, have depended more on the colouring than on the ink drawing or the brush strokes. ^{ix/} Yet, it is evident that ~~in~~ ~~his~~ in his paintings of bamboo ^{and trees in general for instance,} ~~the brush-stroke was essential, but the principal technical novelty that he introduced seems to have been a kind of "boneless painting" i.e. the use of colour without any visible outlines.~~

These remarks about Huang ^{Chüan's} art are well born out by a painting called Li T'ang Chü Chin t'u (The Willows at the Pool with Gathering Birds) which has been published in a series of large photographs in Japan without any text or indication of its owner. To judge by its seals, it must have formed part of the Imperial Manchu collection and also been in the Hsüan-ho collection. The original is unknown to ~~us~~, but the photographs convey a rather convincing impression of a ~~very~~ fine original painting, very likely by the master. It is painted on silk with ink and abun-

x/ Su Tung-p'o had evidently a somewhat different opinion about this; he writes: "Huang Chüan painted the flying birds with their necks and feet extended; but somebody remarked that when the birds stretch their feet, they never extend neck and feet at the same time. This may be found quite true on observation, and it is thus evident, that he who looks at things does not always discriminate; though he was a great painter, he did not understand this point." Tung-p'o, Chuan Chi, vol. 70.

they draw in the neck; and when they stretch the neck, they draw in the feet.
xx/ Giles. op.cit. p. 92. quotation from Shen Kua.

dant use of pigments. The composition may be called a panorama of bird-life among blossoming trees and shrubs. It opens with a large *gemma* (?) in which some magpies and smaller singing birds have gathered ~~after~~ [Pl. I]; after this follows a group of large birds ⁱⁿ two, families of cocks and hens with their chicken among rose-mallows. The third section contains a number of pheasants on rockeries and furthermore a *gemma* in bloom and a willow with many small birds [Pl. II]. The remaining part ^{is covered by} ~~is covered by~~ the tranquil waters of a pool on which some swans and ducks are enjoying themselves - a motive of greatest unity and harmony [Pl. III]. The whole picture is thus, strictly speaking, more like a succession of decorative panels or screens than a unified design; the groups of trees and birds and rockeries have little ~~of~~ connection from a decorative point of view, but taken separately, they are admirable renderings of very intimate aspects of life in nature. Huang Ch'ian seems to have been a relatively old-fashioned painter who won his great fame by a hitherto unattained degree of accuracy in depicting birds and flowers.


Huang Ch'üan's particular style and technical methods have often been characterized in contrast to the manner of his great rival Hsü Hsi, who, probably is the most famous of all Chinese painters of flowers, fruits and birds. He was the descendant of a ~~well~~ well known family of Chiang ~~nan~~ ^{nan} and seems to have passed most of his life in Nanking, where his ~~works were most~~ ^{paintings were most} highly appreciated by King Li Hou-chu, though he never actually worked at the court. Li Tao-chün offers the following interesting information about Hsü Hsi's ~~work and style~~ ^{style} and manner of working! "He used to walk about in the ~~kitchen~~ vegetable garden looking for subjects. Although his pictures only contained tufts of vegetables and, young shoots and the like, his ~~execution~~ style (hsieh) surpassed the old masters' and his creations were wonderful. He specialized also in coloured work which he made absolutely life-like:--"

In discussing paintings of flowers and fruits scholars and officials usually express the opinion that Huang Ch'üan's and Chao Ch'ang's pictures should be considered as the finest models, because they are drawn and coloured directly from nature and surpass the works of other men. But compared with Hsü Hsi, they are ~~quite~~ ^{very} inferior. Ch'üan's works were divine (chen) but not very spectacularly wonderful (miao); Ch'ang's works were wonderful but not divine; Hsü Hsi alone went beyond both the divine and the wonderful. Good painters ~~do not~~ ^{give} as a rule ~~for~~ ^{no} ~~representations of shapes~~ ^{representations more than coloured} and do not know how to convey the spirit and ~~sometimes~~ ^{out} of things. But Hsü Hsi, on the contrary, started by drawing in ink the branches, ~~and~~ leaves, ~~stems~~ and petals of the flowers and then he put on the colours. In this way he brought ~~the~~ ^{out} the spirit and

*) Sheng Ch'ao Hsing Hua Ping

the structure before ¹⁶⁴the final stage of the ~~the~~ finishing work, and his flowers became perfectly luxuriant, almost like the works of the Creator. He was, indeed, the foremost in ~~the world~~ ^{the world}, and a master of the divine class.

Hsü Hsi's paintings were, as said above, eagerly collected by the ruler in Nanking and when he lost his throne they came into the possession of Wang Jung Tsai Tsung who is said to have exclaimed after looking at Hsü Hsi's picture of a pomegranate tree with hundred fruits: 'Among ~~paintings~~ paintings of flowers and fruits I care only for Hsü Hsi's works; the rest are not worth looking at!' - True it took ~~a~~ ^{long} many years before the learned men of the ~~the~~ ^{the} painting bureau were willing to admit Hsü Hsi's pictures as classical models of equal importance ~~with~~ ^{with} Huang Ch'üan's works.



The only important flower paintings known to us which to some extent may reflect the spirit and manner of Hsü Hsi (to whom they are traditionally attributed) are the two large pictures in ^{the} Chion-in temple in Kyoto representing respectively ^{Chion-in} ~~of 1050, but it looked like a Ming copy after a rather ordinary composition in Wang Wei's or Li Cheng's style. In album leaf, representing~~ Asters, from the imperial collections in Peking, is reproduced by Fergusson (Chinese Painting p. 86) as an original work by Huang Ch'ien and praised for its "splendid colour effects".

Far more remarkable are the two large paintings belonging to the Chion-in (temple) in Kyoto, sometimes attributed to Hsü Hsi or his school, which represent Lotus and Ducks and Lotus and Herons. ^(Toyo III, p. XII. 87) The material as well as the execution make it probable that they were painted not later than the Sung period, and if we attach importance to their wonderful lightness and suggestion of quivering life, it might be imagined that they were done by some follower of Hsü Hsi. The rosy flowers and big green leaves are bending under a gust of wind, some petals are falling, some leaves are torn at the edges; a breath of life sweeps through every fiber of these magnificent plants. ^[cf.] The technical execution is however less remarkable for fluency or broadness than for its refinement and exactitude. If I remember right, some red may be discerned in the contours of these pictures as well as in others of similar type, though inferior in quality, which are ascribed to the Hsü Hsi school.

Another flower painting of a similar type as the pictures in Chion-in was in the great collection of the late Marquis Inoué in Tokyo, which I had an opportunity of studying some ten years ago. It is ascribed to Ku Té-ch'ien, an attribution which, as far as I know, is accepted by the best Japanese authorities ^{(Colour reproductions} ~~in~~ ^{Hokka, 297)}. The composition consists here also of lotus flowers and a pair of mandarin

ducks, but it is richer and more varied than in the above mentioned pictures. Ku Té-ch'ien was a favorite painter of King Li Hou-chu who is said to have expressed his admiration in the following words: "Of old there was Ku Kai-chih, &

Ku Té-ch'ien was a favorite painter of King Li Hou-chu who is said to have expressed his admiration in the following words: "Of old there was Ku Kai-chih, &

A somewhat younger flower painter of Shu who ~~was~~^{often} mentioned together with Huang Ch'üan and Hsü Hsi was Chao Ch'ang (Tzu, Chang-chih). He may thus be remembered at this place, though his activity really belonged to the early part of the Sung period (beginning of 11th cent.). He was a Ch'ing-tu man and learned his art from T'eng Ch'ang-yu. In his youth he travelled in the districts of Pa and Tzu in Szechuan, and ~~it is said that the~~^{it is said that the} district-officials were very eager to obtain pictures of his but he did not like to part with his works. ~~As there was a promise~~
~~When he later on settled in the imperial capital~~ He then went to the capital and met there honors and recognition, but in his old age he returned to Szechuan and tried to buy up as many as possible of his early works.*)

The motives of his pictures he seems however to have chosen from the gardens rather than from the wild flora of the Shu mountains. According to a tradition, reported ~~is~~ by Ch'ang Shao-yü, "Chao Ch'ang used every morning when the dew was falling, to make a tour of the garden, examining and enjoying in his hand combinations of variously coloured flowers which he then painted. He called himself 'Draw from life'; and the people said that Ch'ang's paintings were dyed and not made with colours laid on. If one in examining his pictures touch^{ed} them with the hand, one did not feel the colours, so delicate were they." **)

There are several paintings in Japanese collections traditionally attributed to Chao Ch'ang, all of quite small size and representing most broken branches or flowers seen ~~in various~~^{in various} full face (and not in side-view as in most later paintings of the same type).

*) Cf. Sheng Ch'ao Hsing Hua Lu ***) Quoted in Beitoku Chai Shu Hua 134

As examples may be mentioned the fan-shaped picture representing A Branch of White Jessamine in Marguerite Tournay's collect. a remarkably fresh and sensitive interpretation of the charm of such rich and odorous summerflowers rendered in a soft harmony of white and greyish green [Pl. 7]. It may evoke certain flower studies by Leonardo or Titian but it has a transparent lightness that no Western painter attained. A somewhat larger picture is the Damros Halks with winged insects belonging to Mr. Hakatayama (formerly Akaboshi, Kokkei, 243) where the drawing of the quivering leaves of the bamboo and the fluttering wings of the libellules is most suggestive. Quite small again, hardly more than a ~~mini~~ letter card, is the picture in Baron von Saxe's collection representing a Lotus bud with a droop and a soot Calyx, but the beauty and joy of its colours may be said to stand in inverse proportion to its size.

According to the Hsüan-ho Hua Pu Ch'ang, painted not only flowers and fruits but also birds, cats and rabbits and several compositions with such motives are mentioned in the list of his 154 pictures in the Imperial collection. It may be remembered that the beautiful picture in British Museum representing Two White Geese carries an inscription with Chao Ch'ang's name, though the attribution has been doubted.ⁿ⁾ If it has some foundation, Chao Ch'ang would seem to have been also one of the ^{popular} ~~most~~ bird painters of the epoch, in spite of the fact that it is ~~pointed out~~ particularly in the Hsüan-ho Hua Pu, that his finest artistic qualities were not to be found in his pictures of birds and cats. This wonderfully balanced and expressive picture ^{of the two geese} may however be the work of some greater bird painter of the Northern Sung period.

n) Cf. Waley, op. cit. p. 180. I cannot find that the picture is as much repaired as Waley writes. The silk seems to me original all through.

Figure-Painters

The most important figure painters of the Southern T'ang state were Wang Ch'i-han and Chou Wen-chū, both active at the court of king Li ^{Hou-chū} ~~Wen~~. Their delicate manner seems to reflect the extraordinary refinement of the Hanking court; where, it is said, women first started to bind their feet, because it imparted to 'their gait a swaying motion which was found attractive by the aesthetes of the day' (Haley, p.165). Chou Wen-chū specialised in the representation of these elegant court ladies, while Wang Ch'i-han painted Buddhist pictures besides contemporary genre motives. Chou decorated a hall in the king's villa with such subjects, and though he followed in a certain way the traditions of Chou Fung, it is said that he did not paint fat beauties, like the T'ang master, but slender willow ladies. The fashion had changed since the opulent days of the great T'ang emperors and the pictures should of course reflect the latest ideals of feminine grace. And at the same time children came to play of which they never before had held in Chinese art. Artists took an interest in the gentler side of life, which had been almost recovered before; women and children, flowers and butterflies, were motives just as important as statesmen and philosophers or dragons and tigers. I get that the ideas were of a more humane, but they demanded a very close observation of nature and a detachment from the almost neglected side of life.

This new trend in the figure painting is well illustrated by two small pictures, in the shape of rounded fans, in the Boston Museum, one of which is ascribed to Chou Wen-chū and the other to Wang Ch'i-han. It is next to impossible to ascertain whether the traditional attributions are correct, but it can be safely said that the pictures are not later than the Northern Sung period and they re-

present very attractively the stylistic tendencies of these masters. The main subject of both are children at play. In Chou Jen-chi's picture the child, who is lounging on a garden bench, is amusing himself with a dog and a cat in the midst of luxuriant rose-mallows, while in the picture attributed to Wang Chi-han there is a company of six small children playing on a garden terrace at the side of a pavilion where a woman is chastising or cleaning an almost naked baby who is lying on his stomach. The intimate feeling of these illustrations and their refinement of design may be observed in our illustrations, but their delicate coloring - light blue, mossy green, rose and white - is something that only can be communicated by the originals. They are indeed small works of pictorial beauty, in which the artistic treatment corresponds perfectly to the gracefulness of the motives.

More famous is the picture by Wang Ch'ien-shan, known as "Reading". It passed from the T'ien Fang collection into the possession of Mr. Li Ping-t'ing (Pao-hsien), [Shu t'u]. It was formerly in the collection of Mr. Li Ping-t'ing, now to Mr. Ferguson in Peking. As indicated by the title, it represents "Reading", though the old man who is seated holds his books in front of a large printed screen, holds a fan in his right hand, and is cleaning his ear with the finger of his left hand while a servant is approaching from the side. We may believe the old and modern authorities who have written about this picture, it should be an original by Wang Ch'ien-shan. In fact, its present owner says, that "considering the details as to historical ownership, annotations by two of the most famous calligraphists, Lu Shih and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, and the care of preservation, this scroll is probably the most complete and perfect specimen of early Chinese paintings now in any collection. *

* Ferguson, op. cit. p. 31. A poor reproduction of the painting is included in the illustrated catalogue of Mr. Li Ping-t'ing's collection: Chung Kuo Ming Hua Ch'ing Ping

A somewhat larger picture in the form of a short scroll traditionally ascribed to Chou Wen-chü, is in the British Museum. It represents four women and several children gathered on a terrace, lined by a low balustrade beyond which may be faintly distinguished a pond with lotus flowers. At both ends of the terrace are some trees. The figures appear as on a raised stage, all in the foreground, and they are arranged in four groups in a rather symmetrical fashion; the two groups in the middle are higher and formed by standing figures, while the two outer groups consist of a woman kneeling at a water-basin and a child. The decorative design is so carefully balanced that it almost would appear stiff, were it not for the variations in the slight movements of the graceful figures, but this restraint serves (rather to enhance) than to diminish the artistic charm of the composition.

The execution is delicate, though not quite the same as the brush-work; the colours are subdued and probably due to the age of the painting (for inst. the earliest). It may be an early copy, but it cannot be very far removed from the original and may, indeed, by its combination of a peculiarly quiet and balanced design with feminine gracefulness and charm serve to give us some idea about the stylistic ideals of some of the best figures of this period of transition.

* Three pictures are reproduced in the catalogue of Mr. Pin-yun's collection under the name of Chou Wen-chü; one is called A Happy Retreat in a Floating Villa and represents some ladies in a pavilion at a lotus pond. The other is a short scroll with the same subject representing some ladies assembled in the Li-chi hall. The third (and apparently most doubtful) a Kuan-yin seated at the sea-shore. The reproductions are too poor to allow any conclusion as to the importance of these paintings.

A figure painter of entirely different origin^s, scope and character ~~who however~~ ^{but} also ~~was~~ active ~~at the end of T'ang and during the Five Dynasties~~ ^{was Hu Kuei. He was not a born Chinese but came from} ~~and consequently may be mentioned at this place, was Hu Kuei, a~~ ~~Tartar of the so called Hou Kitan tribe, who however has won a prominent~~ ~~place in Chinese art history.~~ He is classified in ~~the~~ Hsüan-Ho Hua P'u as the most important painter of ~~barbarian~~ people and horses and also mentioned with high commendations by Kuo Jo-hsü and later Chinese critics.^{x/} No less than 65 of his pictures were preserved in the imperial collection, mostly representing horsemen, hunters, barbarian camps and the life on the great plains beyond the northern border of the Middle Kingdom. The descriptive notice about his art in the Hsüan-Ho Hua P'u may be worth quoting:

"Hu Kuei from Fan Yang painted barbarian horses. His compositions were ingenious and intimate; they seemed sometimes overcrowded or scattered but the brush-work was clear and strong. His camp scenes with all their paraphernalia, his pictures of shooting and hunting tribesmen were delicate and minute, ~~and~~ representing with perfect clearness every detail. His camels and horses were more broadly painted with a brush made of wolf's hair so as to give them more life. He interpreted all these things very skilfully as may be seen from such pictures of his as The Seven Riders coming down from the Yin Mountain, Eagle Hunters, ~~and~~ Horse Catchers and others. His style of painting was continued by his son Hu Ch'ien.

^{xx/} Mei Yao-ch'en wrote a colophon on Hu Kuei's picture of Barbarians Dismounting from their Horses which said in substance: Among the woollen tents surrounded by screen walls the cauldrons are boiling, the

x/ Cf. Pei Wen Chai Shu Hua P'u.

xx/ Mei Yao-ch'en (1002-1060) was a distinguished scholar and poet of the Sung dynasty, a close friend of Ou Yang-hsiu. Cf. Giles Biogr. Dict. 1511. His colophons on Hu Kuei's paintings may indicate that the painter lived into the Sung period.

drums and horns are silent and do not scare the wild gees of the vast plains..... From Mei Yao-ch'en's words may be realized that the Kuei certainly was no vulgar man."

We have no information as to where this great artist learned to paint, but it seems rather evident that he had been in contact with Chinese art, though he may have spent most of his life outside the borders of the empire. He would hardly have become so highly appreciated by the Chinese scholars and critics, if he had been entirely unknown among them personally and the specimen of his art that still survives (whether it be an original or an early copy) indicates also a close adherence to the pure Chinese traditions of style.

The picture in question is one of the great treasures in the Museum in Boston. It is a small fan-shaped painting on silk and represents A Mongol Horseman with a Hawk and Quarry; the old label on the picture reads: "Hu Kuei's Barbarian Horseman." It may however be noted that Okakura considered this picture to be the work of an early Sung master, a distinction which perhaps does not exclude Hu Kuei's authorship if he lived to the beginning of the Sung period. However this may have been, it seems to us that the general character of the picture ~~shows a perfect~~ ^{corresponds} ~~to~~ to the descriptions of Hu Kuei's paintings of barbarian hunters, ~~and horsemen~~ and the same is true of its execution in a very fine and exact manner: every detail for instance of the horse trappings is carefully rendered and yet, ^{design as a} ~~the whole thing has a~~ ^{is} strong and ^{large} ~~big~~ character. The man is standing at the side of his horse occupied in tying his quarry (an eagle?) at the back of the saddle. The hunting falcon is proudly seated on the front of the saddle, and the short legged Mongolian pony is sniffing at the ~~short~~ grass that covers the ground. This group is however not placed in the midst of the picture but as close to the right

edge as possible, while all the rest of it is simply an open grass-covered plain reaching up to a high horizon - a very suggestive arrangement by which the painter has contrived to give an impression of the wide expanse of the hunting grounds where the prey was caught.

Four other small pictures in the same museum may be mentioned in this connection as they ~~evidently~~ ^{at least} are related by their ~~characteristic~~ motives with the art of Hu Kuei, ^{nor do we know} ~~and hardly fit in as well with any other~~ ^{with whose works they show greater resemblance} painter ~~among the~~. They are illustrations to the story about Princess Wen-chi's captivity in Mongolia and her return to China and no less than three of the scenes are staged on the Mongolian plains, while the fourth illustrates her arrival at the paternal house in a Chinese city. Those scenes from the wind-blown sandy plains of Mongolia, where the nomads have pitched their camps of large woollen tents screened by walls of felt or hide, where horses and camels are rested or grazed at some river bank during the breaks in the journey while soldiers with pennants stand on guard (and where the Chinese people look as strangers), are evidently painted by somebody who possessed an intimate knowledge of the country and the barbarian camps. Everything down to the minutest details of the men's outfit, the horse trappings, the construction of the tents and the preparation of the food in the large tripods is represented with convincing simplicity and directness, conveying the impression that the painter must have seen and lived among such things. The very remarkable artistic charm and expressiveness of these pictures result, as a matter of fact, much more from the vividness with which the separate groups of men and animals are depicted and from the faithfulness in the description of all the paraphernalia than from any strictly compositional features. ~~The designs are indeed very simple, not to say loosely thought together, without any serious attempt at decorative arrangement.~~ It is

true, that the sceneries are transposed in accordance with a definite sense of style, but this is much more naive than in the works of the average Chinese masters, producing also a curious correspondance between certain parts of these pictures and the works of so called primitive European painters of the 15th century. It is very seldom that one meets with Chinese pictures of ^{an} yearly date which to the same extent as these remind one of parallel artistic endeavours in other countries, a fact that rather tends to support our surmise that the artist did not come from any of the great centres of Chinese art.

Yet, he has also been well acquainted with the life in the Chinese cities as proved by the fourth picture in the series representing the return of Wen-chi to her paternal house. This scene takes place in the busy street of a Chinese city at the entrance to the family compound. The princess is received by various members of the family under the roof of the inner gate pavilion, while porters are hurrying with her luggage over the court-yard, and the horses and guards are resting before the outer gate in the street. The event has attracted crowds of people, as such things do in China, where crowds emerge with surprising facility when something unexpected takes place. The whole thing is so naturally depicted, that one seems to recognize it from actual observations. The walls, gateways and pavilions are quite similar to those which still may be seen at the residential compounds in the old cities in northern China. But here too one cannot help but noticing a certain lack of stricter compositional arrangement, *it is the illustrative scope of the pictures rather than the decorative design which is emphasized.* ~~a somewhat arbitrary rendering of the buildings (all seen from above) in accordance with the primitive descriptive style that we have observed in the other pictures.~~ Nothing could ~~however~~ be more entertaining than the painter's representation of the crowd in the street, the food-vendors, the sooth-sayers, the greeting friends, the

priest with his page, the coolies and so on, they are all characterised with a vivacity that easily makes us overlook the somewhat map-like scatteredness of the picture as a whole.

The traditional title^{||} and attribution of these pictures: "Auspicious Omens of Kao Tsung's^{reign} by Hsiao Chao" must, indeed, as explained in an article by Mr Tomita, be the result of some old error and cannot be considered seriously.^{x/} The motives have nothing to do with emperor Kao Tsung's accession to the throne and the artist must have been of an earlier age than the 12th century painter Hsiao Chao. The consensus of modern expert opinion seems to be that the pictures were executed in the Northern Sung period, and ~~for my own part, I think that they show a kind of primitiveness which makes it probable that they were executed in the~~ *I should think most likely in the* early part of the period, if not before. As to the artist, we have no clue whatsoever; but the motives as well as the somewhat scattered manner of composition and perhaps also the execution with strong ink contours and more broadly painted in pigments point in the direction of Hu Kuei. The pictures may not be his works, though they answer peculiarly well to the descriptions of some of his paintings; ~~He~~ ^{He} may have been dead when these pictures were made, but his art and style lived on in the works of his son Hu Ch'ien who is said to have possessed "the spirit of his father" and to have followed the older Hu so closely that the creations of the two men could hardly be distinguished.^{xx/} These two men were the most famous painters of Barbarian people known in the time of emperor Hui Tsung, and it lies thus near at hand to connect the above mentioned pictures with their family style, even though it is impossible to make any definite assertion as to their master.

x/ Cf. Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts. Boston. June 1928.

xx/ According to Hsüan Ho Hua p'u Hua Ch'ien painted similar scenes as his father, with equal refinement and success and was represented with 44 paintings in the imperial collection.

Wang Wei's importance as a precursor of the po' mo technique is emphasized by the historical traditions about some of his pupils who became famous in this particular branch of painting. Some of them revelled in ink and applied it not only with the brushes but also with the fingers and with the hair. His told for instance of ~~Tsang~~ Chang Tsao (end of 8th cent.) that he rubbed the ink on the silk with his hand when he did not use a stump brush. When asked by Pi Hsing (who once had been his teacher) where he had learned this, he answered: "Outwardly I have learned from ~~interior~~ Nature (the Creator); inwardly from my own heart" - at which answer Pi Hsing laid down his brush. * His particular force was the painting of pine trees. He was so skillful that he could hold one brush in each hand painting with the one a live branch and with the other a dead branch. ... He painted the stumps and bumps of the trees and the wrinkles of the bark with horizontal and vertical strokes, freely as the hand moved. The live branches were moist with the freshness of spring, the dead ones gloomy with the blast of autumn. His cliffs were sharply projecting as if falling down and one could hear the roaring of his rushing waters. When seen near by, his pictures were overawing the beholder, but seen at a distance, they opened to the very limit of the sky. **)

Pictures representing gnarled pine branches and the like are sometimes attributed to Chang Tsao but those I have seen are more likely works of the famous "finger-painter" of the 18th century, Kao Ch'ao-zei, who imitated him quite successfully. ***)

*/ Li Tai Ming Hua Chi. X. **/ Tsang Ch'ao Ming Hua no. 61.

***) For inst. in Stahlmack's Pictorial Art. p. 70

A picture of uncommon beauty and refinement to which no name is attached but which for stylistic reasons may be ascribed to the end of the Tang or the Five Dynasties period is the Tan Feng 唐風 (After among Red-leaved Maples) in the Palace Museum in Peking. The composition can be ~~realized from~~ ^{observed in} our reproduction but the exceptional colouristic beauty can be realized only before the original (Pl. 64). The large-leaved maples form a ^{soft and harmonious} singularly ~~well~~ pattern of grey, red-brown and pink as in a finely woven tapestry. A group of young ~~stags~~ deer lead by a stag is halting in the thicket; their slender forms and soft chestnut-coloured fur harmonize singularly well with the shapes and tones of the trees. The decorative transposition of the motif ^{is carried out} with a colouristic sense ~~and refinement~~ and a creative imagination that endow the picture with a reflex of poetry. One cannot help recalling memories from autumn days in Nara, or when the Kasuga deer are gathering among the red-leaved trees at the ~~low~~ musical call of the watchman.

A great deal could be added about other animal painters as well as about painters of birds and flowers who were active at the end of the Tang period but it may not be necessary ^{in this connection} ~~to dwell on them, as long as~~ Their works are lost and our space is limited. Best known is the name of Bian Xuan which is not infrequently attached to pictures representing peacocks or preying birds attacking quadrupeds but also to other bird paintings. The designs of these pictures are as a rule of a broader decorative type than those of later flower and bird paintings; ~~position may be doubtful whether any of them are originals by the master.~~ They may be observed even though the pictures attributed to him are off copies of later date.

The greater artistic achievements of this period were however accomplished in the field of landscape painting. A whole galaxy of artists took up the impulses left by Wang Wei and developed them ^{after} ~~forward~~ in various directions. They were all masters of monochrome ink painting, though they used this medium differently, some working with defining lines and contours, others with dots and splashes, but all striving to render those undefinable elements of space and atmosphere by which the forms of the objective world become parts of a greater whole. Wang Wei had, no doubt, realized something of this, but he was still more or less ^{adhering to} the earlier manner of definition and drawing in detail; ~~and~~ the poetic beauty of his pictures depended less on the ~~realistic~~ representation of space than on the atmospheric tone in which they were enveloped. ~~The~~ poetry of his paintings as well as of his lyric ~~and~~ compositions is more descriptive than visionary or emotional.

This artistic position is gradually modified in the works of the great landscape painters of the 10th century. Their ^{pictures} are no longer poetic renderings of definite scenes, filled with objective details but rather visions or ideas, projected from the consciousness of the artists and interpreted in values of rhythmic brush-strokes. Their relation to objective nature was ~~different~~ ^{different}; they studied it and learned from it the essential elements ^{by} which their pictures are composed but they did not aim at descriptive representation. Their ideal was rather to create like nature herself, to visualize their ideas in shapes of mountains, rocks and trees, to make the pictures ^{unfold or} grow ~~out~~, as things do in nature, according to a certain plan or vision. They carried the whole thing over into the world of creative thought ~~and by detaching themselves in~~ ^{where the} principle from the ~~the~~ limits of material representation no longer ~~hold good~~. Space became to them something more than the distances between two points or the absence of forms; it ^{became} the element in which their creations unfolded, a reflex or symbol of the limitless world of thought; they made no efforts to define ~~it~~ ^{to} limit it, because it ^{was} the very substance out of which their pictures ^{were} made.

Their pictures have no perspective (in our sense of the word), no fixed station point, no measurable distances; the artist's ^{eye} moves over ~~the~~ paper or silk ~~as~~ as he moves in his thoughts which he expresses in symbols of pictorial forms. ~~And as the thoughts are coordinated~~

in relation to his consciousness, so the forms are balanced in relation to space; their significance becomes dependent on this relationship, on their power to reveal or to suggest the underlying consciousness which in terms of painting is equivalent to space. ^{Requires} It is the most eloquent medium for expressing a reality beyond the material forms.

The painters have all insisted on this, consciously or unconsciously, and they have devised various means of developing it. Some do it mainly by their designs, by the way in which the forms are distributed on the empty sheet; others do it more by tone, by painting an atmosphere of mist or haze in which the forms are enveloped and gradually lost. It is evident that the handling of the ink and the touch of the brush are of great importance in this respect; the succession of tones is, as a rule, far more eloquent than the gradual diminishing of the material forms or the like. Because it is less the optical effect that is sought than the suggestion which will attain or open the consciousness of the beholder to that of the painter.

The motives and compositional elements of the landscapes show little variation. In most of them we will find the towering mountains with rushing streams, trees on the slopes and in the crevices, sometimes small buildings and distant temples on the terraces, or in pictures of another type, of mountains with trees and huts in the foreground, stretches of calm water and mountain silhouettes in the background. There are also winding roads, high bridges and boats but the human beings are as yet of very little importance in these pictures; they have not yet reached the prominence that they acquired in the landscapes of the 12th and 13th centuries. It is a primordial and rugged nature that they represent, too grand to be dominated by human individuals.

Some of the painters of this period have also written rather important treatises on landscape painting in which they discuss the elements and methods of their art. In reading them one gets often a stronger impression of the traditional restrictions ^{and the somewhat scholastic methods} ~~of this art than of its possibilities~~ ^{of their activity than} ~~a faint impression~~ of its artistic possibilities, but it should be remembered that Chinese painting was altogether an intellectual occupation more akin to the art of writing and poetry than to our methods of painting. This implied restrictions in motives and methods but also concentration on those elements which were considered essential, and it led gradually to a high degree of perfection within the accepted limits.

thoughts emerge is reflected in the space

Most of the landscape painters of this period are by later Chinese critics classified as belonging to the "Southern School". They are considered as followers of Wang Wei and predecessors of Shi Fei, the most characteristic representative of this School in the Sung period. And as the principles and methods of the "Southern School" became more and more popularized and expounded by able writers the importance of these early exponents of the school grew in proportion. It was mainly in their works that the great landscape painters of the Yuan period ~~found~~ ^{sought} their artistic guidance, and they became thus also indirectly the starting point for the Wen Jen hua (literary man's landscape painting).

* * *

The oldest and in some respects most important of these great masters of monochrome landscape painting was Ching Hao or Hsing Hsing-tzu, as he called himself. His activity belongs to the first half of the 10th century. Ching Hao was a native of Honesi in Honan but passed many years of his life on the Shen-cheng mountain of the Tai-ha range, where he, according to his own words, supported himself by tilling the soil. He loved solitude and the life in a grand and wild nature where he could have his heart's desire of old gnarled pine trees, mossy cliffs and mysterious caves and hollow-ways. ~~He speaks of them as of living beings, full of character and inner spiritual expressiveness and he painted them "in~~ ^{He speaks of them as of living beings, full of character and inner spiritual expressiveness and he painted them "in} ~~innumerable scrolls". It was not simply the outward likeness and, more~~ ^{that he painted} ~~but their meaning as symbols of the great life or spirit which he found everywhere as he explained in the very interesting~~ ^{but their meaning as symbols of the great life or spirit which he found everywhere as he explained in the very interesting} ~~essay on landscape painting quoted below. Later critics, like Tung~~ ^{essay on landscape painting quoted below. Later critics, like Tung} ~~Chi-chang, have reproached Ching Hao for being more attached to~~ ^{Chi-chang, have reproached Ching Hao for being more attached to} ~~the brush-work than to nature, which simply means that he was a~~ ^{the brush-work than to nature, which simply means that he was a} ~~highly imaginative painter with a supreme command of the brush.~~

Works with the name of Ching Hao are nowadays seldom seen; the only one I know is a large picture in the Fung T'ung, which, if not executed by the master, must be an early and close imitation of his style. It represents a grand mountain scenery; the precipitous cliffs and rocks are towered up to the very limit of the picture; the trees are of many kinds and some small figures are gathered on a terrace in the foreground, though now almost obliterated as a result of the wear of the picture. The most remarkable ~~feature~~ ^{feature} of this picture is however

the manner in which the mountains are painted with such and rather strongly emphasized vertical and horizontal brush-strokes which confer a peculiar rhythm to the whole design. The somewhat worn condition of the painting makes it difficult to reach a proper idea of its original beauty but it is evident that it is the work of an important master with a very strong and original brush-manner.

The loss of Ching Hao's painted work is to some extent made up for by ~~the~~ ^{this} essay on landscape painting, which has been preserved and which hardly can be by anybody else as it contains quite detailed information about the painter. It is known as Pi Fa Chi (Knowledge about Brush Manner) or thus I am Shu-chun (Essay on Landscape Painting) and opens with some descriptions of the Shu-cheng mountain and the painter's life and occupations in the wilderness. One day he ~~met~~ ^{met} here an old man who asked him: 'Do you know what brush-manner (style) means?' To which he answered: 'You old ~~man~~ ^{man} look like a rustic country fellow, who does not know anything about brush-work!' But the old man said: 'How can you know what I carry in my bosom?' Then I listened and felt ashamed and astonished as he talked to me as follows: 'The young people like to study in order to accomplish something; they should know that there are six essentials in painting. The first is called spirit, the second is called harmony (or, resonance), the third is called thoughts (plans), the fourth is called motive (scene), the fifth is called ~~brush~~ ^{the} brush, and the sixth is ~~the~~ ^{the} ink!' I remarked: 'Painting is to make beauty of things and the ~~important~~ ^{important} is to obtain their true likeness, is not it so?' He answered: 'It is not so. Painting is to paint, to estimate the shapes of things and ~~obtain them and to estimate the~~ ^{really} beauty of things and ~~reach it, to estimate the~~ ^{reach it, to estimate the} ~~significance of things and obtain it.~~ ^{reality (significance) of things and} grasp it. One should not take outward beauty for reality; he who does not understand this mystery will not obtain the truth even though his pictures may contain likeness.' I asked: 'What is likeness and what is truth?' The old man said: 'Likeness can be obtained ~~by~~ ^{by} shapes without spirit; but when truth is reached, spirit and substance are both fully expressed. He who tries to ~~express~~ ^{express} spirit through ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~ornamental~~ ^{ornamental} beauty will make dead things.' I thanked him and said: 'From this I ~~understand~~ ^{realize} that the study of calligraphy and painting is an occupation for virtuous men; I am only a farmer and ~~not~~ ^{hardly} ~~at all~~ ^{understood it; I have been} playing.'

* The complete reprint of Ching Hao's Pi Fa Chi is found in Wang Shih Hua Yüan a shorter version in Hua Hsiang Hsin Yin.

with the brush but not accomplished anything; I feel quite ashamed to receive your kind explanations of the essentials in art which were unknown to me! ¶

The old man said: 'The Lusts and passions are the thieves of life. Virtuous men occupy themselves with music, calligraphy and painting ^{and do not} ~~enjoy~~ indulge in inordinate lusts. Since you love virtue, I hope that you will continue your studies without hesitations; and I will now explain to you the essentials in painting. Spirit makes the heart follow the movements of brush and seize without doubt the shape of things. Harmony consists in establishing correct and perfect shapes without showing the contours. Thought makes you deduct and detach the essential and concentrate on the shapes of things. Scenery is (established by) ~~following~~ ^{observing} the laws of the seasons, looking for the wonderful (or, mysterious) and finding out the true. Brush-work means following the rules but to be at the same time free and flexible in the movements so that everything seems to be flying or moving. The ink tones (should be) high and low, thick and diluted according to the depth and shallowness of various kinds of things, its colouring so natural that it does not seem to be laid on with the brush.

He said furthermore: 'There are divine (then), wonderful (or, mysterious-miao), clever (ch'i) and skilful (ch'iao) painters. The divine does not force his intentions but operates spontaneously thus accomplishing the ~~the~~ forms. The wonderful experiences in his thoughts the dispositions and emotions of everything in heaven and earth and then in accordance with reason and the kind of subject the things flow out of his brush. The clever painter ^{draws} ~~makes~~ vast outlines which are not in accordance with the ~~the~~ truth of the motive; the things he makes are ~~but the things he makes~~ ^{strange and queer and} quite ^{out} of reason. This is the result of brush-work without thought. The skilful painter carves out and pieces together scraps of beauty seemingly in accordance with the great principles; he forces the drawing and exaggerates arbitrarily both spirit and ~~shape~~ ^{form}. It may be said that the inner reality is not enough to him as he ~~exposes~~ ^{makes} such a display ^{of ornamental flourish} ~~of flourish~~.

The brush-work ~~has four~~ ^{has four} aspects called muscles, flesh, bones and spirit. The short and cut off strokes are called muscles; ^{the strokes which} ~~these~~ ^{are} rising and falling ^{and make up} ~~the~~ the reality are called flesh; the firm and straight ^{strokes} ~~are~~ called bones ^{while} the lines which are undefeatable ^(or never break down).

are called spirit. You should also know that ink is a great matter; when its tone is too slight, the spirit is defeated, the muscles are dead and there is no flesh. When the lines are broken off, there are no muscles, only a careless jumble, and no bones.

The faults in painting are of two kinds, i.e. those depending on the shapes and those independent of the shapes. Flowers and trees which are out of season, figures which are larger than the buildings, trees which are higher than the mountains, bridges which do not rest on their banks, are measurable faults of the shapes, they do not alter a picture. Faults which are independent of the shapes are caused by the absence of spirit and harmony which makes the forms altogether queer, in such a case, even with the brush and the ink everything in the picture is dead. Such paintings cannot be corrected.

The following rather detailed section about the representation of trees and landscapes is communicated here only in substance:

"The growth of the trees would reveal their inner nature. The pine trees may be curving and tortuous but they must grow high and in so doing their branches should stretch far out and hang down but not droop to the earth. Pictures in which the trees look like flying dragons or coiling reptiles do not possess the spirit-harmony of the pines... Every kind of trees such as catalpas, acacias, varnish trees, oaks, elms, willows, ~~and~~ mulberry ^{trees} and Sophora japonica, kumai shu have their special shape and nature. ~~These forms are~~ like widely disparate thoughts which are to be brought into harmony. The spirit and strength (virility) of the shapes in the landscapes grow together, therefore the pointed ones are called peaks, the rounded ones rounded tops, the connected mountains ranges etc. There should be tunnels through the mountains, valleys without an outlet, deep gorges, streams and brooks rushing down between the mountains high above them rise the peaks of varying size, lower down the slopes and passes sometimes visible and sometimes hidden... The clouds, mist and vapours should be light and heavy according to the season; ~~in the wind~~ ^{the wind} no forms should be steady. One must avoid the multitudinous details and pick out the essentials.

"I ~~then~~ ^{then} asked him: 'Who ~~were~~ ^{are} the most perfect painters of the past?' to which ~~he~~ ^{the old man} answered: 'Hsieh Ho classed Hsi Tan-wai as the foremost, but nowadays it is difficult to find original works of his. The pictures

left by Chang Seng-yu are ^{weak} ~~deficient~~ in regard to rational principles. [Which Ho said]: Apply colours according to species. In the past there have been men who could do it with water and luminous ink. In the Tang period Wang Tsao painted trees and stones with an abundance of spirit resonance; his brush and ink amassed all details; his thoughts were lofty and he attached no importance to the five colours. There is no one surpassing him among ancient and modern men. Ch'i T'ing, the monk of the White Clouds, ²⁾ possessed the secret of spirit and form; he grasped the very origin of things and painted with perfect ease; the depth of his spirit was immeasurable. Wang Yu-cheng (Wang Wei) brush and ink were subtle and refined; his spirit resonance was high and pure; he drew ^{draw} ~~made~~ the forms with great skill and was inspired by true thoughts. General Li ~~Li~~ ^{Li} principles were deep, his thoughts far-reaching, his brush strokes very fine; his work ^{exhibited in} ~~was~~ ^{a dominant} ~~skilful~~ ^{beauty} but is deficient in ink-tones. The hermit Hsiang, ^{xxx} painted trees and stones quite blunt and coarse with edges and corners; he used only black Taoist ink, and his brush-manner had ^{bones} ~~no structure~~; ~~but~~ though he painted in this free and easy way he did not lose the ~~to~~ ^{original} ~~of~~ spirit and form of things but gave a beautiful semblance of them. Wu Tao-tzu's brush-work created in forms, ^{structure} ~~base~~ and spirit like high trees too lofty for pictures; but it is a pity that he had no ink. Chien, ^{xxx} ~~Yü~~ ^{Yü} and the monk Tao Fen, and their likes rose hardly above the common style; their manner of handling the brush and the ink had nothing extraordinary, though they could draw quite good shapes and contours!

Ching Hsiao then tells how he then expressed his gratitude by offering his picture of a Strange Pine Tree to the old man but this was sharply criticised. The ~~whole~~ ^{whole} story winds up with the old man writing a poem about an old pine tree.

The essay is no doubt one of the most important contributions ever made to the discussion of the aims and methods of Chinese landscape painting; it opens up the ^{romantic} ~~spiritual~~ background of this art, its sources of spiritual inspiration and ^{expresses} ~~finds~~ ^{offers} at the same time more definite ideas about the brush-work and the ~~technical~~ ^{expressive} ~~in design~~ of design and characterisation in every detail than any other of the ~~many~~ ^{more famous} treatises on ^{this} ~~these~~ subjects. Kuo Hsi's ^{more famous} pronouncements on landscape painting, which will be quoted in a later chapter, are in this respect by no means ^{more important} ~~so important~~.

*) Ch'i T'ing who became the Taoist monk Li Tsung-shih was particularly known for his paintings of pine trees, ~~who was~~ active in the reign of emperor Hsüan Tsung.

xxx) He was known as the ^{Hermit} ~~General~~ of the T'ien-tai Mountain and excelled in the 'p'o mo' style of Wang Mo.

xxx) An official Taoist painter from the active towards the end of the Tang period.

Closely related to Ching Hsao by the general aim and character of his art was Kuan Tung, who was born at Chiang-an (probably at the very beginning of the 10th century). He is said to have learnt his art from Pi Hsing and his great ambition was to surpass Ching Hsao. He worked with such intensity that he forgot both sleep and food and gradually he evolved a style of his own. He became a leading master of landscape painting who could represent the lofty mountain peaks and the endless valleys "with a stroke of the brush," and he was a poor figure painter and asked therefore a colleague of his, Hu I, from Su-tung to fill in the figures in his landscapes.*)

Kuan Tung's works were most eagerly sought for by collectors at the time; people from everywhere came to ask of him some "ink-remains" or "touch-traces" and there were 94 pictures by him in the Hsian-ho collection, but now a days works of his are seldom seen. The only apparently authentic one I know is a tall mountain scenery in the collection of Mr. Yang Chin-pai in Peking. The cliffs are carefully piled up in the same fantastic way as in the pictures by Li Cheng and Hsu Tao-ming, and at the foot of the mountains are some high buildings shaded by old willows. This predilection, or, perhaps, taste for shaped stones, ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~character of~~ ^{character of} mountains is also emphasized in some of the descriptions of his works as for instance the Hsien Yu-tu (Travelling Immortals) which seems to have contained a continuous series of rocks and stones: they are "massed together and of enormous size; their colour

was like fine iron without a speck of dust... In the picture one can look there were stones, some round, some square, long and short, every kind of the; seated rocks and resting stones, some seen from above, some from below, with stones square, circular, broad, narrow, thin and thick." But the picture contained also high temples and cave palaces, phoenixes and cranes, flowers and peacocks and the Immortals, who walked about "with feathers and hoars clattering in the wind." It was done in a sketchy fashion; yet, "it could move men's hearts and make them wonder about the meaning of it all." (2)

A vivid characterization of Kuan Tung's art is also included in the Hsian-ho Hua Pu: "He loved in particular to paint the mountains of autumn with their ^{dark} trees, small hamlets, dangerous roads, hermits, retired scholars, fish traders and mountain couriers. Those who looked at his pictures felt suddenly as transported to the Pa Bridge in storm and snow or to the

*) Cf. Wa Tai Ming Hua Pu I

**) Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Fang. V. 150. (after T'ai-yü-chai, Hua Pu)

Three Gorges where the apes are heard crying, and then they wished no more to go back to the dust and the scenes of the markets and courts. Tung's pictures were done in a sketchy fashion with a rough brush, but the coarser the brush-work the stronger grew the spirit, the simpler the scenery the deeper ~~seemed~~ ^{seemed} the thoughts. His pictures had a deep significance and were old-fashioned and pure like Tao Yuan-ming's poetry and Ho's music. No commonplace painters can do such things.

Ching Hao and Kuan Tung's works were particularly esteemed in the Yuan period by painters like Ni Tsan and they are often mentioned by Tung Ch'i-chang as those who transmitted and perfected the classic traditions, which however by no means lessened their importance as great creative artists.

While these men were active in Honan and Shensi, ~~the~~ ^{this} third ~~most~~ ^{most} eminent landscape painter worked in Shu. His name was ~~do Sheng~~ ^{Ch'ing} Ch'ing-mu, ~~a~~ a Ch'ing-tu man, who also became very famous in later times particularly through the high estimation of Mi Fei. He studied in his early years the works of Chang Tao, but came to the conclusion that they were no good and that he would rather follow his own mind — and this he did with such success that he used to be compared to the greatest masters of the Tang-period. Some honored him with the appellation "The Little General *xi*" (which probably was caused by his name rather than by his art) while others declared that his pictures were comparable to Wang Wei's works. They were executed with a very fine brush so that the outlines hardly could be distinguished but at the same time a very strong resonance of the spirit (*ch'i yin*). Though his technical methods seem to have been of a more old-fashioned type than Ching Hao's and Kuan Tung's, ~~his~~ ^{his} motives must have been rather alike to theirs; he painted the famous scenery of Szechuan, Mount Omei, the Three Gorges, the Wu-liang River etc. beside other classic motives such as ~~Rain on the Hsiao and Hsiao Rivers~~ ^{They became the *Yung* teachers of later generations} but none of these seem to be known today even in copies.

The following landscape painters were active in the latter half of the tenth century and are thus ~~also~~ ^{counted} among the painters of the Sung period but stylistically they are so closely connected with ~~the~~ ^{their} ~~not only~~ immediate predecessors that it seems to us most convenient to mention them ~~in~~ ^{at} this place.

* Cf. Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Fang I. c. 1920 and also Shu Hua Pin

left by Chang Seng-yu are deficient in ^{regard to} rational principles. (Hsieh Ho said):
Apply the colours according to each species. In the past there were those
who could do it with water and luminous ink. In the Tang period Chang
Tsao painted trees and stones ~~in~~ with an abundance of spirit resonance;
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cient ~~and~~ modern ~~painters~~. Ch'ü T'ing, called the Monk of the White Clouds, pos-
sessed ^{the secret of} spirit and form and ~~reached to the very depths of the mysterious~~
grasped the very essence of things; he painted with perfect ease but his
work had immeasurable depth.

Li Ch'eng whose tzü was Hsien-hsi was the descendant of a famous Chang-an family of Confucian scholars which, however ~~some time after~~ ^{his birth} moved over to Ying-chin (Ching-chou) in Shantung, probably at the time when the local dynasty in Chang-an was defeated by the Sung emperor (ca 969). Li Ch'eng must then already have been a mature painter. According to tradition he was a precocious youth who loved wine, music and chess but he must also have acquired knowledge in the Classics because later on he obtained the chin shih degree. His official career came however to nothing, and his time seems to have been divided mainly between painting and drinking. His somewhat over-bearing manner towards the official world is illustrated in an anecdote related by Lin Tao-chün, but they leave us breathing on his art except that they show that he was a proud nature who cared little about honours and did not like to part with his pictures for money. The only thing that could make him paint was wine. His ~~works~~ ^{paintings} were as ~~perfect~~ ^{fine} as the creations of Nature; when the brush-work was done it gave a perfect picture of the meaning of the motive. With ~~a~~ ^{the} sweep of ~~his~~ ^{his} brush he could represent within less than a foot's space ~~the~~ ^{the} enormous distances and he could draw with his hand the effects of exhaustless motives. He painted the peaks and the mountain ridges the one behind the other and among them temples and villages beautifully displayed. The forests were dense and thin, the flowing water deep and shallow as in real nature. His ideas were pure and old-fashioned; not one of the old masters were equal to him. — [In the Ching-yü era (1034-37) a grandson of Li Ch'eng, who ^{then} was governor of Kai-feng, sent a messenger to buy up ~~all~~ ^{all} the pictures of Li that could be found; consequently they became afterwards very rare.

Mi Fei tells us, as a matter of fact, that he had seen some 300 ~~imitations~~ ^{imitations} but only two authentic pictures by Li Ch'eng. ^{xx)} "Of Li Ch'eng's ~~landscapes~~ ^{works} I have seen only two pieces, the one representing pines and stones, the other a landscape divided into four scrolls. The former came from Sheng Wen-su and is now in my studio; the landscape, which was a most unusual picture belonged to the priest Tao Yüeh in Su-chou. The pine tree is straight and strong; its thick branches and ~~leaves~~ ^{needles} full of shade. The ~~shrubs~~ ^{shrubs} ~~around~~ ^{around} it are not painted in a confused manner like dragons, snakes or goblins. But those pictures (supposed to be by Li) which the

^{xx)} Lin Tao-chün, Sheng-ch'ao Ming Hua Ping. Other informations are brought together in Shu Hua P'u.

xx) Mi Shih, Hua Shih.

officials and noblemen of today collect, look like sign-boards of ~~drug~~ ^{shops} --- they are of a very common type. ~~the forests in them~~ spread out quite carelessly. In those pictures the forests are, the pine trees are rotten and poor and full of joints and the minor trees like, fire-wood, all dead and meaningless... They are all commonplace things under false names. I have the intention of discussing the non-existence of Li Ch'eng." - ~~It is only surprising~~ After such a denouncement by Mr. Fei it is rather surprising to find no less than 159 pictures listed under Li Ch'eng's name in the Hsian ho Hua Pi; they must have been of the sign-board class.

Among the pictures nowadays considered as Li Ch'eng's work the most famous is probably the Tu Pai tu which ~~represents an autumnal landscape~~ ^{represents an autumnal landscape} ~~the best known~~ with a man on horseback reading ~~an~~ ^{an} inscribed stone tablet. One version of it was until lately in private hands in China. ~~More~~ Better known however among Western students is the mining (Pl. 90) landscape in the Boston Museum known as Travellers on the Snowy Hills. The picture is only 3 feet high but it ~~is~~ makes the effect of a very large and imposing thing. It is grand in design, highly imaginative, and yet, very exact and close to nature in every detail. The rocks and boulders, the bare trees with their gnarled trunks, ~~with~~ the small travellers on the mountain paths are drawn with ~~an astonishing~~ ^{an astonishing} power of conviction. The artist has felt the significance of every form and line and brought them together in a design that in spite of the minute execution is great and well unified. And by the proper grading of the ink and the atmospheric tone (which evidently has darkened by the wear of time) he has suggested the great unlimited space beyond the ~~some~~ majestic shapes.

Closely connected with this in design is a somewhat larger picture in the Palace Museum in Peking which, according to inscription, is Hsü Tao-ning's copy of Li Ch'eng's picture A Mountain Pass in Snow (Pl. 91). The execution may not be quite as strong and firm as in the Boston picture, but the character of the rocks and the trees is the same, and here too the artistic effect depends largely on the wide space beyond the snow-covered mountains. Hsü Tao-ning, whose art will be examined in the following, was a ~~direct~~ pupil of Li Ch'eng and he has here evidently repeated with great care and faithfulness an important composition by the master.¹⁾

¹⁾ Other pictures attributed to Li Ch'eng are reproduced in the following publications: Lamfer, Tang, Sung and Yuan Paintings (Paris 1924) Pl. XI Chungkuo Ming Hua Chi, "Trees in Winter"; Catalogue of the Tokyo Exhibition of Chinese Paintings, 1928. Pl. 31. (Pine trees on Rocks, belonging to Mr. T. Yamamoto)

Three Gorges where the apes are heard, and they wish no more to return to
the dusty world ~~and~~ ^{and} the life in the markets and courts. Tung's paintings
were ~~made~~ ^{done} in a sketchy fashion with coffee brush and paper

Li Ch'eng's name is also attached to an essay on landscape painting called Shan Shui Ch'ieh or Shan Shui Fa and reproduced with certain modifications in various collections of writings on Chinese art. It ~~is~~ is not comparable to Ching Hao's essay but of a more ordinary descriptive kind, recalling to some extent parts of the essay attributed to Wang Wei. It does not contain anything which is incompatible with the art and period of Li Ch'eng, and may thus be based on some sayings or rules of his. It leaves us with the impression that these painters did not express the best side of their genius in writing or talking about art. What it has a certain historical interest and is therefore communicated here in translation from the ~~short~~ slightly condensed version in Hua Hsueh Hsin Yin vol. I.

In painting landscapes you should start ~~by~~ deciding ~~first~~ decide the places of rest and rest (the principal and the secondary elements); then divide the far from the near; after that draw in the scenery and mark out the figures; arrange the high and the low.

The ink should not be too thick; if it is thick it looks dirty and not clear, but neither should it be too thin (or slight) because then it looks dry and not rich. If it dries or soaks in too much, it does not produce continuity. When too much ink is used, the spirit is lost.

Make the branches of the trees lean towards the left and lean towards the right; make the stones look heavier on the upper side and lighter on the lower side (towards the ground). The clouds and the mist ^{graceful} ~~light~~ and not too abundant. The woods to the right and the left at the foot of the mountain should be spread out and not ^{be} too dense. The roads should be curving, and there should be both high and low mountains. If there is snow, the sky needs no clouds or mist; if there is rain, the distance cannot be seen.

Place mountain cottages at the narrow defiles and fisherman on the sandy banks. The waist (middle position) of the mountains should be surrounded by mist and the foot of the low ranges shaded by clouds.

① The complete text of Li Ch'eng's essay may be read in Wang Shih Hua Yuan vol. 9; a somewhat shorter version in Hua Hsueh Hsin Yin, edit. by Yang Han (ca. 870); the parts included here are of no original importance and do not ~~at~~ alter in ~~any way~~ the sense and the somewhat dry ~~style~~ of the essay. Yang Han was of the opinion that it contained too many useless descriptive words.

The far off waters should be curving and coiling and there should also be clouds and mist to break off (conceal) some parts of their course. Make strange looking stones, sharp cliffs and precipices, but there must also be mud-hills to offer soil for the roots. The trees should be forked but their trunks straight.

The seasons should be indicated by a decaying or an abundant vegetation. The running water should be shallow near the banks but deep where it is rushing down in cascades over the precipitous cliffs. The slopes of the large mud hills should be high. The trees of a misty forest should not stand too close together. The numerous cliffs should not all reach the same line; some of their tops may be higher some lower, and a solitary peak should be placed in the distance. A turbulent stream running in the background.

The roads should be sometimes hidden, sometimes visible.

The wooden bridges may be introduced or left out. One should not too frequently use strange looking stones on the top of the precipices, nor should there be too many dry tree-stubs on the mountain sides.

If the far off morning mist is too thick, one may wish to confuse the dawn and the dusk. The dense trees and thick forests should have interruptions so as not to make them look ^{monotonous} ~~solid~~ (as a wall in wood). ^{Even the most} dangerous passes over the mount in plateaus should ^{show the} ~~be like~~ ^{tracks of} the wood-cutters, ~~and the~~. Mist and fog confuse the distances like the rising vapours when the rain is threatening.

The prominent trees should rise straight and high, yet one or two should be curving and bending. The stones should be piled up confusedly, but two or three of them should stand out ^{by their} ~~by their~~ strange shapes. The leaves on the trees which grow ^{close} ~~tight~~ together should be scarce. The heavy stones may be distinguished from the light ones by their

[wrinkles and furrows. [The ^{figures which} ~~people who~~ are moving about and looking around should be of many kinds. High buildings should be introduced only at wide distances. The roots of the trees should pierce (the soil) as the claws of a ^{crawling} ~~snapping~~ dragon grasping the scattered stones which are partly hidden in the mud.

The winding water should not have more than three turns; the rushing cascades only two sections. A mountain should never have only one tree, a stone never be alone. The rustic bridges at ^{these} ~~such~~ ^{far off lonely} ~~the solitary~~ places should ^{serve to} ~~connect~~ ^{the} ~~bamboo cottages~~ with human dwellings. ^{surrounded by bamboo groves.} There should be stubs of roughly cut old trees marking glades in the pine forest around the ~~pagoda~~, which ~~may be~~ partly clear and partly hidden so as to make it look both light and strong. If one neglects either the lightness or the strength it will become a leaning or decaying structure.

A thousand precipitous cliffs and ten thousand ravines, high and low and of every variety should be brought together in the picture. Innumerable tops and peaks should be rising and falling, prominent and lofty and all different. If you can understand the ~~meaning~~ of all this, you may realize from it the finest points (in painting).⁴

Two lines
space between

~~Wu Sheng, a native of Chiang-an, followed closely in the footsteps of Li-ch'ang, but later on he branched off into caricaturing the customers at the do-houses. He is content and apparently genuine specimen of his blunders to the end. He is in Peking. It is a tall and narrow composition entirely filled with winding mountain ridges and piled up cliffs. The water rushes down between the rocks, thin pines are growing in the crevices, and in the foreground is the classical high wooden bridge or poles over which some travellers are proceeding on horseback. The tone is now very dark, which, no doubt, makes the picture look heavier and duller~~

194-193

180

Hsü Tao-ning ^{may have been} ~~was evidently~~ a genius by nature, ^{but} ~~though~~ it was only later in life that he reached ~~his great~~ fame as a painter. According to certain records he came from Ho-chien in Chili, though he is usually classified as a man from Ch'ang-an, where he probably spent a large part of his life. It is told of him (as about the Tartar painter Kao I) that he started as a pharmacist and used to hand over small pictures of trees or stones to the clients together with the medicine that he sold them. Thus he became known as a painter and as his fame increased, he was employed by many noblemen and officials, such as Chang Shih-hsün, Duke of Teng under emperor Chen Tsung (998-1022), who ordered Hsü Tao-ning to execute some paintings on the walls and screens in his house. These pictures pleased the minister so much that he composed a poem in praise of the artist in which he said: Li Ch'eng has passed away, Fan K'uan is dead, now there is only Hsü Tao-ning, from Ch'ang-an (who may be considered their equal).

^{was to begin with a close follower} He ~~started by following the manner of~~ Li Ch'eng ~~and painting~~ ^{ing} in a rather detailed and ^{fine manner} ~~feetious style~~ but when he grew older his brush-work became simpler and bolder expressing his strong temperament. ~~and~~ He painted high peaks, steep mountain ranges, strong and inflexible trees, forming a style of his own.

The pictures preserved under his name ^{reflect these modifications} ~~and which may be originals~~ ^{2. his style of style. (We have already said a word about his excellent copy after} ~~showing a mixture of styles.~~ The landscape scroll formerly in the ^{beautiful} ~~Li Ch'eng's Mountain Pass in Snow~~ ^{which was} ~~Tuan Fang collection, and now belongs~~ ^{also a work} ~~to Mr Fuji in Kyoto, is~~

x/ The main point of Hsü Tao-ning's ~~career~~ ^{life} are told in Tsüan-ho Hua P'u, which also contains the titles of 138 pictures by him. Additional information is given in Hua Shih Hui Chuan and in Shu Hua P'u v.50. He is said to have served as a second imperial secretary and to have been prominent also as a poet. None of the records quoted in these books offer any support to Giles' presentation of Hsü Tao-ning as a painter "who sunk to pot-house caricature." Cf. Giles, op. cit. p. 109

195.194
is a picture of great refinement both in tone and brush work which ~~sty-~~
which reveals the connection with Li Ch'eng, though the composition is quite original.
~~listically holds a place half way between Li Ch'eng and Hsü Tao-ning.~~

Akin to this though executed with a somewhat ~~stranger~~ and stiffer brush is the tall mountain landscape belonging to Mr Wang Hung-yüan in Peking. ~~which is provided with a number of inscriptions by prominent con-~~
~~noisseurs.~~ The mountain ridges are here winding and crolling almost as if they ~~were~~ were in a state of plastic formation, and in the deep crevices between them ^{the} water rushes down with impetuous speed, forming in the foreground a broad stream which is spanned, as usual, by a high wooden bridge ~~over which some~~ ^{where with some} travellers ~~are proceeding on horseback.~~ ^{are proceeding on horseback.} The finest parts of the picture are however the tall pines, truly strong and inflexible trees, as said of the pines in Hsü Tao-ning's later paintings. The very dark tone of the picture, ~~is, no doubt, largely~~ caused by age and wear, ~~which~~ detracts ^{something} ~~a great deal~~ from the original decorative effect of the grand design.

Quite different in style and technical execution is the small fan-shaped picture in the Boston Museum which has the apparently authentic signature: Tao-ning (which hardly can signify anybody else than Hsü Tao-ning) but otherwise might be dated a century later. The title of the picture is: A Man in a Pavilion watching the Tide on the Yang-tze, ~~which~~, and it is largely occupied by an open plain of water ending in a long surf, which rolls in from the background. The foreground is occupied by the pavilions on a rocky ledge and a tall pine firmly drawn in a somewhat jerky style as in the pictures of the Ma-school. If this picture is by Hsü Tao-ning, he must, ~~indeed~~, have developed ^{quite} ~~very~~ far in his old age, though we have no reason to believe that he lived over the middle of the 11th century. ~~It~~ ^{be it} may ^{ask} whether there were some other ~~later~~ ^{with the same name} painter who possibly could be responsible for this very freely and strongly executed fan-painting. It is ~~altogether~~ a thing of superior quality and should consequently ~~not~~ ^{remembered} be ~~passed over~~ even in a short ~~study~~ ^{review} of Chinese landscape painting.*)

*) In the Four Gallery there are at least two interesting pictures with old attributions to Hsü Tao-ning; one is called Travellers in a Mountain Gorge, the other (a horizontal scroll) Lakes and Cloud-capped Mountains. The execution of these pictures is hardly earlier than Ming but they may reproduce compositions by the master. Cf. Chinese Paint. in Amer. Coll. 176. 177. 187.

Another precocious genius and strange character was Hsu Chung-shu (Tzu, Shu-hsien) whose eventful life left material for entertaining stories but whose painted work is completely lost. He came from Loyang and was a ~~ex~~ candidate in the imperial college ^{the age of} at seven. He made a swift career and was promoted to the position of a Great National Teacher by emperor T'ai Tsu of the Posterior Chou dynasty (957-53) but ~~showed more~~ ^{he} showed more inclination for wine than for work and came to blow with other officials. He was sent away to a distant place and saved himself to the Hua Mountains where he lived as a "hsien-jen" for several years. This ~~may~~ ^{may} ~~not~~ ^{not} however have cured him from his drinking habits, because later on when he was called to Court by emperor T'ai Tsung of Sung ⁽⁹⁷⁸⁻⁹⁷⁾ and again promoted to a high position, he had again his fits of drinking and quarrelling and as he also slandered the government, he was banished to Teng-chou (in Shantung) but he died on the way before reaching the destination. His body was wrapped in a straw mat and taken ~~and taken~~ back to his native place, but when it was to be buried, the people found in the mat only his clothes and his comb - he had dissolved as an immortal.*

He painted all kinds of building, towers, temples and terraces better than anybody else because he did them in accordance with the rules of the carpenters and stone-masons, that is to say with ruler and plumb string drawn in proper proportion so that they looked like real buildings. This kind of architectural prospects, as we now would call them, became later on famous in China under the name of chieh hua (boundary painting), and Hsu Chung-shu's pictures which in his life time had been appreciated only by one or two connoisseurs became very much admired. His importance as the real founder of the chieh hua-manner is attested, particularly by Tsang Hsi in the 14th cent. who writes: "Every other kind of painting had its representatives even in the T'ang period, but it was with Hsu Chung-shu, at the end of the Five Dynasties, period that the history of this kind of painting, started."* It should also be remembered that it was Hsu Chung-shu who (as said before) made the copy after Wang Wei's Wang chi'uan scroll from which the stone engravings were executed, which may be taken as an additional proof of his skill and refinement as a painter.

cf. Hsi Tao-ch'uan, Sheng chi'ao Ming Hua Ping. Other traditions about him are noted in T'u Hua Chien Wen Chieh and Hsiao ho Hua Ping. Cf. Waley, op. cit. p. 185

The painters mentioned above were ~~by~~ principally active in the northern and western part of the country, in Honan, Shensi and Szechuan but there were no less prominent landscape painters in the South, in Chingnan. Some of them were attached to the court of Li Hou-chu, the last ruler of the Later T'ang dynasty in Nanking who, when he in 975 submitted to the Sung emperor, entrusted to the conqueror not only his art collections but also some of the painters. Thus Chii fan, the monk, who had lived in a monastery in Nanking, was invited to the capital and continued his work in the K'ai-pao monastery in K'ai-feng. Tung Yüan who probably was a little older seems to have stayed on and died in his native province.

Tung Yüan, whose hü was Shu-ta, but who was more often called by his hao Tung lei-yüan was the greatest master of the Chiang-nan school. "He painted the real mountains of Chiang-nan and did not ~~draw~~ ^{strive to make} ~~any~~ ^{any} marvellous ~~effects~~ ^{cliffs}. His brush-work was ~~quite~~ ^{very} coarse. When one looked at his pictures close by, ~~the objects in them did not seem~~ ^{one could not make out the shapes of} the objects and they did not seem to be real things, but when looked at from a distance, the scenery and every detail stood out very clearly. Those who thought that his pictures were not fine, did not see them in the proper way." This impressionistic manner of Tung Yüan, sometimes defined as "ts'un pi fa", was carried out with a comparatively dry and short brush and imparted great strength to the forms. The small trees were done simply with dots which only at a distance suggested their actual shapes. And it was said in later times when the mannerism of the landscape painters were classified according to the "wrinkles" of their mountains that Tung Yüan and Chii fan used the "hemp fibre wrinkles (pi ma t'ung)".

In the Hsian-ho ts'ui pi the same thing is also emphasized: "Generally Tung Yüan's landscapes were executed with a bold and strong brush; their craggy forms were high and sharp and the mountains rose in ~~high~~ doubled ranges conveying an impression of strength just as his dragon paintings -- but the painters praised him particularly for his coloured ^{landscapes} which were rich and luxurious and executed in a refined manner like the works of Li Sou-hsün? He became particularly famous for the latter kind of work, because there were few painters at the time who were able to paint landscapes in colour. Ching-ho Shu Hui Fang. VI. 637. Cf. Giles, op. cit. p. 99.

Yet, the same author continues, it was his ~~own~~ own conceptions (executed in monochrome ink?) of rivers and lakes, of wind and rain, of streams and valleys, of peaks, partly visible and partly hidden, of forests, and snow, mist and clouds, of thousand mountains and gulleys, rivers ~~the~~ winding between high banks and innumerable other scenes that made the beholder see the real things. They were enough to inspire the poets and their beauty was beyond any words of description.

Chang Ch'ou saw at the beginning of the 17th century Tung Yüan's painting The Pavilion on the Mountain of the Immortals, "a scroll on silk of light purple colour. The brush work was flowing, and easy, the trees and ~~cliffs~~ ^{cliffs} were old fashioned and refined, and the figures ~~seem~~ ^{are} as alive. In the centre of it was a wonderful example of chick hua (i.e. the pavilion), not inferior to such works of Wei Hsien and Kuo Chung-shu. I ~~opened~~ ^{unrolled} it many times and enjoyed it immensely. It seemed to me like walking along the cool side of a mountain."

An important example of Tung Yüan's art ~~is still preserved~~ ^{may be seen} in the Peking Museum. It is a fragment of a scroll (about 5 feet long) now known as A Clear Day in the Valley but formerly called Rivers and Hills in Wind and Rain (Hsi Shan Fung Yü), a name which may have applied better to the whole thing than to the portion preserved. It shows neither rain ~~nor~~ wind but the soft and quiet atmosphere of an autumn day clearing after rain. The mist is rising between the ~~wooded~~ ^{wooded} mountain ridges which gradually descend towards an open stretch of water. The mist and the water form so to say the bridge to infinity; they dissolve into the unlimited space. But the big masses of the mountains and the clusters of ~~dark~~ ^{the} trees are painted with a firm and resolute brush which gives to every form its full plastic volume. It is seldom that one finds in monochrome ink paintings such a ~~complete~~ ^{complete} realisation of the forms and the successive planes and such a rich scale of almost colouristic effects. It is the work of a real painter who knows how to handle the ink in a pictorial sense and the same time give every particular its proper place and value in the composition. At closer sight one may discover a number of intimate details: the small boats on the water, the men on the promontory waiting for the ferry, the pilgrims on the path that leads to the temple at the bottom of a misty gorge. They are like small bits of lyric poetry interspersed in a grand epic ~~and~~

of mountains and woods and water. The conditions of the continuous scroll composition are utilized with consummate skill; no portion is detached, no breaks occur, yet it lends itself to a gradual enjoyment as it is ~~gradually~~ unrolled. There is a fundamental unity of conception and design, which also is reflected in the brush-work and the colouristic handling of the ink. The picture is one of the few surviving masterpieces which may serve to give us an idea of the immeasurable depth and beauty of this landscape art.*

The monk Chü fan was a younger contemporary and close follower of Tung Yuan. He represented the same kind of mountain scenery, though in a somewhat looser and still more impressionistic fashion. His pictures had less strength and definition; his tone was softer, but he was not less skilful in creating depth and atmosphere.

The most interesting example of Chü fan's art which I have seen is a high and narrow composition in the possession of the Peking Museum, which represents a high mountain peak, with a few trees and water.† The forms are rounded, almost rocky, and are rendered in a fashion which seems to foreshadow the work of the Yuan period, with remarkable contrasts of light and shade. The picture is a miniature that served as a model for the larger works of the Yuan period, though with a certain lack of detail and a softness of tone.

Another interesting picture by Chü fan is a small one in the Peking Museum (see ^{often} ~~see~~ exhibition of Chinese art). It is a short scroll on paper representing a mountain peak and a few trees in the crevices, executed with a fine, delicate, and light black tone. Less convincing is a work by Chü fan, which is resting of its kind, is the long scroll representing Views of the Yang-tz' River which was formerly in the Tuan Fang, but now belongs to the Freer Gallery. The composition has an almost map-like character as it spreads out in bird's eye view with an infinite succession of craggy peaks and small villages in front of them along the river. The attribution may be based on some old tradition; the picture has neither seal or signature and is more likely a work of the South Sung period, if not later.‡

* A picture called A Secluded Villa is reproduced under Tung Yuan's name in the Chung Kuo Hsing Hua Chü, but to judge by the reproduction, it must be of later origin.

† Cf. Hsueh, 253. A large hanging picture of a mountain landscape attributed to Chü fan is in the collection of Mr. Fuji in Kyoto.

Somewhat younger, though still of the same school as the above mentioned painters, was Fan ~~Xuan~~ ^{Xuan} ~~Chang~~, who also holds a place in the foremost rank. He was still alive in 1026⁴ and may thus have been born about the middle of the 10th century. His real name was Fan Chung-cheng, his ~~name~~ ^{style}, Chung-li; ~~but the~~ people of his native place, Hua-yuan in Shensi, called him X'uan (Broad) because of his generous and good natured disposition. Few artists are presented by the old historians with more sympathy and understanding of their genius.

In the Hsiao-hs Hua Pu we are told that he was "a stern and old-fashioned man, careless in his behavior, fond of wine and with no command of the ways of the world. He spent much time rambling between Lo-yang and K'ai-feng as he loved to paint landscapes. To begin with he studied the art of Li Ch'eng, but one day he woke up and said to himself with a sigh: 'My predecessors have not yet tried to seize the things ^{as they} ~~themselves~~ really are; surely, it is better to take the things themselves than men for teachers and better than the things is the heart as a teacher.' Thereupon he gave up his old manner of ~~working~~ ^{study} and retired to Tai-lua of the Chung-nan Mountains. Here he lived among the cliffs, the rivers and the forests, ~~observing~~ ^{studying} very closely the effects of clouds and mists, of wind and moon and of the darkening and clearing sky, ^{all} motives difficult to ~~express~~ ^{convey in shapes}. He met with them in the sentence of his soul and expressed them at the point of his brush. And such were ^{his} ~~the~~ thousand ^{cliffs} ~~peaks~~ and ten thousand gorges that they instantly made one feel like walking ~~along~~ ⁱⁿ along a path in the shade of a mountain and however great the heat ~~one~~ feel shivering cold and wishing for a cover. Therefore it was said that X'uan knew how to express the spirit of the mountains. He was of equal fame with Kuan T'ung and Li Ch'eng."

The same traditions of about Fan X'uan are related by Hsi Tao-ch'iu, though with some interesting variations. He ~~also~~ ^{too} tells that X'uan sometimes "sat the whole day ~~at~~ ^{contemplating} at the scenery all around looking for interesting motives. Even when ~~the snow~~ ^{the snow} was thick and the moon was shining he walked about attentively observing and searching for inspiration. He studied the art of Li Ch'eng and though he reached a high degree of perfection, he still remained inferior; but then he placed himself simply

⁴ Sheng Ch'ao Ming Hua Ping

in front of the real scenery and expressed his conceptions without any ornamental details. He drew the very bones (structure) of the mountains according to his own style making them strong and old-fashioned ^{and} quite independent of his predecessors; ~~from~~ from that time he was equal to Li Ch'eng. - During the long reign of the house of Sung these two masters were the only landscape painters who reached the very summit of their art. The people of the time said that if one looked at the things which ~~are~~ ^{were} near in Li Ch'eng's pictures, they seemed thousand li away, but if one looked at things which were far away in Fan K'uan's pictures, they seemed to be quite near. Both may be said to have made divine things.

Truly, a landscape painter by the grace of God; an artist who created from the depths of his soul which had been ~~formed and~~ ^{formed} nourished through constant communion with nature. It may well be asked if ever there have been painters ^{of landscape} more completely absorbed in their work ~~and more thoroughly penetrated by the spirit of things~~ and at the same time more ~~untrammeled~~ ^{untrammeled} by material conditions of motifs and technique. They never tired in their search for the eternal harmony in the shifting aspects of nature and they had found the means of transferring it into symbols of brush-work.

Pictures honored with the name of Fan K'uan are not uncommon but very few of them are of a convincing quality. The best ones known to me are in the Museum in Boston. Their traditional attributions may not be possible to prove, but they are of the period and their characteristics correspond to what we know about Fan K'uan's work. Their firm and forceful brush-work is of a quite definite kind and they ~~represent~~ ^{may be said} to bring the great motifs remarkably close to the beholder.

One is a small fan-picture representing two old trees with big roots which twist and coil like dragons between the snow-covered stones (1898). Their ~~broad and~~ heavy trunks and the intricate pattern of their branches and twigs stand out in strong relief against the black sky, everything has ~~the~~ a strong plastic significance, the forms are realized with compelling power and ~~brought out~~ ^{represented} on a comparatively larger scale than in most Chinese pictures of a corresponding kind. The misty atmosphere suggests space, but the artistic expression is in this case more dependent on the rendering of the forms than on the tonal values.

One of them - a small fan-picture - represents two old trees with big roots that ~~coil like monsters~~ between the snow covered rocks. ⁽¹⁴⁹⁸⁾ The gnarled trunks and branches are rendered with firm and yet easy strokes; their intricate pattern against the bleak grey sky is a note of ruggedness and desolation. It is not a picture which suggests a scene, like so many others of these monochrome landscapes, but rather ~~nearness; the main thing is represented on a large scale quite close to the foreground.~~

More difficult to see and appreciate (because of its size and darkened condition) is the large hanging picture which represents a ~~mountain scene~~ ^{huge mountain} with narrow gorges on either side, trees and buildings on the terraces and water in the foreground. ⁽¹⁴⁹⁹⁾ The composition has an extraordinary richness of detail. The mountains are made up of endless folds, wrinkles and crevices; the trees are a tangle of branches and twigs. The innumerable details are almost invisible, particularly since the picture has lost much of its original color and dirt. Yet, one may still discover here the strokes here of a master's eye, when the sky is covered and the snow is melting. The viewer penetrates into its dusky forest and wanders through its pathways, then one feels the significance of the interpretation. It is not easy to have had such a picture in his mind when he wrote: "Fan K'uan's landscapes are high and craggy mountains like Hsueh-shan or Tai-shan; the far away peaks rise in front of us strong and with innumerable crevices The streams and valleys are deep and wide, one can almost hear the roaring of the water. He painted snow covered mountains and followed, as doing it, the much admired Wang ~~Mo-chi~~ Mo-chi. In Li Ch'eng's paintings, which were done with ^{some} ink, things appeared as in the mist of a dream; the cliffs were like clouds, the roots were cleverly done but not quite real. Fan K'uan's manner was grand and heroic, but at the same time

~~times~~ deep and mysterious like the waning light of evening. The stones could not be distinguished from the ground, the objects appeared mysteriously beautiful. He was, indeed, superior to Li Ch'ang.

We are furthermore told that towards the end of his life he used too much ink, which made the forms on the ground almost indistinguishable, yet, he was the painter who "grasped the very bones of the mountains."

The brush strokes of Fan K'uan are by some writers likened to rain-drops or to sesamum seeds. This applies particularly to the way in which the "wrinkles" of the mountains were painted, as may be observed in the large picture described above, but this somewhat ~~coarse~~ or granular application of the ink is noticeable in several pictures associated with the name of the painter. One characterizing in this respect is ~~a~~ ^{the} fan-shaped winter landscape in the ~~Chinese~~ Museum which otherwise looks a little better. Still, the ~~pictures mentioned above (Pl. 100).~~ ^{It is of course a} ~~fan-shaped landscape in the same collection.~~ ^{ty, the mountains and trees are characterized with a} ~~It is of course a~~ ^{firmness, and the suggestion of the misty winter air is quite} ~~alluring. But is it really by Fan K'uan, as its former Chinese owner~~ ^{proposed? We have no means of deciding this question, but the picture} ~~is well worth recording in connection with the~~ ^{it} ~~also illustrates~~ ^{what seems to have been his} ~~which have in Fan K'uan's name are to be found in the~~ ^{by. ~~which have in Fan K'uan's name are to be found in the~~}

*) A beautiful little picture which may be an original by Fan K'uan is in the collection of Mr. Hayasaki in Tokyo. Two large mountain landscapes attributed to him are reproduced in the Chung Kuo Ming Hua Chi. Other examples in his manner though probably of later origin, may be seen in the Freer Gallery and in the Metropolitan Museum of Chinese Art in Amer. Coll. 105. 106.

The minor painters who were contemporary ~~or~~ with or slightly earlier than the above mentioned masters need hardly to be discussed, particularly as no works of theirs have been preserved. There was Tu Kai, a Ch'ing-tu man who painted decaying trees and craggy cliffs with an air of profound mystery.^{*)} There was Yen Wen Kuei from Shu-chou in Kiangsu whose fine miniature-like manner aroused great admiration.^{**)} And there were other landscape painters who became members of T'ai T'ang's academy and who followed more or less closely in the footsteps of Li Ch'ing and Fan K'uan but none of them rose to the level of these great masters. The only man who may be compared to them in artistic importance was Kuo Hsi but his artistic activity started only about the middle of the 11th century; it will be discussed in a later chapter.

~~This period of landscape painting during the~~ The great masters of the Five Dynasties and early Sung period became as ~~the~~ ^{a matter of fact} ~~the most~~ ^{important influence in} the unsurpassed ideals of Chinese landscape painting, ^{because} they fulfilled to a high degree the specific demands on this kind of art. Their technical methods and mannerisms may have been superseded, ^{in later schools of monochrome painting} but the grandeur of their conceptions, their extraordinary realization of the great creative forces that pulsate through mountains, streams and forests as well as through the human mind was something that gave to their works a never-fading glow of life and harmony.

*) ~~Mentioned~~ and He was active in the Five Dynasties and highly appreciated for the poetic spirit of his creations, according to the Hsüan-ho Shu P'u

**) Yen Wen-kuei's most famous picture was a sea-scene, one foot large with a boat small as a leaf and figures no larger than grains, but in which nevertheless every detail could be distinguished. Cf. Ch'ing-tu Shu Hua Tang. The pictures attributed to Yen Wen-kuei, though probably of later date, may be seen in the National Museum in Peking and in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.

1

Sui
From the Han to the ~~Sui~~ ^{Sui} Dynasty.

It may be said of Chinese painting as well as of ~~some~~ of ~~the~~ other forms of early Chinese art ~~expressed in China~~ that it appears from the beginning almost full-developed. The earliest specimens known today ~~give us~~ reveal an art which has reached a high degree of independence and maturity not only as decoration but still more as a means of expressing visual ideas, be they of a subjective or an objective kind. These remains of early Chinese painting, which may be dated to the Han period, are no longer primitive in the ~~old~~ ^{proper} sense of the word, they contain no traces of a struggle with the technical methods or the formal problems, but rather a realisation of the expressional possibilities of pictorial art and a technical dexterity which are essentially those of a ^{far} ~~well~~ developed art. Their limitations, which are obvious to any Western beholder, are to be found in the field of naturalistic representation, and they are no doubt mainly due to the fact that the problems connected with this kind of painting (which has taken such a preponderance in the Western world) did not enter within the scope of ~~early Chinese art~~ ^{early} they ^{early} Western artists. Their main endeavor lay in a different direction.

Painting was to them since earliest times preëminently a means of expressing ideas, a twin sister ^{of} the art of writing, and it acquired thus a more direct spiritual or intellectual significance than we ^{are wont to} find in ~~more~~ naturalistically ^{further} developed forms of pictorial art. The old Chinese historians tell us over and over again that the art of writing and the art of painting had a common origin¹⁾ and even in later times, when ~~they~~ ^{these two arts} had developed quite far along divergent roads, their criterion remained the same; it was ~~as before~~ to be sought in the ~~quality~~ of the brush-stroke, the way in which the brush transmitted to the paper the flash of the creative thought.

This may, indeed, also serve to explain the relative perfection of painting at an early date when it still remained comparatively abstract and unburdened with the representation of ~~all~~ objective reality. It had already at this time the power of suggestion and of definition by means of lines replete with the rhythm of

¹⁾ Thus for instance Chang Yen-yüan, who in his description of the origins of Chinese painting in the first chapter of *Li tai ming hua chü* (847) writes: "When they could not express their thoughts (in painting), they made characters, and when they could not express shapes (in writing), they made paintings."

life. By such means form and movement were ~~were~~ conveyed no less successfully than in more naturalistic types of painting, and the painter could express all that he wanted in a beautiful and convincing fashion.

It should however be remembered
~~it is not the tracing of a pen or a sharp metal point nor the sketchy or blurred outline of a soft pencil or crayon, but the clean definite stroke of a brush that may be as thin as a knife's edge or almost as broad as a broom.~~
 This instrument is managed by a hand which does not rest on the paper but moves freely at the wrist, and ~~as the medium used is~~ *as the medium used is* a thin flowing ink or water-colour, even the slightest pressure or accent of the hand is reflected in the traces of the brush. The picture or idea in the artist's mind is ~~transmitted~~ *transmitted* in the most direct and immediate fashion; there is no possibility of posterior ~~changes or corrections, as in oil painting or pastel drawing.~~ *The Chinese painter*
~~He does not work as painters in oil or pastel who elaborate drawings from nature.~~ *like students*
 He conceives the picture completely in his mind and writes it down quickly and unhesitatingly, and it is of comparatively little importance whether he fills it out with washes of colour or leaves it as a record in black and white. ~~The~~
 of the brush is always the decisive element from the point of view of artistic significance and expressiveness.

Painting was thus most closely associated with writing both ~~by its~~ *by its* creative methods and by the materials used ~~and the materials used.~~
~~Writing was, indeed, the most abstract form of painting, and its expressiveness depended also largely on the quality of the brush strokes, the way in which the pictorial signs were written. Ever since those had lost their immediate likeness to natural objects and become combined with ideographs and symbols of sounds and the like, they were to be written with a decision and speed that required a high degree of concentration and skill, ~~and~~ *such qualities* could of course be obtained only through long and assiduous training, which, ~~indeed~~ *indeed*, must have contributed to prepare the ground for the ~~technique~~ *technique* of painting. The full developed ideographic writing was indeed one of the most exquisite plants that grew in the soil of Chinese civilisation, but when it burst into flower, it was no longer calligraphy but painting.~~

from the Han to the Six Dynasties.

It may be said of Chinese painting as well as of most of the other forms of
~~early~~ Chinese art that when it becomes known to us, in the earliest specimens
preserved to
~~known~~ today

According to the popular Chinese tradition, the writing brush, made of camel's hair or some similar material, was first introduced by Keng P'ien (d. '09 B.C.), one of the famous generals of emperor Ts'in Shih Huang Ti, who also is known to have directed for some time the building of the Great Wall. Like so many similar traditions this is hardly to be taken literally - brushes must, indeed, have been in use for writing as well as for painting before the Ch'in period - but it is probable that great progress in the development of writing was made at this time; Keng P'ien may have perfected the hair brush and made it a more appropriate and flexible instrument for writing.

The earliest specimens of Chinese writing with the brush known at present are from the Western Han dynasty, but they reveal a degree of freedom and skill which seem to indicate a rather important preceding evolution. How this first started, when the Chinese characters first were used, is a question that naturally needs to occupy us in this connection; the engraved or carved inscriptions of bone, metal or stone from the preceding periods may be of explanatory importance but offer very little artistic interest.

By the introduction of the camel hair brush for writing the Chinese ~~characters~~ ^{script} gained a new line and expressiveness. They ~~were~~ ^{characters} no longer shaped with a view to the requirements of the stylus and the hard materials, such as wood, bone or metal, but could be written with flowing strokes that admitted of an infinite variety of individual accents and stylistic refinements. The brush stroke acquired thus gradually an ever growing importance in the art of writing; it became the essential element by which the character and accomplishment of the writer were revealed, a test of culture and will-power as well as of training and skill.

The historical records of the Chinese contain various classifications of the different kinds of writing which were developed paulatim with the growth of the indigenous civilisation. Sometimes four stages are indicated: 1. Shan shu (characters on ancient bronzes), 2. Jian shu (seal characters), 3. Liu shu (the established form of writing with exact number of strokes), and 4. Xing shu (the model style, introduced by Wang Hsi-chin in the 4th century), but other historians distinguish no less than 10 different kinds of writing: Ku wen, Ts'ieh wen, Hsia wen,

+) It is told of Wang Hsien-chih that he possessed a large collection of books and scrolls, and as he could not carry them ^{about} with him, he had miniature copies made which he packed in a cloth case and ~~got~~ ^{got} hence the name Wang, the Cloth case student. Giles, Biographical Dictionary, 2176.

Practically all the paintings which are described or simply mentioned in the chronicles of the two Han dynasties seem to have been wall decorations executed in the imperial palaces or in public buildings. Their motives were of an allegorical or moralizing tenor, and they were executed for the edification of the rulers and their subjects or as records of important events and ancient personalities. Pictures of a similar kind may also have been executed in the tombs of important people, which, as we have shown in a previous volume, are regarded as dwellings for the terrestrial soul of the departed. We receive little information from these historical sources about the more intimate kind of paintings on scrolls which generally came to form the most important part of the pictorial production in China. Yet, such pictures may well have existed already in the former Han dynasty (206 B.C.-9 A.D.), although we have no definite information about pictures on silk until the time of emperor Hsiao Ti (27-23 B.C.) and no records about the use of paper until the reign of emperor Ho Ti (2-100 A.D.). At this period collections of paintings were brought together in the imperial palace, and a court painter was included among the imperial officials.

The wall paintings in the places of the earliest Han emperors as well as those executed for their predecessor, Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, represented mainly local motives, ^{and} similar ~~motives~~ ^{subjects} were also painted in the palace of prince Liu Hsi, Duke of Lu in Shantung (ca. 14-11 B.C.). These have become known through the versified description by the poet Han Yen-shao, who mentions seven and a half strange spirits, of the sea, gods of the hills, the five dragons and joined wings, and a man with a scaly body, Nu Ho with serpent limbs, and the Great Yi; furthermore the three kings and very riotous angels and turbulent lords, loyal ~~knights~~ ^{knights}, dutiful sons, mighty scholars and ~~officials~~ ^{officials} etc. - a highly fantastic picture-chronicle based on the ancient mythological or unsystematic traditions of the country. The general arrangement and manner in which the motives were treated is also known to us through some of the reliefs which decorated the mortuary chambers of the Lu family at Chia Hsiang in Shantung.

The later emperors of the Western Han dynasty seem to have preferred portraits of famous men, generals and ~~historical~~ ^{historical} characters such as Chao Kuo-chun.

Illustration by H. Wiley in The Temple and other things, London 1911

(Cf. Omura's text to Toyo Bijutsu Taikwan (Masterpieces selected from the Fine Art of the Far East). Tokyo 1910. Vol. VIII. and Otto Fischer, Die Chinesische Malerei der Han Dynastie. Berlin 1931. p. 2-3)

make us realize the artistic importance of the portraits painted by order of emperor Ming Ti in one of the palace halls in Loyang. They deserve a closer study than we here can devote to them, because they are the earliest real portraits known to us in Chinese art, and it may well be questioned whether later artists with further developed means of pictorial representation, modelling and clair-obscur, were able to convey stronger impressions of plastic form and more convincing and unconventional renderings of individual character. The extreme simplicity of the technical means has led to an unusual concentration and the most striking definition of the salient features. The loss of all the great wall paintings that decorated the imperial palaces of Lo²ang and Ch'ang¹an can ~~no longer~~ ^{no longer} be properly estimated, but we have every reason to believe that they held the same position in comparison with later Chinese paintings as is held by the sculptures in bronze, clay and stone of the Han period in ~~reference to~~ ^{Comparison with} those of the T'ang period. They were probably ^{among} the most monumental and powerful paintings ever executed in China.

The other stone engravings (and flat reliefs) ~~which have been preserved~~ ^{still} of the Han period are of less importance as documents to the history of Chinese painting (except from the point of view of the motives). ^(in our volume on Sculpture) We have already pointed out that the reliefs from Ch'ien-t'ang ^{illustrate} in part similar motives as those mentioned by Chen Wen-shou in his excellent description of the carvings in the Ling-kuang place, and also discussed their bold decorative style, the well unified stylisation of the figures and animals in broad simple and graphic lines.

The same kind of flat surface designs are also characteristic of the stone slab at Hsiao-t'ang shan, though the figures are not here raised in relief but carved out and engraved into the surface of the stone. They have this great likeness to pictorial representations than to sculptures, though here too the compositions at spacial compositions are very slight indeed. The figures are placed in long horizontal rows, the one on the top of the other; it is only in exceptional cases that some space has been suggested by figures or horses that move ahead or in rows behind each other as for instance in the battle scenes. The scenes represented are mostly long processions of men on horseback or on foot, but there are also hunting scenes and battles, receptions of guests and preparations of meals,

besides illustrations to popular legends

The importance of these stone and brick slabs with engraved or carved images ~~existing~~ as documents for the history of Chinese painting is obviously ~~quite~~ limited by the fact that they are translations not executed with the brush but with harder instruments and by the absence of colour. Fortunately, however, there has also been found in some Han tombs ^{(the province of} ~~in Honan)~~ large brick slabs as well as vessels in bronze and clay decorated with paintings of human figures and animals, which may serve to give us some idea of the pictorial style of the period. Some of the vessels, such as the bronze ^{liu} ~~liu~~ with painted birds or dragons on the inside of the lid, have already been mentioned in our discussion of the minor arts of the Han period (vol. II, p. 44, ^{R. 55}) and we here limit our observations to the larger ^{bricks} slabs with fairly well preserved paintings of human figures.

The best series of such slabs, known to us, is now in the Boston Museum. There are five pieces in all, two long rectangular slabs (measuring ^{in length by 196 cm in height} 150 x 110 cm.) which have formed the lintel of a doorway, and three other slabs, which together formed the pediment above the lintel. ^{the} The side ^{pieces} are consequently triangular (measuring 75 x 110 cm.). They are like most of the tomb-tiles quite thick and hollow, and they were decorated on both ~~sides~~ faces with paintings on a white slip, which very easily comes off. ~~It is thus not to be wondered that the paintings on the~~ ^{back of the pediment} ~~one side are no longer~~ ^{other front however may still be} ~~discerned.~~ ^{is here} ~~practically obliterated.~~ ^{quite clearly discerned.}

The main motive on the pediment ~~is~~ an animal combat; a tiger and a bear are ready to jump at each other, while two other animals of the same species are held in reserve by the assisting men, of whom there are at least six. ^{of} These men are provided with short spears or whips, which probably serve them in the killing and poisoning of the beasts. The long rectangular pieces below are decorated with frieze-like compositions of standing and walking figures, but the real import of these compositions remain obscure. On the front we see a score of mostly manly figures in long garments, some standing in conversation, others approaching respectfully a more prominent member of the company, others again running away or attacking a neighbour. On the opposite side of these horizontal bricks the figures are female with the exception of one, who seems to be a vendor of jewels or the like. Two of the young ladies are occupied in adorning themselves with necklaces, and the others are grouped together as if they were playing or dancing.

^{For} A detailed description of these bricks and their paintings see, Otto Fischer, op. cit. pp. 82-89.

The figures are executed with dark lines, like India-ink drawings, on the white ground, and inside these leading contours thin washes of colour have been used - bright red, ~~grey~~^{pale green}, light brown and other tones - which however now are largely lost. The brush-work is exceedingly sure, swift and unhesitating without the least trace of alterations or posterior elaboration. There is no modelling whatsoever, the drawing of the faces for inst. is simplified to the last degree: a contour and some dots or thin strokes for mouth, nose and eyes, yet, every one of them has a definite character, which in some instances is pushed almost to caricature. They move and act and gesticulate with the spontaneity of living beings who have been caught in quite casual situations; some of the men are absorbed in very lively conversations and the frail ladies flutter and wave like playing sprites. The sleeves and the extending folds of their long stiff garments seem almost to carry them like wings, there is something unearthly in their thinness and the swiftness of their movements, but such was the ideal of womanly beauty already in those times.

The grouping of the figures is singularly effective. They at first may appear to be jotted down quite casually, some in groups, some isolated, but at closer study it becomes evident that they are arranged with exquisite art and a remarkable faculty of seeing. It would hardly be correct to speak of a continuous movement or line in these compositions such as is observed in the oil panel or in slabs, though the swift and spontaneous brush-strokes are the same all through. Yet, there is a continuity all through this long frieze-like composition, and in the intervals like the reverberation of sounds or words. It is suggested by the very expressive postures and gestures, the very suggestive quick turnings and movements of the figures, but the main element of unity is the impression of space which the artist has evoked with the simplest possible means. There is no definite stage, only the unlined white background, but the actors turn and move in different directions leading our eyes in thus as well as side-ways. The intervals between them become something more than bits of a dead wall, they serve to increase the impression of a wide room or open space in which the figures appear. We meet here for the first time that peculiar faculty, so characteristic of the best old masters of Chinese painting of various periods, to utilize the intervals, the apparent emptiness between the forms, to increase the significance of the representation.

We have no means of an exact dating of these paintings but circumstantial and stylistic evidence make it most probable that they still belong to the Eastern Han dynasty, though presumably to its very end. They are closely connected in style with other minor pictorial representations, be they on brick-slabs, clay vessels or lacquer boxes, which have been excavated from Han tombs, and one may also find parallels between the figures painted on these slabs and some of the most successful and characteristic tomb figurines of the Han period. The essential characteristics of the art of this period are, indeed, so definite that they hardly can be mistaken, and they remain the same in whatever materials the artists work. No period in the evolution of Chinese art has reached a more perfect combination of refinement and simplicity, ^{or of formal} more expressive translations ~~in~~ line of the beauty and significance of objective forms. It is thus only natural that the pictorial products of this period should become mainly expressionistic works of art in which the essentials of the motives are brought out with a few real strokes.

From the scanty remaining and literary records that are known to us it may be concluded that Chinese painting passed through a rather important evolution during the four centuries of the Han dynasties. At the beginning of this period pictorial art seems to have been mostly in the nature of large wall-paintings in the imperial palaces, ancestral halls and similar buildings, the purpose of it was more of a didactic than of a decorative kind. The ancient heroes, examples of filial piety, ~~and~~ mythological ~~subjects~~ ^{personages and other motives} represented here were all chosen because of their moral value, they were concrete symbols, so to say, of certain fundamental ideas in the national and social life of the Chinese, and they were treated as such in a rather abstract fashion, intelligible to those who were familiar with the Chinese traditions. The step from such pictures to the representation of ceremonial meals and the like or other important events from the life of the departed (as for inst. at the hall of Chu Wei) may not have seemed very long but it became, no doubt, an impetus for the artists to a closer observation of actual life and character and a freer development of their power of representation. And once this new road was found, it ~~must have~~ led to ~~very~~ rapid progress particularly in the direction of characterisation and the representation ^(plastic form) of space and movement.

†) A particular interest is attached to one or two of the lacquer objects with figure- and animal-designs which have been excavated near Beijing in northern Korea, a region which in the Han period formed part of China. Some of them are dated by inscriptions as for inst. the round plate of the year 69 A.D. on which may be seen pictures of Hsi-wang-mu with an attendant on the Ku-lun mountain and of a tiger and a dragon, and a small box, decorated on the lid with an ornamental composition including human beings and genii. These figures are executed in a wonderfully spontaneous and free manner with ~~strokes~~ ^{strokes} of the brush and their colouring is very delicate, as may be seen in the coloured reproductions in Mokke, nr. 446 and in the lately published Report of the Excavations of Wang An-shu's tomb in the Lo Yang province, an ancient Chinese colony in Korea, by Prof. Y. Murata, Tokyo 1970.

This may be observed to a certain extent in the carved designs on the stone slabs from Hsiao t'ang shan, Lu-liang tz'u and other tombs of the first and second century A.D. The human figures and the animals are here represented in highly characteristic attitudes and movements, not simply as abstract symbols but as living organisms, though rendered almost exclusively by means of linear drawing. The attempts at tridimensional space-composition are in these scenes as yet only tentative; this relative flatness and primitiveness may however be due to the fact that the executing artists were not of the highest class, because in other contemporary compositions such as the engraved drawings from the central hall of Chi Wu, the third dimension is perfectly rendered. The figures appear here in well defined rooms or stages which are seen from above and receding obliquely towards the background, as in so many later Chinese paintings. The figures are not drawn from the same point of view as the rooms, but they move and act ~~with~~ with the greatest freedom, and they have the full plastic volume of actual human bodies. Yet, it is less the rendering of the shapes as such that lends such an extraordinary interest to these carvings, but their perfect coordination in a dramatic situation. Every movement, even the slightest, has a significance, every pose has a character of its own, an individual expression, which depends on its form and features as well as on its position. The accents are quite subdued but the artistic significance is surprisingly strong. Such must have been the style of the greatest wall paintings of the Han period.

The coloured paintings on the brick slabs in Dutton are specimens of a rather different class of pictorial art. They were made for the tomb and like many things of this same category prepared in a somewhat cursory fashion. The paintings have the ease and lightness of sketches, jotted down in haste, executed in part, but alive with that spontaneous movement and touch of the brush, which is the quinta essentia of Chinese painting. In fact, the virtuosity of the brush work is here driven to such a pitch that one might be inclined to characterize this art as over-ripe or sophisticated, were it not that it is entirely unconcerned with the pictorial problems of more advanced epochs and is entirely alive in the characterisation of the human figures. Yet, to judge of examples like these, painting at the end of the Han period must have reached a relative perfection within certain limits and been able to express in values of line and space not only movement and form but also those intangible elements which give ^{a deeper} significance to the artist's ideas.

space between

The literary traditions about the Chinese painters active before the T'ang-period are quite extensive, and as they have been related in a more or less novellistic form by later writers, they do not lack in anecdotal savour. Their importance for the study of Chinese painting is however very limited, ~~as long as~~ ^{as long as} they cannot be combined with ~~the~~ ^{definite} works by or after the masters under discussion. We have no reason to dwell on these stories particularly as many of them may be read in Giles' and Waley's well known books. It may simply be noted that according to critics such as Chang Yen-yuan, the first systematiser of the history of Chinese painting (847), the most famous early painters were Ts'ao Pu-hsing (ca 222-77), Wei Hsieh (IVth cent.), Ku K'ai-chih (ca 350-412) and Lu T'an-wei (ca 440-500). The former particularly for his paintings of dragons, barbarians and animals. Both Ts'ao and Wei are praised as masters of the highest importance, the latter for his mythological and religious compositions, but their works seem to have been lost already in the T'ang period. Chang Yen-yuan writes: "Ts'ao Pu-hsing's fame was dominating at his time but now-a-days there are no works by him and it is impossible to know if he should be classified above Wei Hsieh."

These artists were active in South China, in the state of Lu, and from ^{the} little we know about their life and work, it may be inferred that they also came within the influence of the new religion which already in the

Herbert A. Giles, An Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art Shanghai 1905. Second edition 1918.

Arthur Waley, An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting. London 1923.
Cf. Paul Pelliot, Notes sur quelques Artistes des Six Dynasties et des T'ang.
T'oung Pao, 2 serie vol. XXII. 1926. Prof. Pelliot points out that many of the stories related by Giles are of doubtful value for the appreciation of the artists, because gathered from late compilatory books and he illustrates this particularly in re. to the painters Ts'ao Lu-hsing and "Kubodha" and some sculptors.

* Cf. Pelliot, op. cit. p. 14.

third century had taken a firm foothold here. Indian missionaries arrived from time to time by sea to the Southern Capital and exercised here a growing influence on the cultural development ^{including the figurative arts to which they brought a new inspiration and fresh scope.} Prominent ^{verts} was the priest S'eng-hui, who came about 247 and converted many prominent people including the court painter Hs'ao u-hsing. ^{*)} He may well assume that con- like Ts'ao Fu-hsing and Wei Hsien became important propagandist of the new religion. ^{to a large extent} They devoted their artistic activity ~~(at least to a great extent)~~ to the representation of Buddhist subject. From this time onward Buddhism spread ~~indeed~~ with great rapidity all over China. The three first centuries of its propagation marked an almost continuous success; most of the rulers and leading men became adherents of the new "Western" Faith and temples decorated with paintings and sculptures were erected in great numbers both in the South and ⁱⁿ the North. A rather severe reaction was brought about in 446, inspired mainly by the Taoist leaders, who saw their influence waning, but it did not last more than a year or two, after which Buddhism regained ^a dominating position and flourished more gloriously than ever. It should however be remembered that the religion which thus gradually struck such deep and wide-spread roots in the soil of China was no longer the original "Lesser Vehicle" (Hinayana), ^{the historical Buddhism of} ~~which was~~ but the "Larger Vehicle" (Mahayana) ^{universal} a more ~~general~~ and plastic form of religion which had ~~been~~ developed mainly in Central Asia during the ^{early} ~~first~~ centuries of our era. And the further this form of Buddhism penetrated into China, the more it was modified in accordance with ^{the} ~~earlier~~ religious tradition of the country. The Chinese have, indeed, never accepted anything from foreign sources in the realm of spiritual or intellectual ^{activities} ~~development~~ without transforming it after their own ideas. This fact was several times pointed out in our discussions of the early creations in bronze and stone and it is certainly ^{not} less noticeable in the Chinese transformation of the Buddhist religion and Buddhist art. Some of the new sects which gradually were founded in China became stron-

* Cf. Waley, op. cit. p. 37

ly coloured by Taoist ideas or brought in harmony with the traditional ancestral worship of the Chinese people, whereas Buddhist painting as being a more or less independent ~~form~~ ^{iconography} art, connected by its ~~motives~~ with the Indian sources but very free in its artistic translation of the new motives and ideas, and as the religion became, no doubt, in China a most important source of inspiration, a strong impetus to further artistic development and creative activity, but this followed along lines or in moulds which existed in China long before the introduction of the new religion. It opened to the Chinese a world of new ideas and motives and widened the scope of painting as well as of literature. It showed the Chinese painters something new; saints preaching the law with a gesture of authority and activities of infinite compassion inviting suppliants to approach their thrones. And with them came the dramatic story of Gotama's life and all the legends of the Jatakas. This was something much more definite and tangible than the older stories of the Isle of the Blessed and the four heavens, and it had a moral import, a spiritual significance that could be grasped by the ordinary Chinese of a corresponding mind. ^{Buddhism} ~~also~~ "offered a creed and ideals which were artistic to the very essence and deeply rooted in its content: the idea that life is one and continuous is reflected in that loss of nature, that scientific understanding of plants and animals, that intimate union with the elements which were the best Chinese pictures". Yet, it is evident that the Chinese would never have been able to ^{give such noble expression to} ~~express~~ ^{ideas} ~~the new religious ideas~~ ^{for the task} ~~by their earlier experiences~~ in the field of religious thought and by their traditional conception of art as a symbolic means for the expression of ideas ^{and} the inner significance of things. The consequence was that most of the great artists hence forward represented with equal success Taoist deities and Buddhist saints; these ^{became} ~~seems~~ clearly different symbols for ^{an artistic activity} ~~the same purpose~~ that was ^{deeply} ~~stirred~~ but not ^{fundamentally} ~~changed~~ by the advent of the new religion.

¹ Cf. Sir Charles Elliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. III, p. 24. London, 1911.

~~notice this relative importance of the Chinese ^{painters} in their particular ~~art~~ ^{— 16A —}~~
~~for spacing and design, it is something which shows itself more clearly~~
~~at a later stage of the evolution than at the period now under discussion.~~

~~space!~~ The most famous among all the early painters was Ku K'ai-chih who worked during the second half of the IVth century at the Southern Capital. His extraordinary fame, which has been handed down to posterity, rests not only on his merits as a painter but also on his intellectual gifts; his highly imaginative genius in life as well as in art. Many characteristic utterances about art or similar matters by Ku are quoted by Chinese critics of the T'ang and later periods, and even if they are not to be accepted verbatim, their general tenor may ~~well~~ ^{surely} be taken as an indication of Ku K'ai-chih's ideals as a painter and his characteristics as a man. To him painting was not the representation of outward shapes but the revealing of an inner character, the spirit or soul of things. Therefore he considered portrait painting the highest form of art and in representing human beings the most important feature ^{was to him} ~~was~~ the eyes.

When he wanted to make the portrait of his friend and patron Yin Chung-k'an, the old man objected because he thought himself too ugly, but Ku answered: "It is only your eyes that are ^{at} fault. When I have marked the pupils, I will brush a thin film of white over them, so that they may look like the sun when it is covered by light clouds." (Cf. Waley p. 47). Another time when he painted the portrait of an old man he added three fine hairs on his cheek, so as to accentuate his air of age and wisdom.

All the early critics are unanimous in their praise of Ku K'ai-chih's imaginative faculty and his great creative spirit but some, like Hsieh Ho, claim that "his execution fell short of his conception". The 8th century critic Chang Huai-huan writes: "The operation of his thoughts was subtle and abstruse; the mysterious depths of his nature were unfathomable. His skill left behind him a monument of ink and brush but his spirit soared high above the skies. The beauty of a man's soul can not be expressed in his paintings" (cf Waley p. 65).

evening. All right. I've got to go. I'll scroll, each one accompanied by a list of lines of ^{writing} ~~text~~. Full translations of Chang, Hua's text are ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ in ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~; for it is, I'll try to indicate the scenes and the locations of the references to the text.

- [illegible]

"Let your hearts be as the doves and"

The third scene which represents the hunter with ^{his} bow kneeling at the foot of a mountain, ~~aiming~~ at some birds reveals rather the limitations of Xu K'ai-chih's art. The small scale of the mountain in proportion to the figure ~~is~~ ^{makes a primitive impression but each part} ~~is perfectly~~ ^{is perfectly} rendered. ~~The artist's intention may have been to~~ ^{between the mountain and the hunter which however does not} ~~become clear. The figure is quite convincing in form and movement, but the~~ ^{mountain is hardly more than a symbol or a support for the animals and} ~~birds that are scattered on the cliffs.~~ ^{is at more symbolic than naturalistically convincing. The cliffs and cre-} ~~vices are a kind of collage between which various~~ ^{the proper of the world} ~~things did not as yet exist; it was altogether a later development;~~ ^{than figure painting it did not become of equal importance with figure} ~~painting until three or four centuries later.~~

In the fourth, or toilet scene, the painter reveals again his remarkable ac-
curacy of observation and admirable draughtsmanship. The group ^{consisting of a} ~~consisting of a~~ ^{very graceful} ~~very graceful~~ ^{and depressive} ~~and depressive~~, but the rather obtrusive toilet boxes in the front look as if
they had been added later. As in all these scenes, there is a ^{stage} ~~stage~~ ^{horizontal plane on which the figures appear but nevertheless a suggestion of depth} ~~horizontal plane on which the figures appear but nevertheless a suggestion of depth~~ ^{obtained conveyed by the} ~~obtained conveyed by the~~ ^{figures (slightly, in fact) and by the} ~~figures (slightly, in fact) and by the~~ ^{ion of} ~~ion of~~
a definite foreground by means of the boxes.

Still more remarkable in this respect is the bed-scene which follows next.
Here the artist has actually created a room in which the figures appear. The
large bed with roof and curtains is drawn in reversed perspective and stretch-
es obliquely ^{towards} ~~towards~~ the background. The emperor is seated at the side of the
bed turning with a rather distrusting look towards the lady who ~~xx~~ sits in
the bed and meets his look with a very troubled expression. The characterisation
of the figures is so subtle and yet so obvious, that the meaning of the scene
at once becomes clear. ~~The~~ ^{The} setting is a little masterpiece of arabesque com-
position.

The sixth scene represents another ethical ideal of the Chinese: the big family which results when "you let your roots be as the locust". The artist has ^{suggested a third dimension} here ~~effected his space~~ by arranging the figures in a triangular group, the apex of which is pointing towards the background. They ^{appear actually} ~~are actually~~ placed, the one behind ^{each} other, and the distance is emphasized by their relatively diminutive scale, though the artist has not quite succeeded in placing all on the same horizontal level. To the right in the foreground a father and mother (an emperor?) and a wife and a princess who seem to be calling to the children, but these ~~are~~ are occupied at the opposite side by two other ladies, likewise with the ornaments on their heads. Furthest away two older children are seated at the sides of a table; they are holding scrolls; evidently a scene of teaching or reading.

The seventh scene is composed of only two figures but their attitudes are very expressive and convey a clear idea of the moral truth, ^{that} ~~expressed in~~ text, ~~according to which~~ the husband's affection cannot be ^{eternally} ~~one~~ alone.

The eighth scene is a single lady, kneeling respectfully, and the figure is particularly beautiful from a decorative point of view; the flowing scarves are painted with a ^{sensitive} ~~skill~~ hand; the costume is, so far as the decorative part is preserved.

The same qualities of refinement and decorative beauty are prominent in the last scene where the mistress of the house is seated on a tablet with a ^{accompanying} ~~trunk~~, while the two ladies emphasize her exalted position by their attitude.

~~It is evident that the single figures in this scroll represent a definite style of character or type, which otherwise is known to us only in some of the above mentioned painted brick slabs in Boston; they are representatives of the same ideal of womanly grace and refinement, though executed in a finer medium, with less spontaneity and impetus in a rather calligraphic fashion. This may be partly due to the fact the picture is not an original work but a translation in which the style has been somewhat modified or subdued. The closest parallel to the landscape may be found in a painting on a musical instrument, (a pipa) in the Soso-in collection, which is somewhat more of the same style, may be~~

The other picture by Nu K'ai-chik which has come down to posterity through an early copy (now in the Freer Gallery in Washington) is the Lo-shen scroll, which

about the Nymph of the Lo River did may be read in Waley's translation

have more than a remote resemblance with Nu K'ai-chik's own manner hardly can however

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Chang Yen-yuan (Li tai ming hua chi, II. chap. 2) writes: "Ku H'ai-chih's brush-stroke was firm and energetic, continuous and curving without end, clever and swift, adjusting the design with extraordinary ease. It was like a gust of wind or a flash of lightning. His ideas existed before he took up the brush; when the work was done it contained them all and was wonderfully expressive."

According to Chang Yen-yuan, Wang Hsien-chih alone attained the secret of the "running style", which is written without any break in the brush stroke; ~~he~~ he made always the first word of a new column connect with the previous column. This became known as one stroke writing. Lu T'an-wai applied the same method to painting, doing a whole picture without a break in the brush stroke. But it was not done by a dash of the brush as in many later works; the trace of his brush was fine, cuttlingly sharp yet, smooth and graceful, quite original and unsurpassed in its subtlety. His fame rose very high in the Sung dynasty and nobody at that time was his equal." (*Ming hua chi*, II. chap. 2.)

He painted some excellent portraits, as for instance one of his patron, Emperor Ming Ti of Sung (465-473), but also horses and birds and particularly Buddhist subjects; of the ten pictures mentioned under his name in the *Hsüan-ho hua p'u*, seven ~~are~~ ^{represent} Buddhas or Devarajas, the three others: a portrait of Wang Hsien-chih, Five Horses, and Maritchi, the Queen of Heaven. But none of these pictures is known today even in a copy and we have thus no chance of reaching as much of an opinion about Lu T'an-wai's art as about ^{Ku Kai-chih's} ~~the~~ artistic character. ~~But~~ But some of the early Chinese critics consider them of equal importance.

Ferguson (*Chinese Painting* p. 53) considers a picture representing "A Lion and two Barbarians", formerly in the Tuan Fang collection and now in the Charles Dering collection in Chicago, as an old copy after an famous lion picture in the Kan-lu temple at Jun-chow near Chinkiang. The original was probably destroyed by fire in 1098, but the said copy would have been executed by imperial command in 1076. The picture was exhibited a few years ago in the Chicago Art Institute, and according to a reliable authority of the Museum it was found to be an imitation of ^{much more} recent date and no artistic importance.

A third painter, often mentioned together with Hu K'ai-ch'ih and Lu Tan-wu is Chang Seng-yu, though he was somewhat younger. He was active during the first half of the VIth century at the court of the great patron of Buddhism, Emperor Liang Wu Ti (502-549) in Nan-king and reached his great fame particularly as a painter of religious subjects. The inspiration for these he drew largely from Indian sources, and it seems that his dependence on Indian models was ~~not limited~~ also to be observed in the technical execution of his pictures. According to Yang Shen, ⁽¹⁴⁸⁸⁻¹⁵²⁹⁾ a critic of the Ming period, "he used a method of handling vermilion and verdigris which is said to be derived from India. Seen at a distance such work has the appearance of being carved in relief; but when more closely examined, they turn out to be ~~mere~~ merely paintings".^{*)} No wonder that this method of depicting objects as free-standing seemed strange to the Chinese; it is, strictly speaking, contrary to the prevailing character of their art in which the ~~flat~~ bodily relief, as a rule, is less emphasized than the linear translation. Nor should we imagine that Chang Seng-yu neglected the brush-stroke for any kind of pictorial treatment; Chang Yen-yuan says that every line, every point in his works revealed extraordinary strength and skill, "his strokes were like hooked spears or sharp as swords, close and serrated". The appearance of relief in his works was probably obtained mainly by means of lines.

This is however nowadays a question of conjecture, as none of his works has been preserved. A reflection of his style may be found in the famous picture in the Hockley collection, representing A drunken Priest, which will be described in connection with Li Lung-wei (who was a close student of Chang Seng-yu) and in some of the renderings of the Buddhist motive known as The Washing of the White Elephant, which was first treated by Chang Seng-yu. The finest translation of this known to us is by the Yuan painter Chien Hsüan, whose work however is more prominent for its delicacy of line than for any suggestion of relief.^{**)}

*) Translation by Waley from Sun Hua pu. Op. cit. p. 85.

**) Reproduced in Nokke, no. 259.

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 of the old Chinese (Halla), but they have been able to find
 the really Chinese, and the really Chinese, and the really Chinese.

Socio-Economic Status of the Population

of the stylistic tendencies in the pictorial art of May well serve as

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1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

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to produce such magnificent dragons and tigers, we may indeed suppose that those by the greatest contemporary masters were ~~wonderful~~ ^{truly great} works of art. No wonder that the dragon paintings by Cheng Seng-yu gave rise to stories about their supernatural fierceness and faculty to move at will. However fantastic the wording of these stories be (some of which may be read in English translation by Giles, op.cit. p. 30), they have a certain interest as indications of the general tendency of this art to emphasize in rhythmic lines the fleeting vision and the soaring movements. The general stylistic character of these paintings must have been akin to that of the best sculptures of the Northern Wei and Northern Li dynasties which impress us by their tersely synthesised form and the supreme energy of ~~the~~ their lines. The correlative between the painted animals in the ~~earliest~~ tombs and the statues at the ~~same~~ tombs has already been noted, but it has been noted that the same ornamental borders, composed of energetic tendrils and palmettes, that we find in the Korean tombs also appear in the ~~Chinese~~ ~~earliest~~ caves. In spite of the difference in scope and material and technique, the art is essentially the same: the style ~~is~~ has the same qualities of linear strength and beauty.

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The almost complete loss of the original works by the famous masters of the early periods is well known already by writers of the T'ang dynasty such as Liang Yen-yuan. "Only their fame is left behind", is his laconic reflexion, and a condensed historical account now tells this ~~unrecoverable~~ ^{irreparable} loss, particularly of the imperial collections (which contained the best pictures), the original ~~works~~ ^{works}, floods and fires, which may be worth quoting in part, as giving a vivid illustration of the vicissitudes of picture collecting in China and the practical impossibility to obtain a first-hand knowledge about the early period of Chinese painting. He calls this account The Rise and Fall of Painting (vol. 1, Chap. 11. of Li t'ai ming hua ch'i) and writes as follows:

"The emperor Wu (141-31 B.C.) of the Han dynasty caused a hall to be built for the keeping of his paintings and calligraphies. Emperor Ming (57-75 A.D.) who was a lover of paintings had another building constructed for the same purpose and also a school of art called the ~~Academy~~ ^{Academy} (Giles, ~~op.cit.~~ ^{op.cit.}).... Beautiful things from all over the country were gathered together thick as clouds. It ~~was~~ ^{when} at the time of Hsiao Cho's rebellion (190 A.D.), the court fled westward to Chang-an, the silk scrolls

and talented in the arts; he was himself a good painter. Precious and rare old things were accumulated in the palace.

At the time of Hou Ching's rebellion Prince Kang dreamt several times of Ch'in (Shih) Huang and that he burned again all the books. And it really happened so; ~~because~~ several hundred pictures in the palace were burned by Hou Ching. When peace was reestablished after Hou Ching all the pictures still left were transported to Chiang-ling (in Hupeh) and then destroyed by General Yü Chin of Western Wei. ⁽⁵³⁵⁻⁵⁵⁴⁾ When Yüan Ti was going to abdicate, he brought together all the most famous pictures, calligraphies and classical books, some 240 000 pieces in all, and ordered a servant of the inner apartment to burn them. The emperor wanted to throw himself into the fire to burn with the pictures, but a palace lady seized his garment and saved him. He took the precious sword from Wu Yüeh and trying to break it against a pillar he exclaimed: "O, that Hsiao Shih-ch'eng (a name for himself) has come to this! Learning and culture have come to an end tonight!"

Yü Chin and his followers took out of the ashes more than 4 000 books and paintings and brought them to Ch'ang-an. Therefore Yen Chih-tui wrote a song called Kuan Wo Sheng. Millions of people were captured, thousand cartloads of books went up in smoke. Nothing like this had been known in history. All literature was destroyed.

In the T'ien-chia era (560-66) of the Ch'en dynasty the emperor Ch'en did his utmost to search for more (pictures) and he got together a good number. When the Sui conquered Ch'en two official recorders, Pei Chü and Leo Kung, were appointed to take care of them. They collected more than 800 pieces. Sui Yang Ti ⁽⁶⁰⁶⁻⁶¹⁶⁾ built at the Eastern Capital (Loyang) behind the Fuan Wen tien two towers; the eastern was called the Miao Kai (Excellent Patterns) tower and served for the conservation of old writings; the western was called the Pao Chi (Precious Things) tower and served for the storing of

old pictures. When Yang Ti went to Yang-chou (605) he took them all with him. During the journey the boat was upset, and more than half (of the pictures) were lost. When Yang Ti died his pictures came all in the possession of Yü-wen Hua-chi. When Hua-chi went to Liao-ch'eng (these pictures) were all taken by Tou Chien-tê, and those left at the Eastern Capital came in the possession of Wang Shih-chung. When the holy T'ang dynasty, in the 5th year of Wu tê, had conquered the rebels and captured the two false leaders, the precious things kept at the two capitals and those taken to Yang-chou all came into the possession of the House of T'ang. An official of the Ministry of Agriculture, Sung Ts'un-kuei was appointed to bring these (treasures) by boat (to the capital), but as he was going westward and was near the capital, the boat sank in the midst of the river and only one or two tenths of the pictures were saved.

At the beginning of the present dynasty there were only 300 pictures together with those of the Sui and the previous dynasties. T'ai-Tsung took a great interest in them and acquired some more pictures from the people. In the time of empress Wu Hou Ch'ang I-chih advised that painters should be called to restore (and copy) pictures in the palace. Every one of them working along his special line did his best to produce faithful copies. These were mounted in the same way as the old pictures, so that no difference could be detected. Most of the originals were taken by I-chih, and when he was beheaded they came into the possession of Hsüeh Chi, the Junior Guardian of the ~~Heir~~ Apparent. When Hsüeh Chi died, they came into the possession of Prince Fan of Chi (the brother of the Emperor who after his death was known as Prince Hui Wen). The Prince did not make a report about these things ^{the} (the stolen pictures) and as he became afraid he burned them. The pictures kept (secretly) by Hsüeh Chi and Prince Fan and those collected by duke Wang Fang-ching of Shih-chüan

then came back to the palace. Through the rebellion of An Lu-shan a great number were scattered and destroyed.

Su Tsung (756-762) did not ~~attach much importance to~~ ^{attach much importance to} the pictures; he distributed them freely to relatives of the imperial family, but as these persons did not care for them, they sold them to unvirtuous hands. But things usually come back and find their home where they are most appreciated. In the troubles of Tê Tsung's reign ⁽⁷⁸⁰⁻⁸⁰⁴⁾ they were again scattered and lost. What a pity!

From old times war and fire often destroyed the pictures (of the imperial collections) and floods impaired them; and the older the pictures, the more of them were lost. If in those times the emperors did not take an interest in the paintings, nobody searched them out. There were no connoisseurs to appreciate them, nobody to distinguish the good from the bad. - Then no great talents appeared and even things poor as a dead rat were gems. Truly, nowadays the people are very numerous but the fine arts very scarce, and painting in particular has much decayed. Though the people did not take the ink spot for a fly, yet their tigers are like dogs.*

space! Then the author tells about the formation of his family collection and how it came into imperial possession. He ends up with the following remarks: "Alas, even the loyal, filial, righteous and heroic men of old have not been recorded but remained unknown. How can we then know about old calligraphies and paintings? During the Holy T'ang dynasty of the last 230 years many great artists have appeared; we have seen and heard about them. In the K'ai Yuan ⁽⁷¹³⁻⁷⁴¹⁾ and T'ien Pao ⁽⁷⁴²⁻⁷⁵⁵⁾ Eras these men were very numerous. What use (need) to demand mastery of all the Six principles (defined below) when skill in one of them may bring success. Human figures, buildings, landscapes, horses, spirits, flowers and birds are all special branches of painting. From Shih Huang to the present time, 1st year of the Hui Ch'ang

45. proceeds to classical stories about Chinese paintings.

After all the destructions that have taken place, it would be pre-
sumption to still expect ^{to find} authentic works by the great masters of
the Six Dynasties period. Yet, there are some pictures still existing of
this early epoch, though not on silk or paper nor by any known masters.
We refer to the wallpaintings in the Buddhist ^{temple} Caves at Tun Huang
at the extreme western border of China which still are preserved
in part. These famous cave temples at a place where the pilgrims
who went by the northern caravan route to India stopped over to ~~rest~~
rest and to seek divine protection for the desert crossing were started
in the IVth century but their decoration with paintings and sculptures
~~was~~ seems to have been performed mainly from the middle of the VIth
to the first quarter of the VIIth century. To what extent they may have
been the work of artists trained at the ^{main} centres of contemporary art
or of local painters is a matter of conjecture yet, it is evident that the
paintings were executed in adherence to the prevailing stylistic currents
of the respective periods. The earliest ^{preserved} ones are thus characteristic
specimens of the VIth century, even if ~~they are~~ they were
done with a didactic rather than ^{with} artistic purpose by men who did
not belong to the leading class of painters.

The place at the desert border is still difficult of access and our ~~own~~
knowledge of the pictures is based only on the reproductions in Paul
Pelliot's well known publication to which we still await the explanatory text.^(*)

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... or less in similar fashion as the sculptured decorations
... caves, there are Buddhist ... in hieratic
... and dragons
... spiralling clouds and raining flowers, deities and
... the livinities, adorning monks and donors besides many
... of gold ...
... like steel-springs.

^(*) *Journal asiatique*, 1907, p. 101. ^(*) P. Pelliot, *Les Grottes de Touen Huang*, vol. I - VII.

The comparatively high degree of development reached by painting in the period of the Six Dynasties is also confirmed by the treatises on the theory or philosophical principles of painting which then appeared. As predecessors in this field may be mentioned the two landscape painters Sung Ping and Wang Wei, who were active during the Liu Sung dynasty (420-478) in Nanking and who both wrote some ~~romantic~~ reflections about nature ~~and~~ ⁱⁿ its relation to man and art. Far more important than these fragmentarily preserved observations is the well known treatise by Hsieh Ho, Ku hua pin lu which has been preserved in

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These principles or preconditions for the complete and harmonious development of the art of painting are formulated by Hsieh Ho in terms which in part allow of diverging interpretations as appears from the various translations into English and other languages which have been made of them by different writers. It may be well to quote them here in Chinese with the English equivalents of the expressions that seem most natural.

1. Ch'i-yün sheng-tung; Spirit~~ity~~ harmony (or consonance) and movement of life.
2. Ku-fa yung-pi; Bone manner (structural) use of the brush.
3. Yung-wu hsiang-hsin; Follow (agree with) nature (to obtain) likeness of form.
4. Sui-let fu-tsai; According to (each) species use the colours.
5. Ching-yung wei-chih; Plan and design place in position (composition)
6. Chuan-i mo-hsieh; Transmit models by drawing.

Most of these formulations seem to leave little room for hesitation or doubt; they indicate conditions which, in their most general sense, may be applied to good and significant painting everywhere yet, it is evident that the two first ones in particular never could have been formulated in regard to Western art. They contain so to say, in a nutshell the fundamental characteristics of Chinese painting, and have consequently been ~~taken~~ dismissed and enlarged upon by critics of various ages who have written about Eastern art. Chang Yen-yuan remarks: "The art of painting should be sought for beyond form, but this is difficult to communicate to common people. Paintings of our time may be good in form but they have no spirit^{harmony} (expressiveness) (this he finds preeminently in the works of the earlier masters). If you aim at spirit^{harmony} and formal likeness (to natural objects) will also follow." And he adds later on: "Structure [bone-manner], spirit^{harmony} (expressiveness) and form have all their origin in the determining idea and are all carried out by the brush-work. Therefore those who are skilful in painting are also good in calligraphy."

Among modern translations of Hsieh Ho's first principle may be recalled Okakura's: "the life-movement of the Spirit through the Rhythm of Things"; Giles': "Rhythmic vitality"; and Taki's "Spiritual rhythm ~~for movement~~ and movement of life", but it may be questioned whether the word "rhythm", which appears in them all, is here properly used.⁴⁾ Taki explains it further by saying that the "spiritual rhythm" is the "resonance of the spirit" which (in accordance with the Book of Changes) is to be found everywhere and consequently it seems to us rather futile to ask, as does the said authority, whether it is a subjective or an objective element. It may be the one just as well as the other or ~~even~~ more strictly, the result of the relation between the artist and his motive, and its appearance is thus dependent on the creative faculty of the artist.

⁴⁾ Okakura, Ideals of the East. London 1905. p. 52. Giles, op.cit. p. 29.
S. Taki, Kotoka, 358-359. Articles on Hsieh Ho's treatise in Japanese

Hsieh Ho's second principle forms the vehicle and completion of the first; it expresses the application of the first. It is through the "structural use of the brush" that the "spirit harmony" may be ^{conveyed} ~~expressed~~; in other words: the brush-stroke should serve not only for the definition of form but also as a means of characterisation, modelling, movement and so on. It is the principal instrument of the painter; the strokes are like the strings on the harp; when touched and coordinated by a master's hand they convey the message of the creative mind ^{and} the resonance of the spirit in the outward forms. The whole history of Chinese painting is a continuous illustration of the supreme importance of the brush-stroke; those painters who reached the greatest freedom and strength in this respect were considered the greatest masters. Thus for instance Wu Tao-tzu whose brush-work is described by Chang Yen-yuan as the highest accomplishment of its kind. "He was creative to the utmost; a god guided his hand; he attained heroic spiritual ~~lightness~~ harmony (expression), almost too much to confine to silk or paper. The brush-strokes in his wall-paintings were exceedingly bold and free but in his small pictures they were done with utmost care". His works contained all the "six principles"; according to the same author, but their absolute supremacy was due to his mastery of the brush-stroke.

The other four "principles" formulated by Hsieh Ho are of a more general and less specifically Chinese kind, though they were applied in Chinese art rather differently from their use in European painting. No 3 is the demand that objects should be represented in accordance with their natural shapes; 4. appropriate colouring; 5 design and composition, 6 the advice to follow and transmit classical models. They may, indeed, seem rather self-evident, though if we observe a little closer their application in Chinese art, it will soon be found that they did not mean the same to the Chinese as they would mean to Western artists.

(expressions) and movements of life (vitality), is in itself nothing extraordinary
may yet, placed at the head of all the other principles as the paramount
condition for ~~good~~ painting it acquires an

Fidelity to natural objects is of course something that never can be neglected in any kind of ~~the~~ figurative art; even the most abstract symbol must be made intelligible. But it never became in China, as sometimes in European painting, an aim in itself; they very seldom painted ~~it~~ direct from nature or after models but they utilised what they had observed in order to make their ideas intelligible. The rendering varied according to epochs and modes of style but it was on the whole more of a symbolic formula than ~~an attempt at objective~~ a descriptive representation of outward appearances.

Colouring was seldom of primary importance in Chinese painting; it was not the medium in which they worked or of which they constructed their pictures, but a thin and fluent wash, ^{by} which ~~it~~ ~~added to the~~ tonal values could be ~~added~~ ^{added} to the ink-drawings, or a means by which the decorative effect of the pictures was heightened. It is often applied quite independently of any natural colouring simply to emphasize the opposition, ~~relationship~~ or balance of ^{the} various parts in a composition. Most of the great Chinese painters dispensed almost completely with colour; they depended on india-ink also for colouristic (or tonal) effects, because "ink complements but colours supplement the work of the brush."¹

The principles of composition in Chinese painting do not imply centralisation or symmetry as mostly has been the case in the classical art of Europe. Even in obviously centralised compositions of a hierarchical order in which the motif depends on the emphasis of a certain idea or central figure, there is a great deal of variation. The corresponding parts may be carefully balanced, but there is no actual repetition.

¹ An expression by the 17th century critic Ch'ien Chieh-chou, quoted by Taki in his article on India-ink painting. Three Essays on Oriental Painting. London 1910. p. 66.

~~homogeneously balanced, there is no actual repetition.~~ This relative avoidance of strictly symmetrical arrangements becomes more apparent to us if we recall the rigid symmetry that prevailed in the religious paintings of ~~the Western artists~~ ~~which were seen at~~ the Renaissance and earlier times, which were composed in a definite, architectonic sense and relied on absolute equipoise for their decorative effect. This essential difference is, no doubt, connected with the fact that the symmetrically built human figure has been the ideal motive of Western art, while it never held such a privileged position in Chinese painting, but besides ~~that there have been other factors, including the extraordinary~~ ^{deeply rooted in the consciousness} of the Chinese, which contributed to similar results. Most difficult to grasp and explain and yet of the greatest importance also in their painting, is the Chinese attitude towards space. To the average Westerner space is equivalent to emptiness. We imagine that life exists or is perceptible only as adjacent to material forms, and that space ~~between~~ is simply the intermission between them or a place where the bodies may move. To the Chinese it is rather the vehicle or fluid of life, it suggests not only infinity but a spiritual reality which, even if it is less tangible than material forms, is no less significant or powerful as a vehicle of life. The extraordinary importance of space becomes most obvious in their landscape painting, but it may be traced in most of their compositions as a ^{fundamental} ~~basic~~ element out of which the forms are condensed and into which they disappear. The Chinese did not construct space by geometrical perspective or similar means used by Western artists but rather suggested it by tonal values, supported by linear rhythm; it was to them, pictorially expressed, an atmosphere more than a room in the limited sense of the word.

A complement to this is, indeed, the suggestion of movement, be it of exterior or interior kind. The essential importance of movement (or life) in the broadest sense of the word, is ~~well~~ expressed in Hsie Ho's two first principles, and it is rendered with the brush-strokes just as much as by any special means of composition, yet, the compositional features emphasized above were of greatest ^{consequence} ~~importance~~ ~~also~~ in regard to movement. Asymmetry, variation, spatial extension etc. ~~may~~ ^{should} all be used for this purpose, though it ~~may~~ ^{should} be remembered that the movement

suggested by the Chinese painters is often of a subjective rather than an objective kind; The artist travels along the sceneries of mountains and rivers or soars on the wings of imagination looking down on the objects he is depicting, and the beholder must do likewise if he is to understand and enjoy the beauty and the meaning of the creation.

The transmitting of classical models or the repetition of the compositions of the great masters is a principle of extraordinary practical importance in Chinese painting. It is carried to the extreme and becomes thus a weakness as well as a binding force in the development of Chinese art. It is not simply a matter of training as the copying of old masters in European art but the ~~main~~ ^{or ideals} foundation of their activity. Practically every painter in China had his special models ^{or ideals} among his predecessors, and his endeavour was to ~~not~~ learn from their works and to interpret their meaning as faithfully as possible. If the painter was a man of genius his interpretation became of course a real work of art; but as genius was not the gift of every ^{man} of the brush, a great number of Chinese paintings became empty repetitions of ~~earlier~~ ^{earlier} masterpieces. This is also deplored by Chang Yen-yuan who at the end of ~~this~~ chapter on Hsieh Ho's six principles writes as follows:

"As for transmitting models by drawing, which is the least important (of the six principles), the painters of today are fairly good in drawing the outer form and in presenting some likeness but there is no spirit harmony (in their works). These may be prepared with colours but they are wanting in brush-work. How can we call them pictures? Alas, men of today do not reach the (level of) real art!"

~~If such lamentations were justified already in the Tang period, how much more what may be said about the thousands of later Chinese painters who have followed in the footsteps of their predecessors without contributing any fresh creative impulses or new revelations of the spiritual significance of things?~~

If such lamentations were justified in the Tang era, with how much more reason may it not be said about a multitude of later painters, that they were good in presenting outward likeness but deficient in expressing spirit harmony? Yet, it would be wrong to assume that the reason for this was the persistent traditionalism of Chinese painting. This may indeed have brought with it a certain monotony, ^{too frequent} a ~~repetitive~~ repetition of certain motives and modes of expression, but it did not prevent the truly creative ~~forces~~ ^{artists} to inaugurate new styles or to add a fresh significance to the accepted ideas and motives. What it did prevent - at least to some extent - was the kind of personal ambition to stand out ~~through some~~ ^{conspicuously} through some formal innovation, which has been so highly esteemed in Western art. ~~It kept the Chinese painters as a whole within rather strict limits and led them to concentrate on certain essential problems of their art.~~ It was a preserving force particularly in regard to the brushwork but not necessarily a retardative, ~~for~~ because it put no trammels on the geniuses; ~~but rather~~ ^{it} induced them to concentrate on the essential problems of their art.

One of the most influential among the early masters of the transition period was Ts'ao Chung-ta, who lately has been made the subject of critical investigations. His position which has been interpreted as a transition period artist

~~that~~ he came from the country of Ts'ao, a small kingdom near Samarkand, but Prof. Pelliot considers it more probable that he was of purely Chinese origine. We know by certain that he was the pupil of a Chinese painter and that he was invested with an official title. His activity started during the Northern Ch'i dynasty and was continued under the first Sui emperor. Most famous among his works were the great wall paintings ~~in~~ in the K'ai-yuan temple in Ch'ang-an, executed somewhere between 577 and 589, but portraits, hunting scene, horse pictures ~~among his works~~ also mentioned. The critics of the T'ang period who write about Ts'ao Chung-ta praise him particularly for his representations of "Hindu" (i.e. Indian or Buddhist) subjects; Chang Yen-yuan goes so far as to consider him one of the principal founders of Buddhist art in China. He writes: "Ts'ao originated the cult ^{of} Buddha; there are three manners of painting Buddha; one is the manner of the school of Ts'ao, ~~another the manner of the school of Ts'ao~~ another the manner of the school of Chang (Seng-yu), the third the manner of the school of Ju (Tao-tai)."

The rather startling assertion that Ts'ao "originated the cult of Buddha" is interpreted by Prof. Pelliot as a indication that Ts'ao Chung-ta was the originator of the first representations of paradise which from now onwards ~~from the T'ang period~~ became the most popular decorations ~~characteristic compositions~~ on the walls of the Buddhist

Prof. Pelliot, op. cit. p. 86. Prof. Pelliot has given a highly interesting critical account of all the records relating to Ts'ao Chung-ta in his article Les Fresques de Touen-huang et les fresques de K'ai-yuan-fou, Revue des Arts Asiatiques, Volume Nr. 17 - IV. Students interested in the literary sources for the history of early Chinese painting can wish no better reading than this article, which contains an analysis of various historical, literary and philological problems relating to the traditions about Ts'ao Chung-ta, and thus may be considered as a valuable contribution to the history of early Chinese painting. For a more general studies of the same kind have been accomplished.

From this it may also be realized that a critical can hardly be written

A characteristic example of the confusion created by an uncritical use of the Chinese sources is the priest Kabōdha or Ka-fo-to who, on the authority of Chang Yen-yuan, has been described by Bushell, Hirth, Giles and other modern writers as a leading master of the Sui-period. Prof. Pelliot, in his article Notes sur quelques artistes des Six Dynasties et des T'ang, T'oung Pao, vol. XXII. 1923, has shown that this priest lived nearly hundred years earlier and that his only historically known work was a painting of some Buddhist figures over the doorway to a monk's cell at Shao-lin-ssu.

hist temples in China. It may however also be remembered that another critic of somewhat later date, Kuo Jo-hsü (ca 1060-1110), points out stylistic differences in the works of Ts'ao Chung-ta and Wu Tao-tzu, which may help to give some idea about the two principal currents in the religious art of the Sui and T'ang periods: ~~Ts'ao-ta's~~ ^{figures} were clad in ~~garments~~ ^{garments} which clung to the body; they looked as if they had been drenched in water, whereas the mantles on Wu's figures were draped in billowing folds and looked as if they had been caught by the wind. He adds that "the same distinction of Ts'ao and Wu schools existed in sculpture", a remark which makes it clear that the Ts'ao style was the early Indian mode, known for inst. from Gupta sculpture and its off-shoots in Central Asia and Northern China, ~~whereas~~ ^{while} Wu's style was a freer individual manner, reflecting a ~~fuller realization~~ ^{fuller realization} of the plastic form and a dramatic ~~pathos~~ ^{which} that blows like a whirlwind through his compositions. ~~Without~~ ^{Without} knowing the original works of either of these painters, it is impossible to say how far these differences should be stressed, but ~~the probabilities are~~ ^{the probabilities are} in general way, that Ts'ao Chung-ta represented the ~~more~~ conservative traditions ^{of style} while ~~Wu Tao-tzu~~ ^{Wu Tao-tzu} was ~~a~~ ^{more of an} innovator. ~~Some~~ ^{Some} of the great Buddhist compositions representing Amitabha's Paradise or similar ~~compositions~~ ^{motives known} to us ~~through~~ ^{through} the Tun-huang paintings (IX-XI cent.) and the specimens from Chinese temples may, indeed, be based on designs by Ts'ao Chung-ta, who evidently first translated these motives into compositions that became generally accepted and frequently reproduced. ~~Not~~ ^{Not} even his individual artistic merits may have been, he can hardly be denied a prominent place in the history of Chinese art as a transmitter and ~~originator of certain types of classic Buddhist painting.~~ ^{originator of certain types of classic Buddhist painting.}

Xcf. Pelliot, op. cit. Extrait p. 28 "Tout ce qu'on peut dire, c'est que le type des Paradis d'Amitabha auquel restait traditionnellement attaché le souvenir de Ts'ao Tchoung-ta usait vraisemblablement d'un drapé plus appliqué, plus voisin de la "draperie mouillée", que les étoffes plus flottantes des fresques de Wou Tao-tseu",

produce the best looking team of four horses that ever was harnessed." He seems as a matter of fact to have painted a great number of pictures representing horses and travellers; four such motives are among the paintings by Chan mentioned in Hsüan-ho Shu Pi and two of his most famous paintings (described in Ching-ho Shu Hui Fang) represented Ch'ang-an Horse Carts and Travellers in Springtime. They were executed in a very fine manner with soft vaporous coloring. The greater part of his activity was however devoted to the many newly erected or restored temples in the capital. Ten different temples with wall paintings by Chan are mentioned in Hsüan-ho Shu Pi and there were probably more of them besides ~~scrolls and~~ hanging pictures with Buddhist motives. The greatest artistic achievement was however the representation of space, "even the smallest picture of his comprised ten thousand li" - an expression which is often used in regard to later paintings but, as far as I can recall, not in reference to the works of earlier men. He was in this respect an immediate forerunner of Li Shu-hsün and was sometimes called "the grandfather of Tang painting." Chan Tzu-chien must have been a very important transition master; he started already ^{under} the Northern Chi dynasty (550-577) and continued his activity to the end of the Sui dynasty.*

* Chan Tzu-chien worked sometimes in cooperation with Tung Po-ien, his nearest colleague among the painters at the Sui court. A copy after a picture made by these two men is said to have existed in the Manchu household collection. It was shown in an exhibition in Peking 1923 and Dr. Pasquon describes it as follows: "It represents three mounted men standing in front of a gate half ~~closed~~ opened by a servant. Inside a lattice fence is a small pavilion in which a man is seated. The seated figure is that of Chu-ko Liang, who led a life in retirement in a reed hut which was twice visited by Liu Bei before he was granted an interview. This picture is on paper and is richly coloured. It was probably produced during the Sung or Yuan dynasty." (op. cit. p. 59)

A painter who reached great fame towards the end of the Sui period and who probably also enjoyed the favour of the two first T'ang emperors was Wei-chih Po-chih-na. He was a member of the royal family of Khotan but must have lived for many years in the Chinese capital, because he is mentioned (in Li Tai Ming Hua Chih) as the painter of several frescoes in the temples at Ch'ang-an. These are, of course, all destroyed long ago, but the Chinese critics tell us that his style ~~was~~ was bold and free and that his paintings were remarkable for their life expression. Besides Buddhist subjects he ~~treated~~ ^{Painted} also flowers and quaint objects of foreign lands.

The activity of Wei-chih Po-chih-na in Ch'ang-an was continued by his son Wei-chih I-seng who, because of his close association with his father, may be mentioned at this place, though his artistic activity really belongs to the early part of the T'ang period. According to the tradition which is ~~transmitted~~ ^{transmitted} in T'ang Chao Ming Hu lu (and ~~other~~ ^{later} ~~works~~ ^{works}), Wei-chih I-seng was sent by the ruler of his home country at the beginning of the Cheng-kuan era (627-649) by the ruler of his home country, because of his skill in painting, to the T'ang capital, and here he executed some very interesting frescoes for instance in the Ts'ia Ts'u ssu, a thousand armed and eyed Kuanyin among flowers in relief, and in Kuang Tse ssu, Descending Devils, of the most extraordinary shapes ~~and~~ with infinite variations. "All that he painted, spirits, human figures, flowers and birds, he treated in a foreign fashion and not according to Chinese tradition"; he was considered equal to Yen K'ipen. He was called the little Wei-chih in distinction to his father who was called the Great Wei-chih. According to Chang Yen-guan his brush work was tight and strong like bent iron or coiled wire, while his father painted in a freer manner with a more powerful brush. The particular ~~feature~~ ^{point} in Wei-chih I-seng's paintings which however seems to have awakened the greatest interest and admiration was his way of representing flowers in relief; it is mentioned by various critics as something very unusual, a feature which distinguished his works from those of the native painters. It was evidently something he had learned at home, in Khotan, a manner of painting which had been further developed in Central Asia than in China.

We may also be able to gain ^{gain some} to ~~idea~~ ^{idea} about its general appearance.

through some of the fresco fragments representing birds and flowers in the von de Cog collection in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin. I am thinking in particular of some paintings which originally formed parts of some temple floor which were brought by von de Cog from Chotoko and which are said to be of the ~~7th or 8th~~ ^{7th or 8th} century. They are executed in a very solid and careful ^{at} fresco technique and represent billowing water on which some flowers, birds, sea animals and dragons are floating. The water is conventionalized in a curious design of spirals but on this the flowers and birds are painted as if they were free standing, rising out of the water. It may well be said of them as of Wei-chih Tseng's flowers that they appear in relief and this effect may have been still more striking when they were seen from above spread out over the floor of a room. Wei-chih Tseng's ^{fresco} paintings may have been of a similar type, though superior in quality.

Of his pictures mentioned in the Houan-ho Catalogue seven represented Buddhist subjects and one foreign people. A combination of these two kinds of motives may be seen in a still existing ^{painting} ~~picture~~ which probably reproduces a composition by the artist, though it is executed at a much later date. ~~It represents the figure of a deity formerly in the Tuen Fang collection but forms now part of the Freer collection in Washington; and it represents the Lokapala Vaisravana (Guardian of the North), crowned and mail-coated, seated on some cowering devils and carrying his emblem, a small pagoda, on the right hand. On either side stands a Bodhisattva (possibly Kuanjin and Vajrapani) and behind them one military and one civil official. The whole group is appearing against the empty back ground without any other indication of a locality than what may be suggested by the canopy that floats over their heads surrounded by conventionalized clouds. Quite independent of this group are the figures of two kneeling musicians and a dancing girl lower down; they are characterized as foreigners of Aryan type with light curly hair, and the music and dancing which they execute are also quite different from similar performances in ^{partly} Chinese pictures. The somewhat dry and mechanical execution with uniformly sharp lines and great insistence on the ornamental details for instance in the carpets reveals a copying hand which seems to have followed the pattern of the original very closely losing most of the artistic significance in an effort to trace the forms and the ornaments faithfully.~~

This picture has however been published several times as a work by Wei-chih T'eng, because it corresponds to a composition painting which Chang Ch'ou had acquired and which he describes most enthusiastically in Ching-ho Shu Hua Fang as follows: "The Cloud covered Heavenly King. Paintings by Wei-chih T'eng are nowadays seldom seen, the reason being that his name is not mentioned in the Taoist or Buddhist records of the Chin(?) and Tang periods. Now for the first time I acquired a coloured picture scroll (chüan) mounted in the Sung period, representing T'ien Wang, which caused me an extraordinary joy. I secured it quite recently, though I knew it thoroughly. If I had not seen this genuine work with my own eyes, I would have missed one of the great masters of the country. I expressed my admiration as follows: ^{manuscript of painting} ~~work~~ was clear and perfect. The small picture of T'ien Wang is a very skilfully executed ^{wonderful thing} ~~work~~, equal to the ^{works} ~~picture~~ of the Hsai-chih and the Tan-wei and reaching ^{ing} those of Yen Li-pen and the Tao-tzu. ~~I turned incense as~~ I turned it and ~~found it~~ saw like a fluttering of approaching spirits. When Wu Tao-tzu afterwards painted T'ien Wang under the clouds and T'ien Wang holding the pagoda, he took this as a model, but he could not reach its tranquil depth. [It is mounted in the Northern Sung fashion as a hanging scroll with "sleeves"]."

Then Chang Ch'ou enumerates 27 seals on the picture and quotes a record according to which, ~~it~~ it was remounted in 1032 by order of emperor Jen Tsung. In a colophon to the picture he informs us that he acquired it in 1629 from the Hsiao family. Its former owner had been the famous collector Hsiao Mo-hin who also had provided it with at least half a dozen seals and written (in 1582) a most enthusiastic colophon to the picture.

It could hardly be claimed that Chang Ch'ou's description is definite enough to allow a safe identification, but the surprising point is that of the seals which he enumerates no less than 16 may be ~~be~~ seen even in the photograph of the picture now in the Freer Gallery, a fact which makes it most

While the picture still formed part of the Tsan Fang collection it was published in the Chinese art-review, Chung-kuo Ming Hua sin (1909). On the basis of this reproduction Dr. Herbert Miller wrote an article about the picture in Oriental Art (1920) extolling it as the same original work by Wei-chih T'eng which was in the possession of Chang Ch'ou. Walley mentions it in passing without pronouncing on its age (op. cit. p. 108) together with a scroll in the collection of Mr. Thomson which contains the same dancing and playing figures and "almost certainly presents the design of a Tang picture." These two pictures were again published in an article in Dedalo ¹⁹²⁴ by Sir Percival Stein and Mr. Laurence Binyon. According to the former, the dancing and playing figures would have been borrowed from the Thomson scroll to the Buddhist picture; Mr. Binyon points out however that the latter cannot be a work of the Tang period but must have been executed at a much later date.

En uttømming fra Pang-perioden

Vår Kammeler om de kinesiske malerier under Pang-perioden (618-906) av
Lu Hsiang-shan

probable that this picture actually is a faithful imitation after Wei-chih I-seng's T'ien Wang. Among the seals on the picture now in the Four Gallery are those of the Chen-ho (1111-1118) and Hsüan-ho (1119-1125) periods but also seals of emperors ^{Sumu} Kao Tung and Yüan Wu Tung and some of Hsüan Mo-lin's seals but not those of Chang Ch'ou. Consequently it ~~seems most probable~~ ^{seems most probable} that the copy was made before ~~it~~ ^{the original} passed from the collection of Hsüan Mo-lin to that of Chang Ch'ou or, perhaps, about the same time (1629).

The probability that the picture reproduces faithfully a composition by Wei-chih I-seng is also increased by the existence of another picture which represents exactly the same composition. It formed part of the imperial Manchurian collection and was for some time exhibited in the Palace Museum in Peking ^(in 1930) ~~under the name of Wu Tao-tzu~~. The picture in which carries the title ~~The Precious Pin-kard~~ Pin-kard with all his treasures by Wu Tao-tzu is a thing of great refinement executed with colours and gold on dark blue silk. It is evidently of great age and may be of the Tang period, though it is surprising to find a painting executed in this very painstaking almost ornamental fashion ascribed to Wu Tao-tzu. But if the information offered by Chang Ch'ou is correct that Wu Tao-tzu ~~followed~~ ^{used} Wei-chih I-seng's T'ien Wang as a model in painting the same subject, one may well be led to the conclusion that the picture in the Palace Museum is a work of his.

However this may be, it is evident that the executing Chinese artist followed very closely a foreign model in doing his work. The whole thing is not in Chinese fashion and the dancing and playing figures in particular are ~~of~~ clearly Iranian or Tocharian types. The whirling dance of the girl is unlike any dance represented in purely Chinese works of art, and the "pi-pa" of the red bearded musician is also a foreign instrument. It may well be that Wei-chih I-seng or some closely related painter first composed these figures for some other picture, such as The Dancing Girls of Kutchha, and then also utilized them in the Buddhist composition, where they appear somewhat strange and surprisingly realistic. The Chinese however admired these foreign figures as well as the fashion of painting flowers in relief greatly and may well have done their best in copying them

¹ Walley, *op. cit.* p. 108, points out that Wei-chih I-seng's picture Dancing Girls from Kutchha existed in the collection of Chao Tu-ch'eng in the 13th century and expresses the opinion that it may have been the original of the scroll now in Mr. Thomson's collection, which, indeed, seems very probable.

The two Wei-chih, father and son, were evidently the foremost representatives of in the Chinese Capital, at the beginning of the T'ang period, of the Indo-Iranian or Central Asiatic current of style which became of great consequence for the further development of religious painting in China. They executed wall paintings in many temples, mentioned in Li Tai King Hui Chi, and as Wu T'ao-t'zu a hundred years later painted in some of the same temples he must, indeed, have had ~~great~~ excellent opportunities of studying their works and of assimilating certain elements of style from these great foreign masters.

All the wall paintings in the temples of Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang mentioned by Chang Yu-yuan and other Chinese critics have perished without a trace; most of them were, as a matter of fact, destroyed already when Chang published his Wing hua chü (847). The severe persecution of the Buddhist religion in 845 brought evidently havoc to the buildings as well as to the ~~the~~ priests and monks, and when ^{Buddhism} again regained its position as the leading religion, there were no longer artists of the same importance as at the beginning of the Tang period to redecorate the new or restored temples, nor were the times as propitious for the development of great artistic enterprises. The pictures which did not perish during the persecution of 845 or which were painted during the succeeding ^{generations} ~~generations~~ have met destruction in later times, the result being that no wall paintings or so called frescoes of the Sui or Tang periods have been preserved in China proper. Only at the utmost western and eastern borders of the Empire have some specimens of this great religious art been preserved, and these were certainly not executed by the leading masters, though they may, to some extent, reflect their style and ^{their} modes of composition. ~~It is to these that we must turn in order to obtain some idea about the general character and trend of religious painting in China during the Tang period, and although most of them date only from the IX-XIth centuries, but they perpetuate the modes of style which came in vogue already in the VIIth century. Religious painting remained on the whole the most conservative branch of pictorial art particularly at places which lay far away from the main centres of artistic activity. This is also verified by the fact that these paintings which practically all are illustrations to the Amida cult, the particular form of Buddhism which flourished in Central China already in the Sui dynasty and which became replaced by other less heretic and more mystic schools such as the T'ien-t'ai, the Ch'an (or Zen) and Vajrayana forms of the Buddhist religion. Very little of their art has been preserved from these early times, a fact which also shows that religious devotion at the border districts kept more consistently to the conservative traditions of faith and art.~~

* For the history of Buddhism in China see, Sir Charles Eliot, Buddhism and Buddhism, vol. III, London 1921 p. 223 ff. Johnston, Chinese Buddhism, London 1913,aley, op. cit. p. 91-95.

The best examples still preserved are to be found in Japan, in the famous Kondo of Horyuji at Nara, and in the cave temples of Tun Huang, the little town at the western border of China already mentioned in the previous chapter ^{in connection with} ~~as the caves also contain~~ paintings of the VIth Century. The Horyuji paintings may be the works of Korean rather than of Chinese artists, but ~~that~~ they are evidently painted in close adherence to Chinese traditions of style and of ^(stylistically as well as) great importance historically, ^{because they are the} ~~as the earliest~~ still existing examples of ~~late~~ Buddhist wall paintings on a large scale, ~~as well as artistically~~. They were probably executed at the beginning of the VIIth century and they reveal a style which ~~is~~ is equal to that of the best products of Tang art in stone, bronze or painting known to us from China proper.

They ~~are~~ ^{are painted} ~~are~~ ^{are} at ~~secco~~ ^{secco} on the four plastered walls of the so called Golden Hall (Kondo) of the ~~temple~~ ^{old temple} (which serves for the keeping of the principal cult statues). There are four main compositions (beside some detached figures) all built up around a seated central Buddha who is accompanied by standing Bodhisattvas and Bhiksus. The best preserved ~~picture~~ ^{picture} is the one on the west wall, which represents Bhaisagayana, the Buddha of healing, seated in western fashion with both feet down and holding in the lifted right hand the box of medicine. On each side of him stand two Bodhisattvas, two Lokapalas (the guardians of the four quarters of the world) and a bhikshu (monk). Lower down may be distinguished, rather faintly, two adoring men (now mostly destroyed). Over the head of the Buddha spreads a decorated canopy and two soaring apparas (heavenly dancers or "angels"). The composition is impressively hieratic, the figures are powerful, the tall Bodhisattvas appear still, in spite

of their highly decorated skirt-like dhoti, quite manly; there is an air of stateliness and refinement about all these divine beings, which ~~still~~ carries inspiration, though their beauty has been ^{subject to the} tear and wear of long ages. The colours have darkened (in the central figure) or faded (in the side figures), but the firm and yet highly sensitive drawing is still to be ^{plainly} distinguished. ~~clearly~~.

The other compositions represent ^{Sh} Sakyamuni Buddha seated on the lotus throne in the dharmachakra mudra ^(gesture of teaching), accompanied by only two Bodhisattvas, which however are particularly beautiful; Amitabha Buddha, seated on a high dais, accompanied by four bhikshus and two Bodhisattvas, and Ratna ambava ^(the Buddha of Precious Birth), seated on a high lotus pedestal attended by three figures on each side. This last composition on the East wall is, however, almost obliterated. The same very poor state of preservation makes also the detached Bodhisattvas, four standing and four seated, very difficult to distinguish. They are hardly more than faint tracings or reflexes of a great religious art; ^{but} whatever remains of them is of such nobility that we look in vain for anything of the same quality among the frescoes which have been preserved in China.

The only picture, known to us, which in style and quality approaches these frescoes is the fragment of the so-called Mo ke ^{belonging to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston} ~~and the~~ ^{T. Sh} It represents Sakyamuni seated on the sacred mountain, "the Vulture Peak", surrounded by devas, Bodhisattvas and bhikshus, a composition which indicates that it was made for a temple of the T'ien-tai school.

Cf. Chinese Paintings in American Collections. Vol. I Nr. 4. Paris 1927.

Unfortunately the lower portion of the picture is now destroyed and the landscape, in which the figures are placed, is hardly visible. The two Bodhisattvas placed at the sides of ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{rather} ~~most~~ closely re^{sembling some} ~~sembling some~~ of the figures in the paintings. ^{at Horyuji} But this picture appears still more Japanese in style than the frescoes which may be explained by the fact that it, according to an inscription, was restored by a Japanese artist in 1148. The original Chinese painting is thus rather blurred, but it should nevertheless be re-estimated as a unique specimen of T'ien-tai art of the T'ang dynasty which ^{is still suggestive} ~~is still suggestive~~ of great dignity and mystic beauty. ~~by its artistic quality rises above all other Buddhist paintings known to us from this early period.~~

Not a few of these numerous fresco paintings ^{which} ~~have~~ in later years ^{have} ~~been~~ transferred from temples in northern China to museums in America (Philadelphia, Cambridge, Toronto) and England (Brit. Mus., Emorfooulos Collect.) ~~and~~ ^{hailed as} ~~not a few of these~~ have been ~~claimed to be~~ specimens of T'ien-tai art. Such claims are however mostly echoes of Chinese tradition based on the fact that the compositions reproduce early designs while the execution is of much later date. The entire lack of dated specimens ~~make it exceedingly~~ difficult to propose any definite period for these detached fresco-paintings, but if we may draw some conclusions from a comparison with Buddhist sculpture, it ^{must be admitted that none of them is earlier than} ~~is not probable that none of these specimens~~ ~~the paintings were executed before the beginning of the XIIIth century.~~ The three great Bodhisattvas in Brit. Mus., ^{ish} ~~which~~ ^{sum} ~~by~~ their extraordinary size and refinement are most impressive, may ^{possibly} ~~possibly~~ be works of the XIIIth (or XIVth) century, while the rest of the frescoes in Brit. Mus., ^{ish} ~~the~~ ^{sum} ~~the~~ the Fogg Museum ^{in Cambridge, Mass.} and the University Museum in Philadelphia ^{probably are works of the} ~~probably are works of the~~

9 Cf. L. Binyon, The George Emorfooulos Collection, Catalogue of the Chinese Frescoes, London 1927, p. 8-14 and Prof. Pelliot's review of this publication in La Revue des Arts Asiatiques vol. V. Nrs III - IV.

Ming ^{period} ~~dynasty~~. No period in Chinese history ^{was} ~~has been~~ more active in restoring temples and redecorating ~~them~~ than the Yung Lo epoch (1403-1424) ~~It marked~~ ^{then} a kind of national renaissance; ~~the~~ the general endeavour was ^{then} to reestablish as much as possible of the lost glories of the great T'ang ~~era~~. This was often done in a somewhat crude and superficial fashion, but the principles of design were borrowed as nearly as possible from the remains of T'ang art which then still may have existed.

The only detached Chinese fire coes ~~known to us~~ (besides some fragments from Tun-huang, mentioned below) which ~~can be dated~~ ^{are} earlier than the XIIIth century are the Bodhisattva figures which are set into the walls of the entrance hall of Mr C.T. Loo's Chinese house in Paris. Their stylistic character is practically the same as that of the ~~best~~ ^{second half} wooden sculptures from the ~~middle~~ ^{second half} of the VII century, and their execution is of a kind that bears witness of a comparatively early date. The drawing is very delicate, the lines are thin, only slightly detaching themselves from the colours, which are mostly light green, pale rose and brown violet. The haloes around the large heads seem to be the indication of radiating lights which shift from a light yellow to bluish green. This combination of sureness in the rounding of form and lightness in the use of colour is in itself evidence of a high standard of artistic tradition. There is nothing individual about these Bodhisattvas, yet, they are great works of religious art, the importance of which cannot be suggested either by descriptions or by small reproductions. To call paintings of this type masterpieces would be misleading, because they are nothing but very good examples of the highest standard of Buddhist painting in China at a period when it still was the expression of religious fervour.

* For the full description of these paintings, see ^{Sizing} ~~the~~ The Chinese Pavilion of C.T. Loo & Co and its frescoes in Le-tou 1927.

The ~~material~~ Buddhist frescoes^{x)} still preserved in the Ch'ien Fo tang (Thousand Buddhas caves) at T'ung-kuang is known to us only through the reproductions in Prof. Pelliot's portfolios "Les Grottes de Touen Huang" and a few minor ^{though} clearer reproductions in Sir Aurel Stein's "Ruins of Desert Cathay". On the plan published by Pelliot no less than 172 caves are indicated and Stein speaks of a still much larger number. ^{Most of} ~~Practically all~~ these caves ^{decorated with wall paintings of which some, as previously indicated, were executed already ^{during} the Northern Wei ^{dynasty} and a few in the Yüan ^{period} ~~and later times~~, but the main bulk ^{belong} ~~belong~~ to the later part of the T'ang dynasty. This enormous material still waits its classification, historically as well as iconographically; before this has been done we can ^{hardly} ~~not~~ reach a proper idea about the ^{importance} ~~value~~ of these paintings which, to judge from the reproductions, ^{vary a great deal in style} ~~are not known, are very~~ ^{and artistic importance} ~~are~~ Sir Aurel Stein points out in his descriptions of one or two of these caves, that the paintings reveal two main currents of style: an Indian, or rather Central Asiatic, which predominates in the hieratic compositions of Buddhist divinities assembled at the various heavens or paradises, and, on the other hand, more Chinese content which becomes evident in the more naturalistically treated scenes from the Jataka stories; these are said to be "less effective from a decorative point of view, in fact often a little prosaic and confused, but full of animal life and vivacity" ^{ment.} ~~ment.~~ ^{xx)}}

^{x)} The technique of the paintings in the Tun-kuang caves (VI-IXth century) has been described by Sir Arthur Church, an authority on fresco painting, as follows: "On a backing of the ordinary local loess mixed with the charred stems and leaves of the common reed, there was spread a thin flat coating of impure burnt gypsum made into a cream with water. Pigments such as iron red, malachite, a charcoal grey, and an ochre, sometimes mixed with the cream of burnt gypsum, were then painted on while the surface was still moist. On drying the colours became fixed, not by carbonation, as in true fresco work, but simply by the loss of solvent water and the crystallisation of its content of gypsum", (quoted by L. Fung in the Catalogue of the Chinese frescoes in the G. Eumorphopoulos Collection, 2) In later works and particularly at the frequent repetitions of the wall pictures in the temples, a body colour was used and laid on more heavily. ^{xx)} H. Aurel Stein, Ruins of Desert Cathay. Vol. II. p. 227-23.

most frequently
One of the ~~most frequent~~ recurring ~~typical~~ representations of mid-heaven
paradise is described by the same authority ~~in the following words~~ ^{as follows}: "Buddha
is seated on his lotus throne between somewhat smaller figures of Bodhi-
sattvas and saintly attendants, Pavilions containing other divine figures
and adorned by rich foliage are disposed at the sides and behind in an
architectural setting. In front of the terrace, occupied by the main group,
are shown three platforms rising from a lotus tank on common ~~brackets~~.
On the middle one there is seen a dancing girl performing a spirited dance
on a tessellated pavement. Rows of divine musicians, probably representing
Kinnari, play on either side on various instruments. On the side plat-
forms two ladies, with bowls and plates of fruit set before them, seem
to take their share in enjoying the divine ballet."

This kind of courtly assemblage on the terraces in front of the
lotus ponds of the paradises are repeated with minor variations hundreds of
times but there are also legendary illustrations of a more entertaining
kind with details of profane life, processions of donors in contemporary cos-
tumes, cavalcades with prancing horses, fights by men in armour for the
sacred relics of Buddha, walled towns, temples, castles, trees and animals
of many kinds. The frescoes form, indeed, an enormous picture-cronicle il-
lustrating in a popular fashion scenes of Buddhist faith and legends about
^{Sh} Sakyamuni's various incarnations in the human world. They seem to have
been done by painters who were ~~more~~ more concerned with the literary and
moral evidence of the stories than with any purely pictorial effects. Some
of these paintings are certainly very entertaining and even important through
~~all~~ ^{their} their realistic details and ~~typical~~ iconographic features, but to what
extent they may be taken to fill the gap in our knowledge about the reli-
gious painting of the T'ang period is less evident. We have however no doubt
that the better among these wall paintings were done by real artists and that,
if they could be seen and reproduced under more favourable circumstances,
they would impress us more than any of the detached frescoes which have

been brought from China to Western museums. [This comparatively high level of artistic significance is proved by the three fresco-fragments brought by Mr Langdon Warner from Tun Huang to the Fogg Museum in Cambridge, Mass. One of them represents a bust of a Bodhisattva, ^{another} and a guardian, likewise cut off at the height of the elbows; ^{whereas} ^{shows} the third a group of three men, one of whom is lifting an ax, as if he was aiming a killing blow at the monk in front of him. The colouring of these is largely worn off or darkened, but the figures stand out ^{with convincing strength and character} ~~nevertheless with a~~ ~~lume and strength~~. The Bodhisattva heads have the quality of great sculptures, and the men in the last named group are ~~represented not only with~~ ~~an extraordinary freedom of movement but also with~~ ~~dramatic~~ ~~character~~ ^{expressiveness in poses} ^{and their} ^{actual} ^{motive} ~~of this~~ ~~picture~~ ~~shows~~ but we feel the tension in the slimmer with the lifted ax, the cowardly slyness of the companion who is slipping behind his back and the calm ~~spiritual~~ composure of the man who next moment will have his skull fractured. ~~A fragment of this kind is a strong~~

An original fragment like this seems to us to inspire more admiration for the Tun Huang frescoes than all the reproductions of the large paradise compositions or similar hieratic representations, which have become known. It bears witness to a standard of style and quality that is by no means inferior to the average standard of the pictures on silk and canvas found at the same place. We are thus inclined to disagree with the critic who considers the Tun Huang wall paintings "decidedly provincial and archaic" and inferior to the portable pictures from the same place. There are, no doubt, various degrees of excellence within the frescoes as well as among the silk paintings, and they may include artisan's works as well as high ~~class~~ ^{class} artistic creations such as the fragments brought to the Fogg Museum by Mr. Warner. And why should we not judge the standard of this art by the better specimens rather than by the poorer ones?

* Cf. Binyon, The Catalogue of the Eumorfopoulos Collection of Chinese Frescoes, p. 12.

~~are not necessarily, in quality~~
~~to consider them inferior to the paintings on silk and canvas brought~~
~~from the same site by Sir Aurel Stein and Prof. Pelliot. The correspon-~~
~~dance in style and ^{character} quality between the frescoes and the portable pic-~~
~~tures is on the whole quite close, though it is difficult to draw any~~
~~definite parallels or to form a just appreciation of the ^{bulk of the} whole. It is~~
~~as long as ^{only a minor part of the frescoes} ~~one can see the quality in person as in the pictures.~~~~

(and Delhi) The paintings on silk and cloth from Tun Huang brought to London
 V by Sir Aurel Stein have become ~~well known~~ well known through the
 colour reproductions in "Serindia" and "The Thousand Buddhas" ~~and some~~
 accompanied by excellent descriptions ⁱⁿ descriptive comments by Binyon and Stein. ^{by} The majority among them are of

The Xth century; the earliest date found on any of these pictures is 864, ⁺⁺

the latest 983, most of them are executed in the same line of Chinese
 The prevailing style is the same as in ~~style as the contemporary frescoes~~, but there are also pictures ~~of~~

a more foreign ^{type} i.e. Tibetan and Nepalese, ~~which may be of somewhat~~
 later date. ^{of 4} ~~We have several~~ representations of 'Vibhava's Eastern
 Paradise and Baisayaguru's Eastern Paradise, ^{compositions} ~~which~~ ^{composed} around a large
 central figure seated on a platform which ^{rises gradually} ~~is~~ in a series of
 terraces as ~~may be seen~~ at Chinese temples, ^{and palaces} ~~two of whose Bodhisattvas may~~
 be seated at the sides of the central Buddha, at most of the ~~adorned~~
~~adorned~~ ^{adorned} ~~with~~ ^{with} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~lower~~ ^{lower} ~~terraces~~ ^{terraces},
 and "The scene is rendered festive by the ~~presence~~ ^{presence} of ~~many~~ ^{many} ~~girls~~ ^{girls} ~~performing~~ ^{performing} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~music~~ ^{music} ~~produced~~ ^{produced} ~~by~~ ^{by} ~~Gandharis~~ ^{Gandharis} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~other~~ ^{other} ~~artists~~ ^{artists} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~musicians~~ ^{musicians} ~~who~~ ^{who} ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~shown~~ ^{shown} ~~between~~ ^{between} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~terraces~~ ^{terraces};
 and in the background architectural vistas, sometimes of considerable beauty
 provide an appropriate setting to the serenities of this heavenly revel." ^{xxx}

*Serindia by Sir Aurel Stein. Vol. IV. Pl. I-VI - XIV. The Thousand Buddhas
 etc. with an Introductory Essay by Lawrence Binyon (London 1921).

xxx Stein, Rings of Desert Gateway. Vol. II p. 105.

++ One of the paintings on silk, representing Buddha's disciple Kashyapa, brought by
 Prof. Pelliot from Tun Huang and now in the Musée Guimet, Paris, is inscribed with
 a date which may be read in accordance with A.D. 729. If this reading is correct
 it is more than 100 years earlier than any of the pictures in Brit. Mus. Its artistic
 significance is, however slight and it is now in a poor condition.

represented, i.e. births which, according to ^{the} Buddhist legend, took place in the animal kingdom at the same time as that of ^{the} Salva-muni. Three pairs of animals remain on these fragments: a sheep suckling a lamb, a cow being milked by a woman and licking the head of its calf, and a mare suckling its foal (which later became Prince Siddhartha's faithful horse "Nandika"). The animals are represented in profile against green hills with some flowering plants, but they are more than conventional silhouettes; they are actually painted with light colours, modelled and characterised, each according to its species. The sheep is soft and woolly, ^{the more sinewy} the cow is rather bony and ^{curving its} ~~curving its~~ back as it is being milked. ~~the mare is~~

The painter has depicted something he knew by actual observation and done it so naively and accurately that his still pictures, in spite of their "primitiveness", have become ^{convincing representations} ~~of animal life~~. Pictures like these prove, indeed, that the painters who worked at Tun-huang were by no means incapable of stepping outside the traditional ^{furrows} ~~limits~~ of religious imagery. Nature was evidently to them a ^{more important} ~~source~~ source of inspiration ^{than the religious legends}.

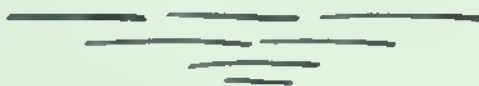
Other fragments of legendary illustrations ~~can be quoted as examples of a vivid and striking representation of human figures or definite situations.~~ ^{Some years ago} ~~in Japan~~ ^{to} ~~a~~ ^{little} picture on silk, brought from Tun-huang by Joze Otsu, which in spite of its small dimensions, impressed as almost like a great wall painting. It ^{represented} ~~shows~~ Prince Siddhartha on horseback suddenly stopping on his way through the city ^{gate} as he perceives two men carrying a dead; in other words, an illustration ^{to} ~~of~~ one of the ^{three so-called} ~~well-known~~ "encounters" of the Prince ~~but~~ rendered in a new and original fashion. Nothing could be simpler as a composition: the two men walking along heavily with the corpse, and the immobile rider in the gateway, but ^{by the contrast between these dramatic figures} ~~the artist has succeeded in expressing~~ ^{and the background of monumental walls and towers the artist has brought} ~~in a note of greatness and strength.~~

~~the actors in their characteristic situations but also by placing them against the background of the monumental walls and towers of the fortified gateway. The rather sketchy and torn little fragment has a power of suggestion which reflects a great artistic tradition.~~

More complete as a picture, though less dramatic as an illustration, is the little fragment on paper in the Pelliot collection in the Louvre, which represents a high official on horseback followed by his squire who carries a lance. The men as well as the horses are here in a perfectly quiet position, apparently watching some situation in front of them, but they are alive, ready to move at any moment. A certain amount of space is ~~created~~ ^{suggested} by the trees and ~~the~~ ^{the} flowering plants which ~~are~~ ^{grow} at a little distance ~~from the riders~~ on the hillside. But here too it is preëminently the firm drawing of the figures which carries the artistic significance and ~~adds~~ ^{lends} to the picture something of the quality of a good mural ~~composition~~. Composition.

From the dated inscriptions found on several of the Tun huang paintings it may be concluded that most of them were executed during the IX and the first half of the Xth century. They are evidently the work of more than one generation and this may also serve to explain the differences in style and quality noticeable in these pictures. A closer stylistic or chronological classification of the very large material has not yet been ~~attempted~~ ^{attempted}, but it seems most probable that the great majority of these pictures was executed by painters ~~who were~~ ^(as monks or lay brethren) attached to the sanctuaries. Single pictures may, of course, have been imported from other parts of China or from Central Asia or executed by masters who had received their education at the great centres of art. ~~Whoever~~ ^{Whoever} the executing artists may have been, it is undeniable that the Tun huang paintings retain a great importance as material for study since ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~few~~ ^{the} genuine Tang ~~pictures~~ ^{pictures} outside of these ~~have been preserved~~ ^{may be counted on} on the fingers of the hand.

The general features which stand out most prominently in these pictures are the grandiose designs and the excellent plastic rendering of the single figures. The spacing of the large compositions is, in spite of all the mass of figures and details that many of them contain, most ~~impressive~~^{interesting} it produces an effect of harmonious loftiness and dignity. There is balance and concentration without repetition or stiffness; movement in the masses which however are kept together by leading lines. The single figures are ~~often~~ powerful; their shapes are well developed and they often take on an air of haughtiness which ~~was~~^{may be observed} also ~~now~~ⁱⁿ the Tang sculptures. The modelling is carried out by lines more than by half-tones, though the colours play here a much more important rôle than in the earlier pictures. Painting was no longer preeminently drawing as it had been during the preceding periods but a creative work in colour supported by line. In fact, it may be questioned whether colouring ~~was~~ was used more freely and abundantly in Chinese painting than in the religious pictures of the Tang period. Just at the side of the large hieratic compositions there are the small illustrative scenes in which the artists give free ~~vent~~ to their individual ideas and observations. Some of these reveal ~~an~~ a very intimate feeling for the life and moods of nature - animals, trees and flowers - which evidently is not inspired by the religious or legendary themes. However slight and unimportant these small pictures may seem, they are nevertheless indications of a landscape art that existed at this time not only as ~~an independent~~ a setting for religious or legendary motives but also as an independent branch of painting based on an intimate relation between the individual artist and the various manifestations of the great life that we call nature.



as hieratic illustrations but also as imaginative works of art. And when the artists go beyond the traditional limits of religious art

The first hundred years of the Tang dynasty were, in the field of painting, hardly more than an introduction to the brilliant efflorescence which became manifest in the reign of Emperor Ming Huang (713-755). Painting followed still to a large extent the same tracks as during the Sui dynasty, the majority of the paintings produced during this century were of a religious type; others had a moral or political purpose, as for instance Yen Li-pen's representations of foreign envoys bringing tribute to the Chinese court, but comparatively few were as yet free individual creations such as landscapes or pictures of animals or scenes from life. ^{It is only towards the end of the VIIth century that the} ~~such~~ pictorial renderings of the life of nature begin to acquire an independent importance and painting becomes a means of expressing spiritual ideas of a different order than those belonging to the Buddhist religion.

From the little we know about Chinese painting during these early years of the Tang period it may be assumed that it was ~~rather~~ ^{stylistic} strongly influenced by the ~~artistic~~ traditions of India and Central Asia. This influence was transmitted not only by foreign painters such as the above mentioned Wei-chih T-seng but also by many Buddhist pilgrims who brought back with them to China reproductions of famous paintings and sculptures which served as models ~~for~~ ^{for} the artists at home. We hear also about Chinese artists who went to India as for instance the sculptor ~~and~~ ^{and} painter Shih Fa-chih, while another artist, Fan Chang-shou, illustrated the Hsi Kuo-chih, a chronicle about travels to the Western countries. The Indian influence may also be observed in many of the finest compositions from T'ang Huang which were executed after designs of the VIIth or VIIIth centuries by later monastic painters.

Reference was already made in the previous chapter to the numerous pictures executed at the beginning of the Tang period in various temples in Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang. Their subjects and masters are enumerated in Li-tai-ming-hua-chi but as no trace of them remains and ^{as} the executing ~~masters~~ ^{artists} with ~~few~~ ^{two or three} exceptions are simply names which cannot be attached to any existing works, we have no reason to dwell on them here. And such is, indeed the case with the great majority of the painters of the Tang period: their names are recorded in the chronicles but their works are obliterated. We have no longer

any possibility of forming an opinion about their artistic character and style through a study of their authentic creations. Yet, the greatest of among these artists still survive as definite personalities, because their lives are extensively recorded and some of their most famous compositions are well described by the early historians or reproduced in later copies. The value of these is of course quite unequal, depending on their age and closeness to the originals, but they ~~offer~~^{offer in} many cases a good support for the study of these early masters. And beside these obvious copies there are a few pictures of early date which have been claimed as originals by masters such as Yen Li-pen, Wang Wei and others, ~~and even if~~^{attributions} which even if they cannot be accepted unreservedly retain a certain interest as the pictures no doubt reflect the styles and the ideas of the respective masters. It is to these copies and imitations that we must turn when trying to obtain some idea about the style and character of the great Tang painters; they are valuable from an historical point of view, particularly when they are supplemented by the comments of the old critics. Were it not for the historical records, hardly any of the early painters would appear to us

for a characterization of these masters, were it not for the literary records, they would hardly appear to us today as definable artistic personalities. It is thus unavoidable to repeat here a certain amount of the traditional records, though we must refer ^{the reader} to the above mentioned ~~works~~ ^{accounts} books by Giles and Waley for ~~more complete~~ ^{more complete} of the anecdotal stories about the painters of Tang.

The oldest among the ~~men~~ ^{men} of the first rank was Yen Li-pen. He belonged to a family of painters. His father Yen-Pi was a well known painter in the Sui period who introduced his two sons Yen Li-te and Yen Li-on into the art of painting. They were active at the court of the great emperors ⁽⁶²⁷⁻⁶⁴⁹⁾ Tai Tsung and Kao Tsung (650-683) and seem to have cooperated ^{the execution of} in the ~~great~~ ^{great} decorative commands. The older brother Yen Li-te was president of the Board of public works (Kung pu) and he was responsible not only for the decorative paintings in the palaces but also for the designs for the imperial carriages, umbrellas, hats and fans. The younger brother Yen Li-pen, who died in 673, seems to have specialized in portrait painting and in the representation of the ~~princes of the empire~~ ^{foreign envoys} who came ~~to the court of China~~ ^{to the court of China} with tributes from the various western ~~kingdoms~~ ^{kingdoms} to the imperial court. He was so to say the official recorder or illustrator of past and present events and characters which were considered of political as well as of moral importance in the history of the Middle Kingdom.

In the 9th year of Wu Te (626) he painted the 18 scholars of the Chin

dynasty who founded the college known as the Abode of the Blessed, and in the 18th year of Ch'eng Kuan¹³ (644) he painted another series of historical portraits, representing the 24 Meritorious Officials in the Ling-yen ko (one of the palace buildings). His name is furthermore connected with an album containing the portraits of Chinese emperors from the Han to the Sui dynasty, to which we will return presently.

His pictures of the embassies from foreign countries ~~are~~ were evidently done from life. Embassies from many of the Western Kingdoms arrived at the capital to bring tribute to the great conqueror Tai Tsung. Languages that never had been spoken at a royal audience before were now heard in Ch'ang an.

"Men remarked upon the variety of costumes that were seen in the open space in front of the palace, and how picturesque they looked ~~as the~~ as the ambassadors moved about with their attendants waiting to be received by the emperor. One of his ministers was so struck by this spectacle that he suggested that artists should be employed to paint from life the different groups as they brought their offerings to court, so that future ages might have some idea of the glory and magnificence of Tai Tsung's reign." The painter chosen to perform the task was evidently Yen Li-pen; he treated subjects like this in several pictures, such as Ch'ih Kung tu (The Tribute, Scarcely) and the Hsi yü t'u (The Western Nations).

The former contained many weird things as for instance two large lions and several smaller ones with heads like tigers and bodies of bears, strange and wild beasts quite unlike the lions painted by other masters. The foreign king was represented seated surrounded by singing girls with musical instruments and ten attendants. Every one looked very solemn but happy. [This description is in Yün Yen Kuo Yen lu. is completed by another in Tang hua lu¹⁴ in which we are told that Yen Li-pen was ordered to paint these strange assemblies in richly ornamented flowery costumes with all their characteristic savage customs such as "nose drinking" and "head flying" (whatever this may mean!).

The Hsi yü t'u was no less remarkable, if we may believe Chao Meng-fu, the great painter and critic of the Yuan period who wrote on it as follows: "In painting the most difficult things are the human figures. Temples, mountains, costumes and manners are also important and the painters of old paid special attention to them. This picture is wonderful in all these respects. Every hair ~~on the figures~~ seems to move and the figures seem

¹³ Macgowan, *Imperial History of China*, p. 297.

¹⁴ The quotations are from the extracts in *Ch'ing ho shu hua pang*, III, p. 31-73.

The general features which stand out most prominently in these pictures are the grandiose designs and the excellent plastic modelling of single figures. The spacing of the great compositions is, in spite of the ~~enormous~~ ^{enormous} ~~size~~ ^{scale}.

His pictures of foreign envoys were evidently ~~illustrations~~ highly picturesque

to speak as in a vision. A truly divine work of art!"

The Chih Kung t'u together with two other pictures by Yen Li-pen was in Emperor Ch'ien lung's collection and is said to have consisted of twenty five parts. It may be one of these which exists in a copy in the National Museum in Peking where it used to be exhibited under Yen Li-pen's name. The composition answers well to the descriptions of the work; it contains a number of strange looking men with very large grotesque heads, some in long gowns, others almost naked, carrying all sorts of marvellous objects such as elephants' tusks, large pieces of petrified wood (or minerals), ~~flans~~ ^{flans} made of colourful plumes, bows and caskets, or leading different kinds of rare and wild animals. The picture is highly entertaining as an illustration, the characterization of the figures is almost dramatic, and though the execution reveals a copying hand, the picture ~~the~~ transmits an air of extraordinary concentration and originality. It makes us realize that the enthusiasm of the old critics for Yen's paintings of weird people and animals was by no means exaggerated.

Yen Li-pen painted also Buddhist subjects, though of a rather unusual kind as for instance Manjusri's visit to Vimalakirti and the ~~the~~ "Brushing of the Elephant", both mentioned by Chang Ch'ou in Ch'ing-ho shu hua fang. After having described the former, which was painted in colours on silk in a most refined manner, he says, that it was no exaggeration when Yen was called by his contemporaries "the colour magician". The other picture representing the Brushing of the Elephant, is not described, but the composition is known through later copies of which the best (known to ~~us~~) is in the Frer Gallery. This is surprising in so far as the general appearance of the ~~the~~ ^{the trees} composition and the types of the figures correspond quite closely to what we know about Tang art, but the glossy silk or satin on which it is painted seems to be of late origin. It is difficult to say at what time the picture was executed but it was evidently done by a man who knew how to preserve the characteristics of Tang style. It is not a dead copy but a thing which is artistically alive in spite of (or perhaps because) its rather worn condition which adds to the difficulty of reaching conclusion as to its age. The colouring with its blue and cinnamon red pigments is also of a decidedly early type.

...the above mentioned collection... Li-shan...
well known scroll, representing thirteen persons...
to Shih-ti, who after... original work...
Li-shan. The picture was issued in series of reproductions...
...in 1117...
...the exhibition. ~~It was then in the possession of Mr. Li-shan.~~

Judging from these reproductions, it is evident that they show
portraits in this scroll...; most of
them are of a rather crude and unrefined quality... of
a high class, but others, like Ch'ien Hsueh-ti and Ch'ien Hsueh-shih, are dis-
tinctly superior and possibly of a more recent date. In a letter to a well known
critic of the 17th century, Li-shan-chi, tells us that
this picture in such a damaged condition that he had to have it
it completely until it was remounted. Then this picture was
examined it was clear the ^{the conclusion that} portrait of Ch'ien Hsueh-ti
Ch'ien Hsueh-shih by Wen Li-shan, while the rest of the portraits
to be a copy. To us it seems however that the portraits of Ch'ien Hsueh-ti
and Ch'ien Hsueh-shih reveal the same...
...Li-shan's ~~is~~ less evident. It may well be that
all these portraits are made after the portrait of Ch'ien Hsueh-ti...
that ~~is~~, it would be better to say ^{straight} ~~figures~~ ^{figures}...
...these portraits... ~~these~~ ^{these}...
...the 17th period but...
with the ~~is~~. Some might be led to the conclusion that...
...these portraits are copies made...
T'ang-period. Wen Li-shan may have painted some similar series of portraits
but from all that we know about his artistic faculty, we might even
even his most traditional pictures had more life and character. ~~It has~~
~~been suggested by many critics that the whole of this picture was made~~

²Cf.aley, op.cit.p. III.

It was, after all, preeminently the extraordinary vitality and character in Yen Li-pen's figures which aroused the enthusiasm of the old critics. He is said to have mastered all "the six principles" but his greatness as a ~~painter~~ genius depended on the "chi yung," the spirit harmony" to use Hsieh Ho's expression. He was original, fantastic, creative even to the degree of neglecting natural verisimilitude and the laws of nature. Very telling in this respect are some of the remarks made by a twelfth century writer, Tung Yu on Yen's picture Wei Chiao t'u (The Bridge on the Wei River):⁴⁹

"The picture represented the Court of Han accepting homages from some foreign tribes on the Wei River at the first month of the year. Its length and breadth, far and near could not be measured. Hibiscus, amaranth and plums were all blooming together. Men, horses, houses and trees were all out of shape. It was not like the pictures of today. What was the reason of its excellence? It seems to me that the people who discuss pictures attach too much importance to outward likeness which is not the real thing in art. If an artist is to reach spiritual significance, he must give an original interpretation and avoid the traditional. It is not enough to lay on colours copy the shapes and. That is like taking off the cloths and to coil up instead of laying down to rest which ~~can~~ will enable you to move freely afterwards. In such a way people will never reach ^{a proper} appreciation of the brush work of a man like Yen Li-pen."

⁴⁹ Quoted in Ch'ing-ho shu hua fan ^{III} after Huang Chuan Kuei pu

cal instruments and ten attendants. Everyone looked very solemn but happy. It was painted in the time of emperor Tai Tsung, and also known as the Wang Hui-t'u (The Meeting of the Kings)

Somewhat younger than Yen Li-pen, though still active mainly in the VIth Century was Li Su-hsien, whose high social rank and official connections ~~possibly~~ no doubt increased his personal influence and authority also in the field of art. ~~He was a great friend~~ ^{His descent from} of the founder of the Tang dynasty is never forgotten in any account of his artistic activity, and the name under which he has become best known to posterity is General Li or "the Great General" in distinction to his son Li Chao-tao, who has become known as "the little General." It was however only towards the end of his life when Hsing Huang came to throne (713) that he was made a general and ennobled as a duke; previously, under emperor Kao Tsung (650-684) he had held some less prominent official post and during the reign of Empress Wu Hou (684-704) he is said to have lived in retirement. The years of his birth and death are not certain, but it seems probable that he was born about 650 and died 716 or 720. The stories about his competitions with Wa Tao-tzu seem ^{to} times impossible from a chronological point of view and may apply to the activity of his son and artistic heir rather than to his own. It may also be noted that Li Su-hsien's fame as a landscape painter has been extolled particularly by critics and artists who represented the official academic current in Chinese art — for them he was "the greatest of the dynasty" or "a peer-less ^{up to this day} artist"; to quote the Confucian scholar and statesman Ou-yang Hsien of the Sung dynasty — while other critics, like Mi Fei and Tung Chi-ch'ang, whose point of view is more purely aesthetic or "romantic" consider him a rather dry and poor master of the brush.

Historically Li Su-hsien's position in Chinese art-history is ~~usually~~ usually defined with the words, "he was the founder of the Northern School of landscape painting"; and a great deal of speculation has been bestowed by Western critics on the reason for and significance of the division of Chinese landscape art into a Northern and a Southern school. This has been caused by the terms "North" and "South", which are practically inexplicable without some ~~knowledge~~ ^{knowledge} about their historical origin. They have been borrowed from the history of Buddhism and have no geographical significance as explained in the following paragraph from Tung Chi-ch'ang's Hua Yen²⁴:

"The division of Ch'ian (the Shyana or Zen sect) into a Southern and

²⁴ Cf. Giles, op. cit. p. 46

²⁵ Hua-hsüeh-hsin-yin. Vol. III. p. 7.

a Northern school took place in the Tang period; a similar division in painting was started in the same period but the men (the representatives of the two schools) did not come from the South and the North. Thus Li Ssu-hsün, father and son, represented the Northern school—they applied colour to their landscapes—and this school was continued into the Sung period by Chao Kuan⁴, Chao B. Chü⁵ and Chao B. hsiao down to Ma Yüan, Hsia Kuei and others. The Southern School was represented by Wang Mo-chü (Wang Wei) who first used thin washes of ink (hsüan tan) changing thus the fine grinding (cut and dry) method, and this was perpetuated by Chang Tsao, Ching Hsao, Kuan Tung, Tung Yüan, Chü fan, Kuo Chung-shu and Mi, father and son down to the four great masters of the Yüan period. This was like the division of Ch'ian after the sixth patriarch (Hui Neng, d. 713) when the Yün Men and Lin Chi schools flourished while the Northern school began to grow weak. Important in this respect is the statement of Mo Chü (Wang Wei) that the forms of the clouds, peaks and flowers were produced by the power of Heaven and that the ideas expressed by with the brush should be in accordance with those of the Creator. When Su Tung-p'o admired Ma Tao-yuan's and Wang Wei's wall paintings he said: as to Wang Wei, he is unfathomable—True words, indeed⁶.

Tung Chü-ch'ang's presentation of Li Ssu-hsün is evidently biased by his own adherence to an opposite stylistic current yet, it can hardly be denied that Li's art (in so far as it can be known today) is more interesting from a historical than from an aesthetic point of view. Its peculiar character lies in the decorative stylization of the wide dioramic views of mountains and water or palace gardens with pavilions, bridges and terraces into a pattern of motifs

* A landscape painter of the 8th cent. active in the South Tang state. The other painters enumerated in the above quotation are all more mentioned in our text in the following chapters.

* Ch'ian T'undellism divided at the end of the VIIth century into a Southern and a Northern school, the former headed by Hui Neng, the latter by Shen Hsün. The Southern school of Ch'ian which gradually became the most important flourished at various places, after which it was named such as Yün Men and Lin Chi (see Elliot, op. cit. vol. II, p. 309) Tung Chü-ch'ang implies that the Southern school of landscape art gained a similar preponderance in painting as the Yün Men and Lin Chi schools in Ch'ian T'undellism.

blue and green shapes interspersed with white and reddish tones and often outlined with gold. The execution is very minute, refined and sensitive to the utmost, ~~but~~ the bewildering mass of small and exact details does not break the atmosphere or tone of the whole composition. The motives are often grandiose in spite of the small scale of the representation - boundless stretches of water, rugged, inaccessible peaks, piercing through the circling clouds, deep valleys with thickets of flowering trees, lofty palaces with open galleries at the border of streams spanned by arched bridges on which solitary figures stand in ^{contemplation} ~~meditation~~. They are no views from the common world of mortals, the inspiration for them seems rather to have been drawn from fairy tales, in which heaven and earth meet like the white clouds and the green mountains and the sun paints a golden ~~border~~ lining round every form.

We know these pictures of Li Szu-hsün today only through copies and descriptions but even these transmit a quite vivid and definite idea of the master's art. Foremost among the copies should be remembered the long ^(~~scroll~~) scroll in the Freer Gallery, which may not be more than 2 or 300 years old but yet seems to reproduce quite faithfully and in a rather sensitive technical execution an important composition by Li. It is called A landscape with hsün jen (sages) and it is ~~composed of~~ ^{filled with} the elements mentioned above, pleasantly woven together into a ^{single} ~~single~~ decorative composition that stretches over 12 feet.

Another important composition by Li existed till a few years ago in the Imperial Household Collection in Peking** but may ~~now~~ ^{since} have passed into private hands. I have never seen it and ~~can~~ ^{can} thus ~~express~~ ^{express} my opinion as to its authenticity but it is said to have been the same picture which ~~belonged to the Ming palace collection~~ ^{belonged to the Ming palace collection} ~~which was destroyed in the 17th century~~ ^{during the Sung and} and which is described in some detail by the author of *Ching-ho slau hua fang* (1617) under the poetical title "Gay-coloured lotuses in the Imperial Garden". He writes

*) It is this picture which induced Dr. Lauffer to the exclamation: "He who has not seen the wonderful roll attributed to Li Szu-hsün in the possession of Mr. Freer does not know what art is, - in technique as well as in mental depth perhaps the greatest painting in existence. Greek and Italian art fade into a trifle before this glorious monument of a divine genius, which it would be futile to describe in any words." *Ostasiat. Zeitschr.* I. p. 55.

**) Cf. Fergusson, *Op. cit.* p. 70.

Someone had younger than Yen Li-pen, though still active mainly in the VIIth Century was Li Sou-hsin, a son of the imperial house whose social rank and high official connections

of small size and
 "It was painted with brilliant colours, gold, green and deep red, in an old fashioned and refined manner, surpassing all common things, and was indeed the masterpiece of General Yün Hui (Li Sou-hsün). Unfortunately the poems written on it by Ni Yün-chên and Wang Shu-ming (two of the greatest painters of the Yüan period) have not been preserved. The author then quotes the description by Wang Chih-tung of the same picture: "It contained high buildings (palaces), temples, houses and door screens, boats and oars, all painted with wonderful skill and refinement. Every detail, down to the grass straws (could be observed) The ~~clear~~ shining mountains were illuminated by the setting sun, the billowing waters of the lake were stretching beyond limit, ~~the red flowers, the rustling streams, the green trees, covering clouds~~ ^{and the red flowers, the rustling streams, the green trees, covering clouds} ~~moats, and so on~~. The Tang painters were not far removed from those of the Chin dynasty; the traditions of the Kai-chih and Lu Tan-wai still lingered. No later painters have been able to imitate them as closely."

Li Sou-hsün's position and characteristics as an artist could hardly be better defined; he was not only an exceedingly delicate painter and a master technician, whose manner in a peculiar way corresponded to the ceremonial refinement of the court-life, but also an original and highly imaginative creator who introduced a style which became of great consequence for the development of Chinese landscape painting. It is true that the greatest ~~artists~~ personalities did not follow in his footsteps, but the current he started lived on not only through the Tang but also through the Sung and Ming dynasties (for instance in the works of Chao Po-chü and Chin Ying) and was still in later times often reproduced as the most appropriate manner for rendering the decorative splendour of palace gardens and the imaginative beauty of fairy-lands. It was hardly his fault that it gradually became stereotyped and that so many of the later pictures of this type with their gold-lined blue mountains and green ~~waters~~ ^{waters} are as cold and flat and artificial as a miniature garden or a porcelain tray.

Li's son Li Chao-tao continued faithfully his father's style, though evidently with less strength and creative imagination. Some of the works traditionally ascribed to the father may actually have been by the son; it may have been he who competed with Wu Tao-tzu in

been done by several inferior painters, it is only natural that this type of coloured landscapes appear to us as a whole less interesting than the monochrome ink paintings in the style of the leading masters.

Li's son the "Little General" is said to have continued his father's manner, though with less vigour and strength, and some of the works ascribed traditionally to the father may actually have been by the son. If Li Ssu-shün died between 716 and 719, as usually admitted, it could not have been he, but rather his son who competed with Wu Tao-t'ien in painting the sceneries of Szachuan and later on represented the flight of emperor Ming Huang in a scroll. He must also have been responsible for the famous picture on a screen, ordered by the same emperor, which was so natural "that one could hear at night the splashing of the waves." He may, indeed, have been somewhat less formal and more naturalistic in his landscapes than his great father.

Later pictures ascribed to Li Chao-tao have no gold lines around the mountain silhouettes like the copies after Li Ssu-shün, though they are composed in a similar manner with sharply cut rocks which ^{lift} their pinnacles through the circling clouds and tall trees in the deep valleys where diminutive figures travel on horse-back. Such a picture on a large scale ^{with vivid colours} may be seen in the University Museum in Philadelphia; the composition is characteristic but the execution can hardly be before the end of Ming or later.*)

Somewhat similar in style, ^{and far} ~~more~~ superior from an artistic point of view, is a small picture in the National Museum in Peking. It represents travellers resting ^{in the mountain glades} or starting on their journey ^{the roads which lead over the} along steep ~~mountain~~ masses, and ^{it is probable that} ~~the picture had a continuation, in other words, that it is a section of a~~ ~~fragment of a longer scroll illustrating a continuous mountain scenery.~~ The splitted rocks with sharp peaks, the ornamental cloud-beds circling around them, and the map-like spreading out of the view are elements derived from Li's ~~art~~ landscape style, and the rather vivid colouring with green, blue, gray and reddish tones lead our thoughts in the same direction. The picture is attributed to an anonymous master of the Sung dynasty, ^{but} ~~whose~~ its style is definitely earlier, and ^{closely allied to the manner of the Li-school.} ~~whoever he may have been, he has followed closely in the footsteps of Li Chao-tao.~~

A better known picture ^{to} which Li Chao-tao's name is attached is the fragment formerly in the Golubew collection and now in the Museum in Boston, which

*) According to Fergusson, op. cit. 71. This picture belongs to the well known collector of the Ming period Hsüang Mo-ling ^{and then to emperor Ch'ien Lung.}

represents a summer palace of the T'ang emperors, called Chiu Ch'eng and situated at Feng-hsiang fu in Shensi. The colouring of the picture which must have been quite brilliant, is partly worn off or subdued, ~~by~~ a condition which adds to its atmosphere of age and refinement. The white marble balustrades of the terraces, the red walls and pillars of the pavillions and the pale blue rid-
curving
ges of the roofs were originally framed by green-blue mountains and white clouds, but ~~on these~~ only minor spots of ^{the pigments} ~~color~~ remain. It is however difficult to believe that the picture would have been executed before the Sung dynasty; from a stylistic and technical point of view we would rather place it later than the above mentioned picture in Peking. The main part of it, the map-like representation of the palace composition with its successive courts and pavillions, is an excellent example of what the Chinese call chieh hua, or pictures ^{sketched} ~~done~~ with a ruler. Such architectural views which form a special and much admired group class within Chinese painting, ^{became} ~~were~~ particularly developed during the Five Dynasties and the Sung period, but if we may accept the traditional attribution of the picture here under discussion, at least in so far as the design is concerned, Li Chao-tao would have been a great innovator also in this direction. The question must be left open as long as we have no other materials either to support or to disprove Li Chao-tao's connection with the chieh hua. His rather advanced standpoint as a landscape painter is also suggested by the title of another of his pictures: Lo chao, Declining light or Sunset.

~~one must think that the~~ ^{*} ~~official position of Li Ser-huan and his constant~~ ^{*} ~~occupation at the imperial court and a certain influence on the~~ ^{*} ~~development of~~
~~his somewhat cold and~~
~~and falling toward manner of his painting~~ but there were other painters who
reached the same degree of official promotion and close association with the
court ^{and} nevertheless ^{remained in their art exponents of a much}
^{individualistic styles.}
~~more impressionistic manner~~ among them was Wang Wei, who rose to the po-
sition of an Imperial censor and who belonged to the ^{brilliant} ~~company~~ of poets and
which surrounded first the emperor's protectors and then ^{himself} ~~himself~~. Among
the artists of the T'ang dynasty he may be called the most accomplished, because
~~he is the most talented~~ ^{considered to} the Chinese, ~~as he is on the true artist~~ ^{was a}
scholar; in 721, at the age of 22, he had passed the 'chin-shih' degree, a born

of Cf. The excellent system reproduction in Art History, vol. I, (1919) and the accompanying notes

The cultural background of the middle part of the Tang period was in many respects different from that of the earlier years of the same dynasty. The time of political conquest and expansion had passed and the military efforts had more and more to be concentrated on the defence of the great empire against aggressive neighbours and interior rebels. It was the latter who dealt the first serious blows against the security of the state and by weakening its power of resistance opened the road for the foreign aggressors.

The religious enthusiasm which had been a most important factor in the political as well as in the artistic life of the Tang state, lost something of its constructive strength and changed gradually into a kind of romantic mysticism which was ~~rather~~ far removed from the historic and rather mundane forms of Buddhism which had played such an important role in the reign of empress Wu (684-704). There were temporary reactions against the Buddhist ~~institutions~~ ^{as} or inst. at the beginning of emperor Hsien Tzung's reign when the building of monasteries was forbidden and some 12,000 monks were ordered to return to the world, but these were followed by periods of restoration and official favour. Buddhism was not suppressed but it became modified from within by the ~~introduction~~ introduction of more mystical or devotional schools and outwardly through the increasing influence of Taoism, and other forms of religion such as Manichaeism, Nestorianism, Muhammedanism and Zoroastrianism. The spirit of the age grew more and more eclectic; ~~examples~~ ^{examples} could be quoted of men who in spite of their anti-Buddhist activities, ordered that they should be served by the Buddhist clergy after death.⁴⁾

The capital of the Chinese empire, ~~Ch'ang~~ became an international centre of intellectual and commercial intercourse. People from every corner of Asia flocked here; the most exquisite products of Persia, Arabia and India were brought ^{to Ch'ang-an} for the enjoyment of the highly cultured Chinese society. The ladies of ~~the court~~ ^{the court} were dressed in "Western fashion" and the rich noblemen imported their horses from Fergana and their falcons from the lands of the Uighurs and the Töcharians. Learned men from India and Central Asia found still a home in some of the numerous temples in the capital, to which also students ~~came~~

⁴⁾ Cf. Sir Charles Elliot, op. cit. III. p. 262

gathered from eastern countries like Korea and Japan. These institutions served a similar purpose as the universities of Paris and Padua some six hundred years later, though the spiritual instruction imparted in them had a deeper and broader human scope than medieval scholasticism.

Still it was poetry and painting which more than anything else contributed to make of this period a "golden age" of Chinese culture comparable to the greatest epochs of Greece or Italy. ~~Then~~ ^{Poets} like Tu Fu (712-770) and Li Po (689-762) are still counted among the few universally admired and beloved representatives of their art, Han Yu was a prose writer of the ~~first~~ highest order and ~~the~~ painters like Wu Tao-tzu and Wang Wei have, in spite of the fact that their original creations are irretrievably lost, retained their places in the foremost rank of Chinese art-history. The official centre of this brilliant crowd of writers and poets was Emperor Ming Huang ~~712-755~~ who himself was no mean poet. His long reign (713-755) was a period of changing political fortunes but in the field of arts and letters the political dissensions caused hardly more than a temporary set back and a change of tone and milieu.

At the beginning of his reign ~~the Emperor~~ ^{Ming Huang} was in many respects a model ruler who with the assistance of very able ministers did a great deal to improve the lot of the common people. He carried out reforms in the government and applied strict economy; he instituted schools throughout the empire and prison reforms and went even so far as to abolish capital punishment. The highest culture was cared for by foundation of the literary ~~Academy~~ ^{College} (Han-lin), and the state examinations. A new and finer kind of string music was cultivated in a kind of imperial academy which was named after the "Pear garden," where it was situated; the painters became also eligible to the Han-lin. In 725 he ordered that the "Hall of Assembled Spirits" should be renamed "Hall of the Assembled Worthies," because spirits were mere tables, but ^{as the years went by} ~~gradually~~ he became more and more ^{dependant on the} ~~addicted to~~ Taoist magicisms and consented finally to the dispatch of an expedition in search of the elixir of immortality. The rational reforms from the early years of his reign were ~~more and more~~ ^{increasingly} belauded by superstitious practices and the sumptuary laws were forgotten in the growing desire for luxury which was nourished at the brilliant court of Ming Huang.

The longer he lived the less he cared about the political affairs of the ~~state~~ ^{state} empire (which consequently became more and more desorganised) and the more he devoted himself to the artistic enjoyments and the enchanting beauties of his harem. Among them were of course many wonderful dancers and singers, ~~who were~~ trained under a ~~first~~ ^{famous} dancing master, ~~and~~ who knew how to perform the posturing dances to perfection. "And the girls sang again and again to make the gauze dresses dance.... The clear wind blew the songs away into the empty sky: the sound coiled in the ~~wind~~ air like moving clouds in flight", writes Li Po to a friend in memory of former excursions in Ch'ang-an. He was one of the "Immortals of the wine cup" and so was ~~Wu~~ ^{the great Tao-tzu} one of those who would create ~~only~~ when they felt freed from the trammels of material existence ~~a~~ state of animation which they sought with the help of the wine cup, when they could not find it by other means. "In this way they could attain real spirit (shen) which enabled them to accomplish what ^{really} was in their mind", to use the words of the Hsien Ho hua pu.

As the years passed this hectic search for beauty and for a life of enjoyment beyond that of ordinary mortals ~~had~~ became more ~~debased~~ ^{debased} with frivolity and extravagance. The emperor became so infatuated with Yang Kuei-fei, the famous beauty, who played the role of Helen of Troy in China, that he almost lost his empire. The noble youths ~~who should~~ ^{whose duty it was to} defend the throne had no longer any interest for such pursuits. The generals became corrupted, military defeats followed in quick succession, and the final blow came in 756 when the Tartar commander An Lu-shan revolted and marched on the capital. The court fled in greatest haste to Szechuan, and on the way the emperor had to pay a still greater price for his life. ~~He~~ ^{He} was forced to leave Yang Kuei-fei to be hanged by the soldiers. "Alas, O, traveller, why did you come to so fearful a place", writes Li Po in memory of these events.

The adventure of An Lu-shan did not last more than a few months, but it was enough to break the spell of the dream and to open the door for a reaction against the life of the Immortals. When the imperial armies reentered Ch'ang-an and the son of Ming Huang was placed on the throne of his ancestors, they found

a city which had been pillaged and burnt, and from where most of the poets and artists had fled with their kin. "For an eternity my entire household stumbled forward on foot...in mud, in mire we dragged, clung to one another", writes Tu Fu and then, after a description of the burning of the imperial palaces and the massacre of the people, he adds: "Old men who had seen years pace one hundred cycles, in secret wept with silent tears."¹⁾

Tu Fu was captured by An Lu-shan's men and taken back into a kind of captivity to the capital; Wang Wei, the famous poet-painter, who held a high official post, was forced to serve the rebel chief; other prominent men committed suicide. What happened to Wu Tao-tzu? Did he stay on in the capital or did he escape to some quieter place, where his gods and dragons were in greater demand? History is silent on this point. ~~We~~ We do not know even how long he survived this political disaster, *but the chances are that he died in his sixties about 760.*

~~***~~ Wu Tao-tzu ~~***~~

Were we to write an imaginative history of Chinese painting a great deal could be said about Wu and his great fresco compositions *(which are said to have reached the number of 300)*, but as such is not ~~our~~ our task, we must not submit to the ~~strangely~~ appeal of the strangely imaginative stories told about him. We must rather turn to the scraps of historical information about his works that have been preserved.

The earliest is probably a poetical allocation by Po Chü-i, who in 814 ~~wrote~~ *Travelled to the Temple of Wu-chên* a poem about the Wu-chên ssu temple near Ch'ang-an, where he saw *"on a plastered wall frescoes from the hand of Wu, whose pencil-colours never fading glow"++)* ~~written by Wu fresh as the day it was painted. Two centuries later, when the temple was visited by another poet, the pictures no longer existed. Towards the end of the 11th century when the historical interest in old pictures had reached its height, and connoisseurs such as Mi Fei and Su Tung-po searched all over the country to find works by the great masters of T'ang and earlier dynasties, not more than half a dozen authentic paintings by him seem to have existed. Su Tung-po mentions a fresco in Lung-hsin ssu in Ju-chou, Honan, and possibly one or two more pictures; Mi Fei enumerates four works: a Buddha and attendants, belonging to Su Tung-po, a pair of Devarājas (guardians), the Heavenly boat (T'ien P'eng) and a Mahakarma Avalokitesvara, *all in private possession.* ~~belonging to various collectors.~~ But he adds that imitations after Wu's ~~paints~~ compositions are very common: "Whenever people get hold of some Buddhist painting, they call it Wu Tao-tzu".⁺⁺⁺⁾~~

¹⁾ Cf. Florence Ayseough, *Tu Fu, the Autobiography of a Chinese Poet* (London 1929) p. 209. 213

⁺⁺⁾ Arthur Waley, *The Temple and Other Poems*, p. 111. (London 1923)

⁺⁺⁺⁾ Waley, *op. cit.* p. 114.

If such was the case already in the Sung period, it can cause little wonder that Wu's name has been attached to many Buddhist pictures in later times. It was evidently used in a somewhat similar fashion as that of Giotto or "Scuola di Giotto" during the ~~XIIIth~~ early part of the XIXth century in Italy, when most pictures of archaic appearance on gold ground were classified under this label. The situation becomes, however, still more confusing in the case of Wu, because not only school paintings and early imitations ~~have been~~ ^{have been} honoured with his name but also copies and free renderings of his designs executed several centuries later. To these various classes of imitations belonged ~~probably~~ ^{no doubt most of} the 93 "Wu Tao-tzus" in the collection of emperor Hui Tsung (which hardly could have been unknown to Mi Fei), and possibly also the picture mentioned under his name in emperor Ch'ien Lung's catalogue.

~~The most faithful and interesting reproductions of Wu's designs are probably among the reproductions after designs by a special group of figures~~
the stone engravings which have become widely known through squeezes or rubbings in black and white. ~~They are as a rule not disfigured by any additions or arbitrary pigments~~ ^{They are as a rule not disfigured by any additions or} ~~without any loss of accuracy~~ and may thus (in the best instances) give a truer idea about Wu's style than ~~any paintings~~ ^{the painted copies}, particularly as we are told that the master executed many of his wall paintings simply with bold strokes in monochrome. Most popular among these engravings after Wu's designs are the representations of Kuanyin, the merciful Bodhisattva, which ~~may well~~ ^{seems to} have been a favourite motive of Wu's. There are three or four variations on this motive, all indicated as engraved after Wu Tao-tzu ^{on slabs} in the Pei-lin in Sian-fu, and several others known through rubbings or painted copies. In most of these the Bodhisattva is represented standing on billowing waters, wearing a long mantle which is blown by the wind, so that the folds take on the same movement as the waves, and ~~by a~~ ^{crowned} ~~high~~ ^{by a} ~~diadem~~ ^{diadem}. In some of the later renderings she is accompanied by a small boy attendant, the Shan Ts'ai, and or ~~by two~~ ^{by her} ~~two~~ ^{two} acolytes, as may be seen in the curious picture in the Freer Gallery, "Kuanyin with the fish-basket", which must be a rather free and latish trans~~lation~~ ^{position} of Wu's famous design. One of the best ~~and most~~ versions of this Kuanyin type, known to ~~us~~ is the engraving at Lin-lao shan, which is reproduced here from a rubbing acquired in Peking. ^{It} ~~has the advantage of representing~~ ^{Bodhisattva} the ~~figure~~ ^{figure} with out any extra additions and with a very characteristic treatment of the wavy mantle-folds.

Other Stone engravings after Wu Tao-tzu's standing Kuanyin ~~were~~ ^{are} to be found in Ling-feng shu at San Tai-hsien in Szechuan (dated 1591) and Ta-shih-ko, likewise in Szechuan. A third one was in the To'ung sheng temple at Tai-lin-fu, Yunnan. Cf. Lanfer in Oriental. Literature, I, p. 39

T94

Quite distinct from this type ~~of design~~ ^{the Kuan-yin} is ~~the figure which shows the Bodhi~~
 on a cliff
~~seated~~ seated at the sea shore ~~usually~~ with some worshippers at her feet. The
 most famous and beautiful version of this design is the large picture in Daito-
 kuji in Kyoto, which is traditionally ascribed to Wu Tao-tzu, though it hardly
 could have been executed before the end of ^{the} Sung ~~or Yuan~~ dynasty. The figure is
 represented in life size in the lita-sana-posture (with one leg placed cross-
 wise over the knee of the other), and the ^{significance} ~~importance~~ of the design is height-
 ened by the two ^{large} ~~large~~ circles, ~~as~~ one forming an aureol around the head, the
 other a nimbus around the body. At his feet are a number of realistically treat-
 ed figures clinging ^{to the} lotus leaves ~~which are scattered on the ground~~. ^{on the water. The composition is probably a free}
^{transposition of some design by Wu.} ~~and composition is probably limited to the general features of~~
~~the principal figure~~

Another group of stone engravings said to be after designs ^{the masters} ~~by~~ represent
 the portrait of Confucius, of which the most famous is in the memorial temple ~~x~~
 at Chu-fu. In Pei-lin at Sian-fu there is a ^{minor} representation of Confucius and his
 pupil Yen-tzu, ^{walking side by side. Particularly the former is a highly impressive rendering of a}
^{powerful and venerable} ~~which also is said to be after Wu. They are impressive by their~~
^{Chinese} ~~realistic representation of the magnificent type, but have very slight interest as~~
^{portraits though it can hardly be called a characteristic portrait in the ordinary sense} ~~portraits of characteristic type of the great sage.~~

The British Museum possesses ^{also} a remarkable rubbing of an engraving ^{ed stone} ~~of~~ said to ex-
 ist ~~at~~ ^{of} Chêng-tu in Szechuan, representing the "Dark Warrior of the North", i.e.

a big tortoise encircled by a snake (her male counterpart, according to Chinese
 mythology). It bears Wu Tao-tzu's name, and ^{it may well be said that the rather strange}
 ^{motive here is treated with a wonderful combination of plastic form and}
^{ornamental beauty worthy of a great master} ~~a great master who knew how to combine ornamental beauty with a monumental~~
~~production of form and artistic suggestion. (See plate XLV in Waley, op. cit.).~~

A very interesting stone engraving which probably reproduces ^{quite} ~~faith-~~
 fully a design by Wu is the Flying Devil ^{at the torso of} the Tung-yueh miao or Tao Wang
 tien in Chü-yang hsien, Chihli. This ^{bouncing} ~~devil-like figure~~ devil-like guardian, who
 with a spear ^{leaps} ~~drives~~ through the air while the wind is ^{driv} ~~grasping~~ his cloths and
 hair into long fluttering pennants, is dominated by that ^{peculiar} ~~peculiar~~
^{whirling} ~~movement~~ movement which ^{to judge by the old descriptions of his works}
^{must have been most characteristic of Wu's designs.} ~~production of a painted figure which was part of a great fresco in the~~

The ~~figure~~ ^{figure} is repeated in two engravings, one on each side of the broad staircase ~~which~~ ^{which} leads up to the terrace. The older one, on the west side, may be of the XVIIth century; it carries the following inscription: "Wu Tao-tzu's brush. The magistrate from Tung-lu (Shantung), ~~called~~ ^{called} Chao Tai, engraved the stone. (A spirit of the Hing Mountain, Ts'ing, flying down like a white devil with a spear. Swift as the wind he descends from the clouds to kill and to strike, an agent of Heaven who deals out punishment and clears up the dark secrets so that the country and the people may ~~have~~ be peaceful for ever." An additional inscription of similar content is written by a magistrate of Chiu-yang.

The ~~other~~ engraving ^{on the opposite side of the staircase} of the same figure was executed in 1847 when the ~~earlier~~ ^{earlier} ~~one~~ ^{one} ~~on the west side~~ had begun to ~~show~~ ^{show} signs of deterioration.

It may furthermore be noticed that this same Flying Devil appears in a great wall painting in the ^{main} hall of the temple which (naturally) also is ascribed to Wu. It represents a heavenly King with ^{along} ~~his~~ ^{retinue} descending on clouds, an impressive design which may be a free rendering of ~~some~~ composition by Wu, though hardly executed before the latter part of the Ming period. The present building does not give the impression of a greater age, ~~though it~~ ^{but it} ~~was no doubt~~ ^{was no doubt} preceded by an earlier building on the same site. The place was the centre of a small kingdom at the end of the Tang dynasty.

when we turn to the paintings ascribed to Wu the connection ^{my links become} ~~of~~ ^{an absolutely} ~~looser~~ ^{of his composition}. We do not know any one which could be accepted as ~~a~~ ^{an} faithful translation. The most famous ones are probably the three pictures forming a trinity - Sakyamuni, Manjusri and Samantabhadra - at Tofukuji, Kyoto, large ink-paintings, ~~an~~ ^{my} impressive design but rather ~~xxx~~ ⁱⁿ slack ~~xxx~~ ^{execution}. The very broad brush-strokes ~~xxxxxxx~~ with a wavy movement ~~retten~~ perhaps some echo of Wu's manner, but they are lacking in strength and significance. They may well be, as generally accepted, works of the Yuan dynasty, but to what extent they reproduce designs by Wu, is impossible to tell. A later repetition of the ~~middle figure~~ ^{central figure}, Sakyamuni, is ~~to be seen~~ in the Inner Gallery in ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~temple~~ ^{temple}.

Another painting which often has been quoted under Wu Tao-tzu's name is the scroll known as T'ien Tang Sung ~~tsu~~ ^{tsu}, the Birth or Presentation of Buddha, ~~formerly in the Manchukuo Household collection in Peking and~~ ^{now} belonging to Mr. Yamamoto, Tejiro in Tokyo. It is ~~very~~ ^{very} interesting as a novel and fantastic interpretation of a traditional motif. A heavenly king, Pzu Ts'ai (Siva?), accompanied by some guardians and court-ladies, is receiving a huge dragon held by two men, who ~~exert~~ ^{exert} themselves to the utmost, while Buddha's mother seems to receive a message from another celestial being, a Fudo, surrounded by flames in which various apparitions including the future Buddha appear. The last group shows king Sudhodana and queen Maya walking away with the new born babe. Among the annotations accompanying the picture is one purporting to be by Li Lung-mien. However this may be, ~~the~~ ^{the} execution of the picture cannot be very early; it is obviously lacking in strength and decision, though skilful as a calligraphic performance.

It seems superfluous to dwell here on other paintings which with more or less reason have been connected with the art of Wu Tao-tzu. Those mentioned above, ~~and~~ particularly some of the rubbings of the stone engravings, may already serve to convey some idea of his peculiar style as a draftsman. The quality of his line, the tremendous energy of the brush stroke must have been extraordinary, a fact which is emphasized over and over again by the Chinese critics of the Tang, Sung and later times who describe his art from observation or hearsay. We are told that Wu worked in a kind of frenzy which he often increased by taking wine before he took up the brush and wielded the brush with a freedom and sureness that nobody before or after him could reach. As the people saw him draw the aureol around the head of a divinity with one powerful stroke of the brush, they shouted with joy and said that his hand was guided by a good

The earliest critical account of Wu's style is given by Chang Yen-quan in Chapter 2 of the second section of Li-Tai Hsing-hua-chi, where he discusses the brush-works of Ku K'ai-chih, Ku Tan-wei, Chang Seng-yu and Wu Tao-hsüan (the original name of the painter). It has served as basis for most of the later discussions of the same subject and may therefore be given here in translation (as far as I have been able to make out the sometimes obscure expressions). After a short characterisation of the three earlier masters' brush-work, the author writes:

[illegible]

2) One of the most extravagant poets and calligraphists of the ~~18th~~ ^{VIIIth} Century. He was one of the Bright Immortals of the Wine-cup and a marvellous writer of grass characters. Giles, *Poet. Graphical Dict.* 59.

The common people fix their attention on the finished design and on the outward shapes and likeness but I pay attention to the splitting and spreading of the dots and strokes and try to avoid the vulgar and commonplace. In painting curves, lines straight as a lance, standing ~~pillars~~ ^{pillars} and connecting beams Wu did not use ruler and foot-measure. He painted the curly beard and the ^{foot} ~~long~~ ^{tufts} at the temples (of his figures) so that every hair was waving and fluttering and the muscles protruding with strength. There was, indeed, such an excess (of life) that he must have been in the possession of a great secret. People could not understand how it was possible for him to start a several feet large picture either with an arm or with a foot and then make it into a magnificent and imposing thing, ~~in which~~ ^{with} the blood ~~was~~ circulating in the skin. He surpassed Chang Seng-yu.

Someone asked me: How is it possible that Wu did not use ruler and foot measure and yet could draw (perfect) curves and arcs, lines straight as a lance, standing pillars and connecting beams? To which I answered: He concentrated his spirit and harmonised it with the works of nature (or the Creator) rendering them through the power of his brush. His ideas were, as has been said, ~~quite definite~~ ^{clear and fixed} before he took up the brush; when the picture was finished, it ~~expressed~~ ^{expressed} them all.

Everything truly wonderful has been done in this way, not only painting. Thus worked the cook who knew how to use the ^{carving} wheel-stone and the ~~carver~~ ^{stone-mason} from Ying who knew how to use the ^{edge} ~~stone~~. To imitate the knitted eyebrows (of Hsi-shih) is vain trouble for offering the heart, and he who chops (the meat) in stead of (cutting with skill) will wound his hands. If the ideas of a man are confused he will become the slave of exterior conditions.

*) Prince Shui's cook who kept his chopper for nineteen years as though fresh from the wheelstone, because he knew how to work in accordance with Tao or the laws of nature. Cf. Giles, *Chuang-tzu*, second ed. 1926. p. 34.

**) A man from Ying who had his nose covered with a hard scab, no thicker than a fly's wing, sent for a stone-mason who chipped it off without hurting the nose. Cf. Giles, *Chuang-tzu*, p. 321.

***) The famous beauty Hsi Shih knitted her brows. An ugly woman tried to imitate her; the result was that everybody fled for her. That woman saw the beauty of the knitted brows but she did not see wherein the beauty of the knitted brows lay. Cf. Giles, *Chuang-tzu*, p. 321.

Who could paint a circle with the left hand and a square with the right? He who does it with the help of ruler and foot-measure produces a dead picture while he who does it through the concentration of his spirit creates a real picture. Dead pictures ~~are~~ covering a wall are simply like dirty plaster. In real pictures every brush stroke reveals life. He who transmits his thoughts by the brush work and considers himself part of the picture ~~is not the~~ exceeds and loses (so to say) the art of painting but he who in transmitting his thoughts by the brush does not think himself part of the picture he reaches the art of painting. His hands will not get stiff, his heart not grow cold, and without knowing how, he accomplishes it. Though the curves and arcs the straight lines, the standing pillars and connecting beams are not done with ruler and foot measure yet, they are all there.

Someone asked me: How is it that subtle and deep thoughts may be expressed in pictures which are not finished in a thorough and complete fashion? To which I answered: An K'ai-chih's and Lu Tan-wei's spirit cannot be seen in their ~~pictures~~ designs, although their pictures are executed in a complete and thorough fashion. Chang Seng-yu and Wu Tao-tzu did their pictures with one or two strokes of their wonderful brush or by splitting and spreading the dots and strokes; their pictures looked all broken up, their brush work was not of the complete kind yet, their thoughts were completely expressed. It should be remembered that there are two kinds of painting the shu and the shu mi (the sketchy and the ~~un~~finished ~~in~~ manner), then we may discuss painting... My interrogator bowed and went away."

Critics of the Sung period who still may have had an opportunity of seeing some remains of Wu's great temple paintings emphasize the sculptural quality of his figures. Sa Tung-po makes a remark to this effect, saying that Wu's figures seem to be able to step out of the picture and back into it again, and Tung Yu writes ^{more definitely} "Wu Tao-tzu's figures resemble one of sculpture. One can see them side-ways and all round. His line-work consists of minute curves like rolled copper wire; however thickly his red and white paint is laid on, the structure of the form and the modelling of the flesh are never obscured" (1).

The observation is interesting and no doubt to the point; it is confirmed by the records about statues modelled by Wu Tao-tzu. ¹²In fact, there must have been a rather close connection between the works of the great painters and sculptors of that time; Wu's fellow pupil Yang Hsi-chih became a sculptor when he did not succeed in competing with Wu as a painter, and some of the finest statues of the VIIIth century are ~~dated~~ ^{dated} in a ~~style~~ ^{draped} which ~~may have been suggested by painting~~ rather pictorial fashion with closely clinging garments forming billowing folds over the strong bodies. (Cf. pl. 83, 85, 86 and 87 in our volume on Sculpture). Wu's great wall paintings of Buddhas on the lotus throne surrounded by Bodhisattvas and Chakras may indeed have had a stronger likeness to sculptures of this type than the more insipid works of common monastic painters that have been preserved to our days.

Wu Tao-tzu's principal contributions to Chinese art were evidently in the field of figure-painting but he also produced some great and original landscapes and was in this field too hailed as an innovator. The anecdotal story about Wu's and Li Szu-hsin's journey to Szechuan, where they went on imperial command to paint some famous views, is well known. When they came back Li produced a carefully worked out scroll but Wu had nothing to show; the enquiries of the emperor, he answered by the remark: "it is all in my heart" (or "abdomen"; to quote the actual Chinese word) and then went to finish the great picture in half a day. Chang Yen-yuan praises the extraordinary naturalness of Wu's landscapes and says that from the paintings which he did after his journey to Shu (Szechuan) may be counted a new epoch in landscape painting.

1) Translation by Waley from *Ch'in-t'ing T'ao-tzu* P'ei-wen-chai Shu Hua P'u. p. 81.

2) Cf. Pelliot, *Notes sur quelques artistes etc.* *T'oung Pao* 1923. p. 72-73.

It is evident that whatever motives were touched by this great genius they received a new meaning, a deeper significance than in the works of any preceding or contemporary master. He may have been in the first place an interpreter of Buddhist subjects but he painted with equal success Taoist ~~divinities~~ Immortals, Stellar divinities, dragons and ~~demons~~ ^{devils}, portraits and landscapes. And whatever he represented he made it live not only through a convincing representation of natural form and movement but also through a suggestion of an inner reality, a spiritual power which he grasped by harmonising his spirit by that of the Creator (to use the words of Ch'ang Yen-yuan). Painting was to him a truly creative art, an act of magic, like great music, ~~by which the meaning of things could be revealed~~ and the brush a tool by which the fire of the gods could be brought down to earth.

* * *



Wang Wei was exactly contemporary with Wu Tao-tzu, ~~and~~ but the two painters do not seem to have had many points ^{in common} ~~of contact~~. He is represented ~~by the Chinese~~ ^{historians} ~~as the perfect gentleman painter, to~~ whom painting ^{never} ~~was one of the~~ more importance than his other artistic activities: music, poetry and calligraphy, in all of which he had reached a high degree of perfection. It may even be safely assumed that Wang Wei never would have become so famous with posterity, if he had been active only as a painter; ~~his~~ pictures are ^{sooner lost and} ~~more easily~~ forgotten than poems particularly in an eminently literary nation. Wang Wei's lyrical poems are still counted among the gems of Chinese literature and have been translated into various languages,⁴⁾ whereas his original paintings are inevitably lost and his artistic style may be studied only in copies or later imitations. It is thus evident that one can hardly do justice to the artistic personality who was Wang Wei in discussing the records and remains of his pictorial activity yet, ^{that} ~~that~~ is the material ^{to} ~~of~~ which we, in this connection, must limit our attention.

Because of his established position in the literary history of China Wang Wei's curriculum vitae has also ~~been~~ well ~~known~~ recorded. We know the dates of his birth (699) of his chin-shih degree, of his appointments first to a minor official post in Shantung and then to that of a junior Censor at the court. It is furthermore recorded that he lost his wife in 730 and after that time spent most of his time in solitude, or with one or two Buddhist friends, at his country home, Wang Chuan in Shensi; and that he, at the death of his mother, turned this place into a Buddhist monastery. The deep religious bent of his nature seems to have become more and more evident towards the end of his life.

The momentous events which took place in 755 when the imperial court was scattered and the palaces in the capital sacked by the soldiers of An Lu-shan, brought also a brusque change in the life of Wang Wei. After a vain attempt to save himself by flight, he was forced by An Lu-shan to accept the position of a censor at the rebel's court, an event which was counted as a black spot on his official record, when the imperial ^{a few months later} ~~house~~ was reestablished. Wang Wei was again imprisoned and would have met the same fate as other rebels, had not his brother, who then was in favour at the court, been able to save him.

* Cf. Giles, Chinese literature, Waley, op. cit. p. 141-42. W. J. F. Fletcher, More Gems of Chinese Poetry, Shanghai 1923. Witter Byssner, The Jade Mountain, New York 1930. Besides these translations into English there are others into French and German.

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102A-

Another of Wang Wei's ~~figures~~ paintings which may be recalled in this connection represented Fu Sheng, the famous scholar of the IIIrd century B.C. who is said to have preserved certain sections of the Canon of History from the burning of the books under Ch'ien Shih Huang Ti. This picture which was in the Hsüan Ho collection and is mentioned by several critics & has been identified with one now in the possession of Mr Abe in Japan and reproduced in his magnificent catalogue. To judge by this reproduction, the picture is certainly not later than the Northern Sung period but whether it actually is a Tang painting, as claimed in the writings on it, is beyond our power to judge. The figure, an old man ~~with~~ ⁱⁿ scarce clothing seated on a straw mat at a low table, is singularly sensitive, characterised with penetrating force and sympathy and ~~represented~~ executed in a most delicate linear style, which still reminds ^{us} of the early pre-Tang masters. It seems thus quite probable that it represents Wang Wei's design, though the question as to its date of execution must be left open.

of a few hundred characters.

His unshaken faithfulness to the imperial house was also expressed in a famous poem, "The Frozen Heart", which reached the ears of the emperor and helped to save him. He was released and given an official charge in the household of the Crown Prince, but he had then only a couple of years left of his life; his death occurred in 759.

Wang Wei's artistic activity was evidently strongly coloured by his religious and poetic interests. The main part of his oeuvre consisted of Buddhist pictures and of landscapes with a poetic undercurrent. He made several representations of Vimalakirti, the Indian ascetic ^{It said to have been} who ~~was~~ one of the earliest apostles of Buddhism in China and who was particularly venerated by the painters for his unsullied purity of life and thought. Wang Wei's "style name", Mo-chi, was composed after the name of this Buddhist teacher, ~~Vimalakirti~~ ^{the Chinese} Wei Mo-chi, which is for Vimalakirti. No less than four Vimalakirti pictures by Wang Wei are mentioned in the catalogue of Emperor Hui Tsung's collection; they indicate his predilection for the motive even if they not all were originals.

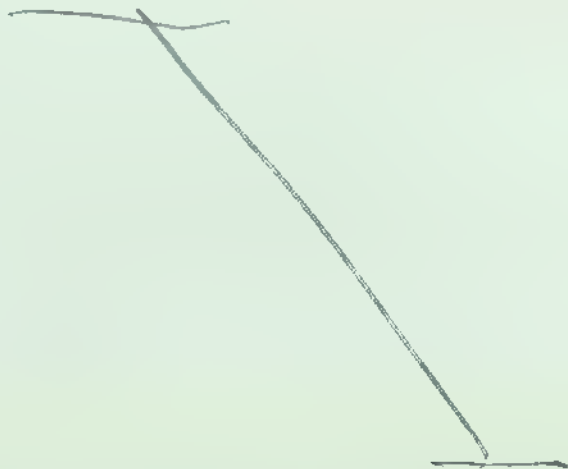
Mi Fei mentions a picture of a Pratyeka Buddha ~~by~~ by Wang Wei, in which the painter had introduced himself, wearing a yellow mantle and a peach colored cap, at the foot of the Buddha ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ the ~~mountain~~ ^{mountain}.

He executed furthermore a number of wall paintings in Buddhist temples in Ch'ang-an and Feng-hsiang, ^{where} ~~where~~ his country home was situated. The former are mentioned in Chang Yen-yuan's list of the wall pictures in the Buddhist and Taoist temples of the two capitals, the latter in the local chronicle of Feng-hsiang. According to this source, ~~there~~ there was in the H'ai-yüan temple a monochrome picture by Wang Wei of "two ba-boos clinging to each other, the stalks confused and the leaves as flying agitated by ^a cold ~~wind~~ ^{gale}". There must however have been more pictures by Wang Wei at the same place, because when Sh' Tung-p'o visited the H'ai-yüan temple in 1060 he saw here a picture by the master which he ^{describes} ~~describes~~ as "Buddha's disciples in the garden of Jetavana". It had the exquisiteness and purity of one of the master's poems. "The disciples of the Garden were famed as cranes; in them all human longing and passion was dead as the ashes of an extinguished fire. In front of the gate grew two clumps of bamboo, snowy nodules threaded to frost bound roots... Though Wu Tao-fu (whose Nirvana picture was in the Pu-men Ssu in the same city) be magical and rare, yet he is but a painter; his craft may be dissected and

cf. Laufs, A Landscape by Wang Wei. Ostasiat. Zeitschr. I, p. 42.

discussed. Wang Wei transcends the mechanical means through which he works; bars cannot confine him; on mystic wings he soars above the cage. Both are stupendous, both divine, but it is before Wang Wei only, that I bow in silent awe."

The picture in K'ai-yuan Sou must, indeed, have been a wonderful thing but it may be doubted whether it ever appeared ^{as} more wonderful to anybody than to Su Tung-po; and certainly, it was never more beautifully described than by this poetical admirer. It is due to Su Tung-po, Mi Fei and Tung Chi-chang that Wang Wei ~~was~~ ^{was} hailed as one of the very greatest masters of Chinese painting. He may have been admired and loved by many of his contemporaries but his position as the founder of the "Southern School" and the originator of all that was best and purest in Chinese landscape painting was not established until the Sung period. The significance of this classification was already explained in the quotation from Tung Chi-chang in reference to Li Shih-sun's position as the founder of the Northern School, which to the author represented a far inferior current of style. His enthusiasm for Wang Wei and tireless efforts to obtain some true work by the master are vividly reflected in several passages in his Hsueh-yan, from which some paragraphs here may be quoted as ^{testimonies} ~~evidence~~ of Wang Wei's unique position ^{according to} Chinese tradition.



Wang Wei was among painters the same as Wang Hsi-chih among calligraphers; such men are seldom seen. Some years ago I saw in the possession of the great scholar Hsiao Hsiao-chien in China a picture of the ~~old~~ Hsiao-chien (Snow on the River picture). It had no painted wrinkles but only contours. The ^{imitations} copies made of it in later times ^{higher} than Wang Shu-min's Chien Ho tu, wood printing picture are in regard to brush-work and ideas rather like Li Chung-shih's work, and I doubted their faithfulness to Wang Wei's style. Then I acquired in Ch'iao an Chao Ta-min's copy of Wang Wei's Hu Chuan Chuan Hsiao tu (the Village at the Lake on a bright Summer day, and this too had no wrinkles and was somewhat similar to the Frenchman's old belonging to the Hsiao family. Yet, I thought the copy cannot be altogether of the same aspect as Wang Wei's picture, because Chao Ta-min's lines are "unmarked" or there is inkless!.... At last I also acquired Kuo Chun-shu's coloured (?) copy of the Wang Chuan scroll which showed fine wrinkles. According to tradition, the real picture was in Wu Lin and a copy since it was considered a copy, it could not be very far removed from the original yet, the picture I saw was a rather common thing which could not be taken as a standard for judging Wang Wei's style.

This general Yang Kuo in the capital has a small snow scene by Chao Meng-fu, painted with gold powder, remarkable for its tranquil distance and ~~strong~~ limpid light, quite different from common paintings. When I saw this, I at once realized that he had learned from Wang Wei. Someone said: How can you know that he learned from Wang Wei? To which I answered: All the painters from the Tang to Sung made their wrinkles differently, according to various schools. It was like the division of Ch'ian into five schools; if one hears part of a phrase it may be enough to tell from which of the schools the speaker comes. Now in this picture of Chao Meng-fu the brush work is not like Chang Sung-yue, nor like Li Shu-hsien's, Cheng Hao's or Kuan Tung's and I also realize that he did not follow Tung Yuan, Chia Jan, Li Ch'ang or Fang Juan; from whom could he then have learned if not from Wang Wei?

In autumn of this year I heard that Wang Wei's Ching Shan Chi Hsiao Chien (Clearing after Snowfall on the Hills by the River) was

*) The wrinkles or ts'un form one of the essential characteristics of Chinese landscape painting. They are strokes or dots, sometimes only the finishing portion or the hook at the end of a line - and they serve to render the surface aspect of the mountains but also of stones, trees and other elements in the landscapes. They have been classified under sixteen (or eighteen) different names which more or less describe their appearance and some of these ts'un are considered as special characteristics of certain masters. The difference between the Northern ~~and~~ and the Southern school was largely a question of different ts'un fa or modes of drawing the wrinkles and the crevices and contours of the mountains. The sixteen kinds of wrinkles are named as follows: 1. Pi-ma ts'un (hemp fibre wrinkles), 2. Luan-ma ts'un (tangled hemp fibre), 3. To-yeh ts'un (veins of osier leaves), 4. Chia-so ts'un (twists of a rope), 5. Yün-tou ts'un (thunder head), 6. Chih-ma ts'un (fibres on the ling-chih fungus), 7. Niu mo ts'un (bullocks hair), 8. Tan-wo ts'un (eddying water), 9. Yü-tien ts'un (rain drops), 10. Anan-chai ts'un (heaped reewood), 11. Fan-t'ou ts'un (alum crystals), 12. Kuo-pi ts'un (wrinkles on the face of a demon), 13. Ta-fu-t'ou ts'un (cuts of a large ox), 14. Shao-fu-pi ts'un (cuts of a small ox), 15. Ka-ya ts'un (horse teeth), 16. Che-tai ts'un (folds of a belt). Number 5 is sometimes also called ~~by the name~~ Chuan-yin ts'un (convoluted clouds) and number 10. B-wang ts'un (broken net). For a further discussion of this classification, which probably was not introduced until the Sung dynasty, see 3. Take, The Southern and Northern schools of landscape painting, in Three Essays on Oriental Painting, London 1910.

of Wang Wei's paintings

It would be tempting to go on quoting more of the appreciations offered by Su Tung-p'o, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and other prominent connoisseurs of the Sung and Ming dynasties because they are in some respects more interesting and evocative than the pictorial remains that may be connected with the master, but it would take us too far from our main road. The pictures ~~that~~ ^{which} perpetuate some of his most famous compositions or reflect his style, are lacking in that element of spontaneous brushmanship or individual touch, which more than anything could serve to give us an impression of the great artist's hand and mind. They leave us also in doubt as to the technical methods of the painter. According to tradition, the monochrome ink painting, either with contours (mo-hua) or without any lines (p'o-mo) would have been his ~~preferred~~ ^{favourite} medium of expression but some of the copies are coloured as was also the ~~the~~ small picture after Wang Wei by Chao Meng-fu mentioned by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. It may be that Wang Wei tried different manners or modes of painting (as many of the other painters) though he ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ later periods was particularly appreciated as a monochrome ~~landscape~~ painter.

Most famous among his great landscape compositions is the

Wang Ch'uan scroll, in which Wang Wei is supposed to have given an illustration of his country home and the landscape surrounding it. The composition exists in a number of copies, among which should be mentioned in the first place those engraved on stone ^{slabs}, as they probably render the original with the least possible alterations of the design, though stripped of all pictorial atmosphere. Of such engravings after the Wang Ch'uan scroll there ~~also~~ existed at least five different versions, one in the late Tang and early Ch'ing periods, at Yen-t'ien, ~~a~~ ^(Ch'ang-an) district ~~not~~ far from Hsien-fu in which Wang Wei's country home ~~also~~ ^{was} ~~located~~ ^{been situated}. Executed at this particular place, the stone engravings ~~acted~~ ^{served as a} ~~kind of historical records or~~ ^{kind of historical records or} memorials to the great artist, through whose activity the

locality had gained its fame and become a place of pilgrimage for poets and art lovers. This was furthermore emphasized in a special chronicle, the Wang Ch'uan chi, containing biographical notes about Wang Wei and a list of other artists and poets who ~~had~~ been active here,

Dr. Laufer has given a detailed account of these various engravings, which were ~~executed~~ on eight, five, four or one slab, and apparently all from a drawing by ~~the~~ Sung painter, Kuo Chung-shu. ¹⁾ The original which is said to have been left by the painter to the temple at Wang Ch'uan, may have been lost at a comparatively early period, but its fame spread far and wide, "it was loved for ^a long time all over the empire" and made the subject of many enthusiastic and poetical commentaries (which ^{however} to a large extent ^{must} have been based on copies). The Kuo Chung-shu copy ~~is said to have been the smaller of two existing renderings which existed at the beginning of the 19th century.~~ ^{different} ~~Dr. Ferguson~~ ^{still} claims to have seen it - though he does not tell in which collection - and he quotes several comments on picture as for inst. the following by Kuo Chung-mu: "There are two Wang Ch'uan pictures. This is a copy of the narrower one and shows greater freedom of conception". ²⁾ He notices that among the seals on it, is ~~xxxx~~ that of Kuo Ch'uan-fu, who ~~it~~ ^{is said to} ~~also~~ ^{made a copy of the picture.}

The composition of the scroll is rendered rather differently in the stone engravings and the painted copies, though the principal features and localities, (marked by names) are the same. It gives, according to Dr. Laufer, "a graphic account of a great variety of scenery, not wild nature scenery, however, but of historical landscape as transformed and cultivated by the hand of man. The mountain range in the background merely forms the frame by which the gardens and buildings composing the villa of the poet-painter are set off". There are the Blue-sky mills, the Apricot resthouse, the Cloven Bamboo ridge, the Deer Park, the ~~Relic~~ ^{Relic} Park, the Lake Pavilion, the South Residence, the Notched Lake, the ~~Long~~ ^{Long} willows, the Mountain of Pure Gold, the North Residence, the Bamboo ~~Residence~~ ^{Residence}, a Park of Pepper trees, a Park of Vernish trees, etc. - a succession of gardens, plantations, orchards, pavilions and ~~idyllic~~ ^{richly growing nature, pictures which impress us} ~~idyllic~~ ^{rather as illustrations to Wang Wei's dreams and poetical fancies about}

1) Cf. B. Laufer, A Landscape of Wang Wei. *Oriental. Zeitschr.* I p. 43-55.
 2) Cf. J. C. Ferguson, Wang Ch'uan. *Oriental. Zeitschr.* III, p. 58.

an ideal country estate than as representations of actual sceneries. This impression is strengthened by the poems, which Wang Wei, assisted by his friend P'ei Ti, composed about the various localities named on the Wang Ch'uan t'u. Ferguson has translated some ^{they} samples of these poems; ~~which~~ contain rather vague reflections about the beauty of nature but no local clues, except the poetical names. It may be that some features of the Wang Ch'uan t'u were suggested by the country place where Wang Wei spent much time in company with his Buddhist friends, but they are freely combined with imaginative elements; the mountains have grown into fantastic shapes and the buildings have become very elaborate. Wang Wei was, as a matter of fact, never very closely bound by objective reality;

"when he felt like painting, he would even disregard the four seasons; ^{with regard to} flowers he introduced peaches, apricots, hibiscus, and waterlily into the same scene ~~in the same picture~~. He painted a picture with a banana in the snow. The inspiration of his heart was carried out ~~in the same picture~~. The idea flashed in his mind and was executed ~~stoutly by his hand~~. He was a ~~very~~ genius who worked according to his own principles. ~~But this is difficult to discuss with the common crowd.~~

There is however very little of this spontaneity and poetical inspiration to be discovered in the still existing copies of the Wang Ch'uan t'u, one of which is in the British Museum, another in General Mantse's collection in Peking. They are both rather superficial renderings, executed in a dry and minute style with green and blue colours. The scroll in British Museum is provided with an inscription, according to which it would have been painted by Zhao Meng-fu in 1309 "in the manner of Wang Wei". ^{It may well be that Zhao Meng-fu did such a picture} ~~but the one now conserved in the British Museum is evidently a few hundred years later, a later rendering, possibly from the end of the Ming period.~~ ~~one of these renderings of the Yuan period, it bears every sign of a later date, and may thus be a copy after Zhao Meng-fu's free version executed in the Ming period or later.~~

* Mr. T. H. Morgan has been kind enough to communicate his personal opinion about this picture; he says that "it shows a very delicate hand, characteristic of the artist of that period."
(6-21-50)

Another of Wang Wei's famous compositions which has caused forth a great deal of comments in prose and poetry is the *Chiang Shan Hsüeh Chi t'u*, *Clearing after Snowfall on the Hills by the River*, evidently also a long scroll showing mountain ranges in the background, and water courses in the foreground, framed by terraced rocks and ~~groups of~~ ^{clusters of} dry trees. It was a monochrome ink painting possibly with some addition of white and it ~~was accompanied~~ ^{attached to} colophons by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, Cheng Chi and others. The famous collector of the late Ming period Tsung Hsi-ch'ieh is reported to have said about this picture, then in his collection: "When ever I open ~~the~~ ^{the} *Chiang Shan Hsüeh Chi t'u*, I felt the spirit of the mountains, the freshness of the stream, the mist over the spring garden. It was like silkworms producing silk, or insects eating away wood, ~~every detail was clear as a hair and they all expressed the effect of the thought~~ so fine was every detail, even the minutest things and they all conveyed some thoughts. It was Mo Chi's bright spirit together with his skill in handling the ink that ~~made~~ ^{accomplished} this precious picture."¹⁾

We have already told something about Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's enthusiasm for the same picture; his efforts to see it and the almost religious devotion with which he handled it when it was sent to him for inspection. To him it seems to have been the supreme example of Wang Wei's art. Does it still exist? The question has been differently answered by different critics; some Japanese writers have identified it with a scroll now in the possession of prof. Mutsumoroku Gawa in Kyoto. Of this scroll I have only seen two or three sections in reproductions, and as these ~~probably correspond~~ ^{may not do justice} to the original. It may however be noted that they transmit elements of style which are characteristic of the master, for instance the somewhat rounded and tightly folded rocks with "wrinkles like lotus leave fibres," a method particularly ascribed to Wang Wei also in the *Ch'ü-tzu yüan*, the illustrated handbook for the study of painting published in 1676.

The beauty and artistic quality of the picture seem however to depend mainly on its tonality, the affect of moistly atmosphere over the ^{white} mountains ^{whose branches} ~~and the bare~~ trees ~~whose branches are woven into a~~

¹⁾ *Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Fang* III. p. 54, after Ku Hua Ping.

the dark water which reaches up to a very high horizon, marked by some flat snow covered islands. The conception as a whole, the snow covered hillsides and sensitively drawn trees show a close connection with the style of Wang Wei but the execution looks rather superficial, an impression which ~~is further~~ ^{is furthermore} increased in the colour photograph at our disposal. The writings and seals by emperors Hui Tsung and Chienlung can hardly be accepted as sufficient proofs of its authenticity and the commentary by Tung Ch'i-chang is not of the most convincing. Emperor Hui Tsung, or the keepers of his picture collection, do not seem to have been very strict in the use of the master's name: in his catalogue no less than 126 paintings are ascribed to Wang Wei, and it is seems doubtful whether any one of them was an original. Mr. Fei had evidently excellent reasons for his remarks: "Painting ^{of snow scenes} by Chinese artists in a style resembling that of Wang Wei are usually hailed as the master's works!" (Shu Hua Fang, p. 78) And Cheng Chun, the author of Shu Hua Fang tells us that the signatures on the pictures were often forged on the pictures in order to give them a higher value on the art market.

Wang Wei's speciality as a landscape painter were evidently the snow scenes. He must have loved the snow above everything else in nature; the harmonious quietness and peace that an abundant snow-fall spreads over the landscape ~~was~~ must have made a particular appeal to his sensitive soul. Besides the pictures described above several snow landscapes ^{by him} are mentioned by old and modern critics, as for instance: Angling in Snow (mentioned by Tung Ch'i-chang), Snow piled up upon a Thousand Peaks (mentioned by Kao Shih-chi, a critic of the 17. cent.), The Pa Bridge in Snow Storm (in the Liang Chang-chii collection), Falling Snow by the River (formerly Tuan Fang, now, R. Lehman collect. New York), The Banana in Snow (mentioned by several critics, known in a late copy) ^{xxx} and others. Yet, the Wang Ch'uan t'u, the picture of his country home, showed scenes of blossoming spring time, and there were other ~~pictures of his representing autumn~~ ^{pictures of his representing autumn} ~~scenery~~ ^{scenery} ~~scenery~~ ^{scenery}. ~~But it is evident that~~ ^{evidently} the range of his motives was not very wide. Like the great poets of the same period he returned over and over again to certain favourite motives expressing them with a depth of ~~vision~~ ^{spiritual significance} feeling and a realization of their ~~hidden~~ ^{hidden} ~~meaning~~ ^{meaning} that was

^x Cfr. Waley, p. 149. ^{xx} Cfr. Fergusson p. 74. ^{xxx} Cfr. Hirth, *Scraps etc.* (1905) p. 84-86

his own personal secret. It matters little what we call this secret, this vision and interpretation of his - music or poetry - a quality of his heart and his brush in conjunction, it made him belov'd beyond any other painter by the finest connoisseurs of later times. When Su Tung-p'o had studied Wang Wei's picture "Mist-rain at Tan-tien", which also was provided with a short poem, he wrote: "~~Now~~ In reading Mo Chi's poem I sense a picture, looking at ^{Mo Chi's} picture I feel a poem". The poem was as follows: Blue streams from which white stones arise,
The air is cold, the red leaves scarce.

On mountain paths no rain as yet
The air is moist and wets the cloths.

"This is Mo Chi's poetry, though somebody objected and said that it may have been added by an amateur on Mo Chi's picture".

It is rather surprising that the pictures after Wang Wei or in his manner, which have been preserved, are all executed with defining lines and quite thin washes of ink, sometimes with addition of colour; none of them shows the houich fan fa or the p'o mo, the broad technique with soaking or splashing ink which is associated with his name. Wang Wei seems to have used both ~~these~~ methods, and the painters who followed him, some worked with fine lines ^{and colour} and some with splashing ink. The only picture executed according to the latter method sometimes ascribed to Wang Wei, is the wonderful Water-fall, belonging to Chishaku-in in Kyoto, a rather expressionistic work of great freedom and beauty. It would be interesting to know if there is any historical reason ^{traditionally} for the attribution of this picture which looks like the creation of a full fledged romantic landscape painter of the Southern Sung or Yuan period. However this may be, ~~it is~~ ^{it should be remembered as a} the picture ~~is~~ typical example of the Southern School for which Wang Wei was the accepted head and originator.

The importance of the pure ink painting is also particularly emphasized in the essay on landscape painting which often has been ~~quoted~~ ^{traditionally} connected among the writings of Wang Wei. The ~~attribution~~ ^{tradition} of the authorship is certainly not correct but the statements that this essay contains about technique, ~~and~~ composition and similar matters may, to some extent, be based on a study of Wang Wei's paintings, and ~~it~~ ^{there be appropriate} ~~may be appropriate~~ to add here ~~a translation of the famous~~ ^{a translation of the famous} essay.

The text of this essay is reproduced with considerable variations in different reprints showing that there must have been some uncertainty as to its proper form. Some of the reprints, as for inst. Shu Hua hui kao, contain only the latter part of it, under the title "Shan Suei chün" (Discussion of landscape), in other collections ^{such as} ~~the so-called~~ Hua Hsüeh Hsin jin, the essay is divided into "Shan Suei chün" (The Secret of landscape painting) and "Shan Shuei xim", whereas the whole ~~text~~ ^{text} is published under the title: Hua Hsüeh Mi chün (The Secret of the ^{Learning of} painting) in the collected works of Wang Wei edited by Chao Wen-ch'eng (ca. 1773). In the preface to this edition (of which there are later reprints) the editor tells ^{some part of the} ~~that the text was engraved on~~ ^{expresses the opinion that the whole thing} ~~that it was the composition~~ of a later man, who ~~and~~ "borrowed the name of Yu-ch'eng", Wang Wei) but he adds: "It should not be included, but as it ~~has been~~ ^{has been} from old to present times ~~it~~ often has been quoted as Yu-ch'eng's and as it has served as a guide (or rule) for painters, it would be a pity to leave it out, consequently we add it here, at the end, for the benefit of students." ~~The remarks seem to agree just as they were two hundred years ago, and we can do no better than follow the same course~~ ^{of the text which seems to be of great interest.}

"In the art of painting ink is the foremost; by it the characteristics of nature may be perfected and the Creator's works completed. Thus, a picture of a few inches may be represented a scenery of a thousand li. East, West, South and North appear before the eye. Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter are born under the brush. One should start ~~by~~ with the outlines of the water and ~~then~~ avoid making the mountains floating about; then one should lay out the branching roads and not make them into one continuous big road. The main peak must be made very high and lofty, the smaller mountains should stretch forward and embrace the ~~spot~~ ^{spot} where a hermit's hut is situated. On the banks of the water some human dwellings should be ~~placed~~ ^{placed}. Around the village there should be numerous trees to form a grove, and their branches should embrace their trunks. The mountains should be made steep ^{and the} water rushing ^{right} down and not ~~dropping~~ ^{gunning about} in confusion from the springs. The ferry-boat should be quiet. The walking men should be few. The rowing boats and the bridges on beams should be high and lofty but the boats in which the fishermen are angling should be low

The translations into foreign languages show also considerable differences and most of them are incomplete perhaps with the exception of prof. ~~Alksiev~~ ^{Alksiev} Alksiev's translation into Russian, published in Wostok 1922, which is not known to us. This served as basis for a free rendering into French by prof. S. Chizev in Revue des Arts Asiatiques, 1927, which however ^{contains considerable} ~~is far from~~ ^{deviations from} the text known to us. Another translation into French of the main sections of the essay was published in A. E. Grant's Wang Wei P'ay sage (Pekin 1922). Some parts were translated into German by A. von Hoder in his article, Wang Wei, der Maler der Tang-Zeit, Simica, 1930. H. 4, and the second half of the essay by Johnny Heftler, in Ostasiat. Zeitsch., 1931 H 3-4. ^{Minor sections have been} ~~reproduced in English by~~ ^{reproduced in English by} ~~Wang Wei~~ ^{Wang Wei} ~~and a few~~ ^{and a few} ~~others~~ ^{others} ~~are given in~~ ^{are given in} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~appendix~~ ^{appendix} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~book~~ ^{book} ~~on~~ ^{on} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~subject~~ ^{subject} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~essay~~ ^{essay}.

(Giles, op. cit. p. 56 and)

so that they meet no obstructions. Between the overhanging dangerous cliffs some strange trees may be placed, and there should be no passage where the mountain sides are steep and the peaks precipitous. The far away summits should reach the clouds and fuse with the moisty colour of the distant sky. The place where the water comes out in abundance should be enclosed by ~~high~~ clear mountains. Patented roads should be made at places where the passage is dangerous. On the low ground may be ^{high} terraced building and nearby large willow-trees shading the dwellings of men. The Buddhist and Taoist temples on the famous mountains should be indicated by strange pine trees ~~like~~ and ornamental towers. Distant scenes are enveloped in mist, high peaks surrounded by clouds. The sign of a wine shop hangs high over the road. The traveller on the water hoists down his sails. Distant mountains should form a low row, the nearby trees should stand scattered about.

When the hand becomes acquainted with the brush and the ink-stone it sometimes happens that it moves about as in play ~~and~~ without ^{any attachment} ~~and~~ while the years and the months become long as eternity. (Trying to explore the hidden secrets.) The finest ^{realisation} ~~intelligences~~ does not consist in many words; the best method of study is to return to the ~~guidance~~ ^{guiding} of the rules."

The following sentences seem to be added by a different writer:
 "The top of a pagoda should reach up to heaven but the temple should not be visible; it should seem as if there were nothing above and nothing below but hillocks of grass or mud. Of the eaves of the granaries only the half should be shown ^{and of} the grass huts and thatched pavilions only some poles and beams should appear. The mountain has eight sides, the stone three parts (visible). Avoid to give the clouds the appearance of ~~floating~~ fungus plants. The figures should not exceed 1 inch, the pines and cypresses should approach ~~on~~ 2 feet."

~~It seems evident that the above "secrets" are simply a formulation of the common elements in Chinese landscape painting as it existed since the end of the Tang period; it contains nothing which might be considered particularly characteristic of Wang Meng's~~
 1) The two last sentences sound as titles of pictures

The above text is the so-called Shan Shui chieh-shi, but these "secrets" of landscape painting are hardly anything more than a formulation of the most common elements in Chinese landscape composition ^{as it had developed} during the Sung period. It is difficult to imagine that the text could have been ~~composed~~ ^{composed} before the Sung time; it ~~might~~ ^{must} be later. The continuation, known as Shan Shui lun, confirms this impression; it is certainly ^{characteristic} no more ^{as a painter and writer} worthy of Wang Wei than the first part contains nothing of particular importance either from an aesthetic or a historical point of view; but it is communicated here ~~because~~ for the sake of completeness.

"When painting landscape the ideas must exist before the brush is taken up. The mountains should be 10 feet, the trees 1 foot, the horses 1 inch, the men $\frac{1}{10}$ inch (the relative proportions). Far away men have no eyes, far away trees no branches, far away mountains no stones; they should be thin and fine as eyebrows. Far away water has no waves and reaches up to the clouds. These are ^{the} secrets.

The ^{waist (middle part)} ~~top~~ of the mountains should be covered by clouds, the stones by dripping water, the high buildings on terraces by trees, the roads with people.

Of the stones three sides should be seen, of the roads both ends, of the trees only the tops. Water should be seen according to the wind. These are the three methods.

In painting landscape it is common to make a dominating sharp peak and to connect the precipitous cliffs into a chain, (to make) caves in the gorges, the ~~precipitous~~ steep mountain-walls with overhanging stones, ~~and~~ hills of rounded shape and streams in the passage ways. The path between two mountains is called a ho (gully); the water running between two mountains is called a chien (torrent). A mountain range of certain height is called a ling (mound); a stretch of open ground is called a fan (slope).

"He who follows this ^{understands} ~~knows~~ roughly something about landscape.

He who is contemplating (a landscape) should first look at the appearance of the atmosphere, whether it is clear or covered. Then he should decide ^{and proportion} the places of the host and the guests and arrange the numerous peaks in a dignified way. Too many produce confusion, too few seem careless; not too many and not too few (is right).

One must divide the far from the near (objects). The far away mountains should not be connected with the near by ones, not the far off water with the near by. About the middle of the mountain where it is

covered up should be placed temples and small huts. At the broken cliffs of the sloping riverbank should be placed a small bridge. When there is a road there should be trees, at the broken embankment should be an old ferry. Where the water is cut off should be trees in mist, where the water is wide travelling sails; in the dense forest human dwellings.

At the precipices should be old trees with broken roots and creepers winding around them. The stones and cliffs which hang over the stream should be strange and furrowed by water.

When painting forests, the far away trees should be made few and level, the near ones high and numerous. Branches with leaves should be soft and waving but those without leaves hard and strong. The bark of the pine should be like fish scales, the bark of the cypress winding around its trunk. Trees which grow up from the level ground have long roots and straight trunks, those which grow among stones are twisted and lonely. On the old trees many of the joints are almost dead. In the cold forest there is scanty protection and an air of desolation.

When it is raining there should be no division between heaven and earth; ~~but it is~~ impossible to distinguish east and west. When there is wind and no rain only the branches of the trees are seen. When there is rain and no wind, the tops of the trees are pressed down, the wanderers are carrying umbrellas and straw hats, the fishermen their grass cloths.

When the rain is ceasing and the clouds disappearing, the sky is becoming blue and transparent, the driving mists quite scarce and the moist green of the mountains is increased. The sun draws near and its ~~rays~~ ^{beams} are slanting.

In the morning view one sees a thousand ~~other~~ mountains at the point of daybreak; the mist and ^{the} clouds are ~~very~~ ^{quite} scarce, the waning moon is growing dim, the colour of the atmosphere is quite indistinct.

In the evening view the mountains seem to absorb the red sun, the sails are hoisted down at the river isles, the people on the roads are hurrying and the cottage doors are half closed.

The spring view ~~is vaporous as enclosed in a cage of haze~~ ^{is vaporous as enclosed in a cage of haze}, the mist is driving in long white strips; the water is indigo ~~blue~~ ^{blue} and the colour of the mountains is growing green. In the summer view the sky is concealed by trees, the ^{blue} water has no waves, the waterfall passes through the clouds and there are quiet pavilions at the near water.

In the autumn views the sky has the colour of water, the ~~green~~ forests are dark and mysterious, the ~~birds~~ ^{are} wild geese and swans on the water, reed-birds on the sand banks. In the winter view the ground is all covered by snow; the woodcutters are carrying fuel; the fishing-boats are moored at the bank; the water is shallow and the sand-beach flat. ¶

Landscape paintings should be done according to the seasons, as for instance: covered by haze in a cage of mist, or the Peaks of Ch'u with assembling clouds, ^{or} the Autumn sky at daybreak after rain, ^{or} Old tombs and broken tablets, ^{or} ~~Spring colours over the Jungling lake, or~~ ^{Spring colours over the Jungling lake, or} desolate roads with wanderers astray; such subjects may be represented in painting.

The tops of the mountains should not all be alike; the tops of the trees not all the same. The mountains await themselves of the trees as clothing and they are like bones to the trees. The trees should not be too many so that the beauty of the mountains may appear. The mountains should not be confused; they must allow the spirit ~~of~~ (character) of the trees to appear. One who can do everything ~~as~~ in this way ~~is~~ may be considered a master of landscape painting."

This text is followed by a repetition of the first portion of the same (with minor variations) which is said to have been engraved on a stone tablet.

* * *

Wang Wei's importance as a precursor of the *po-mo*-technique is emphasized by some of his immediate followers who became famous particularly through this kind of painting. They revelled in ink and applied it not only with broad brushes but also with the fingers or with the hair. It is thus told of Chang Tsao (ca 780-90) that "he would smear ink on the silk with his hand," when he did not use a bold brush. Accordingly he was asked ⁱⁿ what school he had been trained; to which he replied "Externally I have followed the teachings of Nature; internally, the dictates of my own heart." "Some times he would work with two brushes simultaneously, painting with the one a dead and with the other a live branch. There "would burst forth from his brushes mist and vapour and flowing skies, and the terrors of frost and wind and rain. The living branch would be fresh with the sap of spring, the dead branch would be withered under autumn's blight."

Pictures in the "splash-ink" ~~with~~ ^{knived} technique representing pine-branches are sometimes ascribed to him, but those I have seen are more likely imitated in the 18th century when Chang Tsao was successfully imitated by the famous finger-painter Kao Ch'i-p'ei.²²⁾

A still more erratic way of handling the ink was practised by Wang Hsia, also known as Wang Mo, "Junk Wang" who used to dip his hair into the ink and splash it down on the silk. Chang Yen-yuan who knew his brother (who ^{served as} ~~was~~ supervising censor of a provincial circuit) tells us that Wang was a crazy fellow and quite mad on wine.²³⁾ "He painted pine trees, stones and landscapes and even though ^{he} failed to reach the high and wonderful (in art) and belonged to the vulgar yet, he was good. When drunk, he took up the ink with the tresses of his hair and rubbed it on the silk to paint. In his youth he learned how to ~~paint~~ use the brush from Cheng Kuang (Wen-chien) at Tai-chou.²⁴⁾ He died and was buried in the year 804 at Jen-chou.²⁵⁾ His contemporaries were as nothing to him; ~~and~~ they looked upon him as a magician, and there were many amusing stories about him. When Kuo (Chun tsu) was a recording officer (in the navy) at Hsin-t'ing, Wang Mo became a patrol officer, and as somebody asked the reason for it, he answered: in order to paint the landscape in the sea! He resigned, however after half a year and painted therein the most extraordinary and amusing fashion". The author adds that he heard more stories about Wang Mo than he cared to repeat, but what has been transmitted to posterity seems enough to secure him the honor of one of the strangest and most ink-crazy painters in Chinese history.

²²⁾ Cf. Giles, op.cit. p. 67-68. ²³⁾ Stahlmaek, *Chinese Viceroyal Art*, p. 70.

²⁴⁾ At the very end of *Li-tai Ming-hua-chi*.

²⁵⁾ A city in Chechiang. ²⁶⁾ A port-city in Kiangsu, later called Chen-chiang.

²⁷⁾ Kuo H'uang, a poet and painter, known for his humorous and erotic ways, he wrote also about painting but retired finally into the mountains, and became Hua Yang Shan jen.

The attitude of the early Chinese painters towards animals is essentially the same as their attitude towards other manifestations of life in nature, such as the various elements of landscape: they are on the whole less interested in the minute representation of outward appearances or in the individual features than in the general idea or type of the various kinds of animals, their characterisation is synthetic but alive with movement and a bounding energy. Animal-painting has, as a matter of fact, been considered a very important branch of art in China, a class of its own known as Tson Shou (Quadrupeds) which usually is placed in the Chinese catalogues above the pictures of ladies, Shih Nü. Many of the foremost ~~painters~~ ^{artists} have cultivated this particular kind of painting which ~~of course~~ lead to a degree of perfection which hardly has been surpassed in the animal painting of any other country. The Chinese animals are not necessarily better drawn or characterized than those of the best European painters but they are represented from a different point of view, more closely akin to other manifestations of the great life that pulsates through all nature.

Horses in particular have formed a favourite subject of Chinese painters, and it is remarkable that they, as a rule, were represented free, pasturing or frolicking, or as riding animals with saddles, but very seldom harnessed to a vehicle, as mostly in Western art. It is true that mules and oxen were more common in China as draught-animals yet, horses were also frequently used for ~~the~~ such purpose during certain periods, but it seems that the Chinese idea of a horse was based on the free and proud animal which could carry a rider with ease and elegance and play with its mates as gracefully as wild stag. The horses which were brought as tributes from various kingdoms in Central Asia to the Chinese court, were all riding animals and they belonged to the most cherished possessions of the Tang emperors. This interest in horses developed into a veritable craze in the reign of Emperor Ming Huang, who is said to have had over 40,000 precious horses in his stables, and of these a certain number were trained ~~to~~ ^{for} regular circus performances. They as well as the ladies of the imperial harem were taught to dance to the tunes of the imperial orchestra; "horses performed posturing dances; were skilled at climbing steps," writes Tu Fu?

Under the T'ang dynasty the painters of horses were many in numbers, ^{but among} these there were two who excelled all ^{the} others: Ts'ao P'a and Han Kan. The former is to us however only a name, a great name, recorded ~~not only~~ by several critics ^{and (some)} ~~also in~~ ^{verses} by Tu Fu. None of his works have been preserved in copies or imitations, though he seems to have been much appreciated at the court. In 750 he was summoned by the emperor to "paint the imperial horses and portraits of distinguished officials for the Ling-yen gallery". Fortunately, the case is different in regard to Ts'ao P'a's great pupil Han Kan; we may still reach some idea about his art from existing paintings and from the descriptions of writers who ^{had an opportunity of} ~~had~~ examined Han Kan's works. ^{But it should also be remembered that} ~~among the~~ ~~has been~~ ~~freely~~ used for many kinds of horse paintings in China; ^{it} ~~has~~ ^{indeed} become a habit to call ^{such pictures Han Kan} ~~not~~ ~~paintings~~ ~~of~~ ~~him~~ ~~when they are not associated with the name of~~ ~~long-fu~~ ~~which cannot be associated with Chao long-fu.~~

Han Kan was born about 750 and served in his youth as a pot-boy in a wine shop, in the capital. According to a tradition, ^(op. cit. p. 69) ~~related~~ ~~by~~ ~~Giles~~ ^{he was} ~~often~~ sent to Wang Wei's house to collect money for liquor bought on credit, and there he used to beguile his hours of waiting by drawing men and horses on the ground. Wang Wei was so struck by these efforts that he gave Han Kan annually a sum of 20,000 cash (or 5 t) and set him to study painting for over ten years. This story about his beginnings, which may contain some grain of truth, is ^{documented} ~~supplied~~ by another regarding his further development as a horse painter: "In the middle of the T'ien Tao period (744-756) Han Kan was summoned to the court, and the emperor began to study horse painting under the guidance of Ch'ao Kung. Later on His Majesty reproved Han Kan for not having obeyed orders; whereupon the latter replied: 'Sir, I have teachers of my own; all the horses in the imperial stables are my teachers' - at which answer the emperor was much astonished".

However this may have been, it is evident that Han Kan's most famous pictures represented inmates of the imperial stables: the ^{rare and precious} ~~best~~ horses sent to the emperor in tribute from western countries and the polo-horses of the princes. According to Dr. Ferguson ^(op. cit. p. 75) two of Han Kan's most highly praised compositions: Shuang Ma t'u (A pair of horses) and Ming Huang Shih Ma t'u (Ming Huang testing a horse) existed in the ^{Household} ~~imperial~~ Manchu collection in Peking, though it may be added that the former was known to the author of Ch'in-ho Shu Hua Fong only in a copy by Chao Kung-fu.

cf. Giles, op. cit. p. 61.

Lu Tung-p'o gives quite vivid descriptions of two of Han Han's famous compositions, the one representing Fourteen horses, the other Four Horses. The latter he describes as follows: "One horse stood on land with raised head and the mane in disorder, as if it was looking for something, stamping the hoofs and neighing. Another was on the point of stepping into the water, the hip up and the head down, but it was curving and hesitating before taking out the step. Two more horses were already standing in the water, one of them looking backward as if speaking through his muzzle, but the one behind did not answer because it was drinking and remained quite immobile. They were like ^{domestic} stable horses, though without the restraint of bridles or whips but at the same time like wild horses with shaggy cut eyes and slightly standing ears, strong chests and fine tails. They were well behaving like worthy officials and noble dukes who meet and salute each other ceremoniously." (Ching-ho Shu hua fan. IV. 78)

Fifty-two pictures by Han Han representing horses and hunting scenes are mentioned in the U'san-ho-sha-p'u. One of these may have been the picture now in Freer Gallery, which bears a writing in the style of Emperor Hsien Tsung. It is a short roll representing several men of turco-mongolian type leading three ~~richly~~ ^{from Central Asia} caparisoned horses, evidently tributes ~~to the emperor~~. The picture is executed with great skill in deep and rich colours, heightened with gold. The decorative effect is excellent, and the characterisation of both the horses and the men is done by a master of high grade. The design is very likely Han Han's but the style of execution ~~is rather~~ ^{seems more} characteristic for ^{some artist of} the Sung period. The horses are drawn in a fashion that reminds us of Li Lung-mieh's horse paintings. The copy may not have been made by him personally, but it was very likely done by a master who was familiar with his works.

More difficult to date ~~is~~ ^{the former} is the picture in Prince Kung's collection in Peking, ~~which shows a horse, tied at a pole, restlessly prancing and lifting its head neighing.~~ ^{known as Chao Yeh-po (The Shining Light of the night? It represents a short riding horse)} The relatively small picture (~~33~~ ³³ cm.) is executed in monochrome ink on paper, and it has evidently been subject to considerable wear and retouching ^{through} which ~~particularly~~ the hind part and the legs of the horse have been weakened. The neck and the head are better preserved and rendered in a strong plastically emphasized ^{manner} ~~style~~ of a more archaic ^{kind} ~~type~~ than the style noticed in the previous picture. ~~It may at least be said, that it represents an earlier kind~~

The earliest inscription on the picture is by emperor Li Hou-chu (or Li Yu) (927-978) of the Southern T'ang state, but ^{the picture} ~~it~~ also carries the seals of Chang Yen-yuan, the ~~well-known~~ ^{above mentioned} critic of the ~~early part of the 9th century~~, and of Mi Fei. Other inscriptions are by Hsiang Tzu-yen (dated 1153) and Lu Shao (Lu Tzu-pang), likewise of the Southern Sung period. Next to the painting are several colophons by litterati of the Yuan period, and emperor Sh'ien Tung has provided it with ~~express~~ an autograph, in which he tells that the picture was formerly in the Hsien-ho collection, ~~and that he acquired~~ ^{and that he acquired} it in the year 1741. In the mean-time it belonged, according to Chang Shou, to the academician Chen Ts'un-liang and the Yen family. The picture has furthermore been celebrated in a allegorical poem by Wang Yun (1237-1301).

In consequence of all these literary records, inscriptions and seals, which have been scrutinized by ~~some~~ ^{some} of China's best connoisseurs of ancient paintings and, in later times, also by Japanese amateurs, it has acquired a great fame and is commonly looked upon as an authentic work by Han Kan. I have heard this testified by men of ~~great experience in the study of painting~~ ^{great experience} and independent judgment. To occidental students, for whom inscriptions and literary records have less weight, it must remain more of a problem. But this may be due, as stated above, to the fact that ~~it~~ ^{the picture} is no longer in a pristine state of preservation. It gives at least an idea of the style of Han Kan, which evidently was characterised by ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~boldness and energy~~ ^{boldness and energy} than ~~any~~ ^{any} of the later horse painters possess. ^{with} ~~with~~ all its weakness it is a picture which still breathes life and which, in part, is filled with that intensive equine ~~energy~~ ^{energy} which the old critics praise in Han Kan's creations above everything else.

Several prominent painters of horses and other animals, active in the 8th and early part of the 9th Century, are recorded in the Chinese chronicles, but ~~as long as none of their works~~ they are hardly more than names to us as long as their works have not been identified in copies or ~~faithful~~ imitations. Such is the case with Wei Yen who painted not only horses but also bamboos, trees, landscapes and human beings. His position is characterized by the following saying: "Lu Ts'ao Pao's pictures of horses the spirit surpasses the form; in Han Kan's pictures the form surpasses the spirit; Wei Yen occupied a middle place between these two, the style of his brushwork ~~being~~ very similar." ⁷⁸

Han Huang ⁽⁷²³⁻⁷⁸⁷⁾ was a kinsman of Han Kan who became a high official and a noble duke. He painted ~~not~~ besides horses scenes of country life, donkeys and oxen. A rather pretty picture in the Forest Gallery, representing a red-cloaked man riding on a donkey over snow covered ground bears his name and may thus be based on some composition of his, but the picture shows a style of the Yuan or early Ming period it is difficult to tell to what extent it reflects an earlier original. The very decorative colour effect is not of an early type. ⁷⁹

The most popular animals in early Chinese painting besides the horses were the water buffaloes. They formed a favorite motive for the late Tang and early Sung painters; their bulky shapes and energetic movements seem to have attracted the artists, and it may well be admitted that there are no animals more intimately connected with the undulating overlandscapes ^{lower} of the Yangtze valley than these picturesque and yet monumental beasts.

The buffalo-paintings by Han Huang are no longer known but of those painted by his younger contemporary Tai Sung two or three examples are preserved. Most important among these is a long scroll, ~~representing a herd of~~ ^{executed in ink on paper,} grazing buffaloes, in the possession of Mr A. W. Baker of New York. The motive is here represented with great variety; the connecting element being a river landscape where the animals are enjoying themselves ⁱⁿ the water as well as on land. A smaller picture in the National Museum in Peking represents two fighting bulls; the furious movement of the ^{Chao} bull is splendidly rendered, it gains an extraordinary impetus through the long elastic body and finds its outlet, so to say, in the sharp

⁷⁸ Giles, op. cit. p. 66. ⁷⁹ Reproduced in pl. 123 of Chinese Paintings in American Collections.

points of the curving horns. The other bull which is wounded in the hindleg is ~~an~~ ^{an} equally excellent example of bovine energy and swiftness.

A little fanshaped picture now in the East Asiatic Museum in Copenhagen shows a hilly landscape with some large trees shaken by the wind and two buffaloes which are strolling homeward against the wind followed by a small herd-boy. It is a landscape painting of excellent ~~design~~ ^{effect} where the boldness of the design is well preserved in spite of the minuteness of the execution. The animals are here only a secondary element, though adding to the impression of movement which blows as a gust of wind through the picture.

From some of the anecdotal stories ~~about~~ recorded about T'ai Sung we may conclude that he painted in a rather minute fashion with remarkable exactness of detail. He is said to have made a picture in which a herd-boy was seen reflected in a cow's eyes, while the cow similarly was seen in the boy's eyes, and another which showed the eyes of a cow reflected in the water it was drinking from, with the herd-boy reflected in them, in other words, ~~pictures~~ ^{motives} of a rather far developed naturalistic kind rendered with full mastery of the pictorial means of expression.

Painters of birds and flowers are also recorded from the latter half of the 8th century, though they were evidently by no means as numerous as during the Five Dynasties and Northern Sung periods. Best known among them is *Pien Kuan*, a name which is not infrequently attached to pictures representing peacocks or, preying birds attacking quail, but there was also a picture representing singing birds on the branches of a flowering tree under his name in the Tokyo exhibition of 1928 (See, the illustr. catalogue). The compositions of these pictures are treated in a broader decorative fashion than in most of the later bird paintings but it is extremely doubtful whether any of them are executed by the master. He was evidently a favourite ~~prominent~~ ^{prominent} of later bird painters and frequently copied in the Yuan and Ming periods.

*) Jespersen, op. cit. p. 78. mentions a picture of two peacocks in the collection of Mrs J. J. Dimey in New York which he considers a prominent example of *Pien Kuan's* art. It is said to have belonged to Emperor Hui Tsung and ~~from later~~ was in modern times owned by Tsan Fung.

Portrait- and genre-painters

125

None of the great artists who have been mentioned on the previous pages could be properly classified as a painter of profane genre motives. Their figure paintings had usually a religious or mythological significance and even their portraits seem to have ^{been} rather of a typical or descriptive kind than intimate renderings of the individuals they represented many strange and extraordinary types, as for instance the foreign envoys, or occasionally some busy peasant, but it did not make a speciality of the more intimate ~~the~~ scenes from the life that surrounded them. Only in the field of landscape painting did we find something of that same ~~the~~ sensitiveness and lyrical beauty which is so characteristic of the contemporary poetry; it ~~became an independent branch of painting~~ was particularly through this kind of painting that the great masters of the 8th century gave expression to their keen observation of nature and their emotional inspiration.

A kind of complement to ~~this kind~~ the poetic landscape painting which flourished in the middle Tang period may be found in some of the paintings with scenes from the lives of young women which also sometimes had a rather lyrical tone. Very few of them have been preserved, but if we may judge by their titles, there must have been pictures closely related in spirit to Li Po's immortal poems

about spring and full moon and beautiful girls. Cheng Hsüan (ca 713-42) excelled in this kind of paintings. Among his most famous pictures were: "A Light Arcle," "A Swing," "The Full Moon" and others of the same kind, ~~which are largely lost~~. It is told that he painted the girls with great delicacy and introduced the novelty of touching the ears with dots of red. He must have enjoyed the same kind of company as Li Po, who writes in memory of former excursions: "When it was our mood, we took girls with us and gave ourselves to the moments that passed, forgetting that it soon would be over, like willow flowers or snow-flowered pees, ^{flushed with} ~~looked well~~ in the sun-set. Clear water, a hundred feet deep, reflected the faces of the singers - singing girls, delicate and graceful in the light of the young moon".

Some idea about the refinement ~~and~~ of his style and ~~his~~ manner of composition

may be obtained from a picture in the Boston museum representing women preparing silk which, according to an inscription from the beginning of the XIIIth century is a copy by emperor ~~Sung~~ Hui Tsung after an original by Chang Hsüen. There can be no doubt that the picture reproduces a T'ang design and that the ladies both in their types and their costumes represent the T'ang mode. But the soft gracefulness of these figures, which are absorbed in some of the most significant and beautiful occupations for women in China, may have been emphasized in the translation. The picture has almost the charm of a court performance; the ladies are akin to the most exquisite dancers and musicians that we know from ^{the} plastic representations of the same period.

Similar subjects of feminine grace and beauty were also treated by Chou Fang (ca 730-810), who has reached a still greater fame than Chang Hsüen. No less than seventy two pictures are mentioned under his name in the Hsien-ho kuang, many of them representing Buddhist and Taoist subjects, but others romantic scenes, court ladies and the like, and it is particularly through the latter that he has won his great fame. His highly refined style and peculiar full tones are still to be recognized in a number of copies of relatively late date.

In Jen Lu tien in Peking there is a picture ascribed to Chou Fang representing the fairy Ma Ku who, on her return from P'ear-lai, offers some precious things to Wang-fang-p'ing and Ts'ai-chin, two famous ~~Taoists~~ ^{emperor}. The picture which is provided with an inscription by Ch'ien Lung, is evidently not of ~~very~~ great age, but the style of the figures is that of the T'ang period and the simple but well balanced composition is remarkable for its reposeful refinement.

Another composition by Chou Fang known through three or four copies (published in a ³ pamphlet by Lo Chen-yü) represents three ladies in a garden, one of them playing the ⁴ ch'in and the two others listening, while two young servants stand at the sides, carrying some refreshments. This too is exceedingly simple, the garden is reduced to a cliff and two small trees; there is no indication of different planes (either horizontal or vertical), no attempt to define a foreground or a background; the figures are placed against the neutral silk ground but so that it suggests space. The wide distance between them does not isolate but serves rather to bring out the spiritual import of the composition - the silence of the

listeners, the quiet strains of music. If we compare it in thought ~~to~~ ^{with} some of the finest Dutch XVIIth century pictures representing similar subjects, for instance Terborgh's ladies playing the lute or the spinet, we may realise without further ~~now~~ the Chinese by omission of everything unessential ~~and concentration~~ succeeded in expressing more of the inner meaning ~~and soul~~ of the motif than the most skilful ~~and refined~~ European painters could express with their accomplished representation of material appearances.

Chou Fang must, indeed, have been one of the greatest masters in suggesting the tone or mood of such romantic assemblies. He painted the "Secret Pleasures of a Spring night", "Ladies with Fans" (of which a copy exists in the Metropolitan Museum), "The Flying of the Kite", and it is said that his graceful ladies were remarkable for their high eye-brows and their full cheeks, which were signs of ideal beauty in the T'ang period. We are furthermore told (in the *Li Chia Kuo Shih*) that he took great pains in preparing the silk so as to give his pictures the most elegant appearance. He used the method of adding a kind of chalk powder to the water in which the silk was boiled and then of beating it into a silver block. On this exquisitely smooth and fine surface the finest lines could be perfectly drawn and the figures stood out most transparently beautiful.

The original works of Chou Fang have met with destruction but there have in late years come to light some pictures of the T'ang period which evidently reflect the same ideals and modes as his art, though in a somewhat coarser technical execution. We are thinking of the fragments of a silk painting recovered by Sir Aurel Stein from a tomb at the cemetery of Astana in the vicinity of Karamodja, the ancient capital of the Turfan district in Chinese Turkestan. With the help of some dated documents found at the same place Sir Aurel arrived at the conclusion that these paintings must be from the first quarter of the 8th century, or in other words, the early part of Ming Huang's reign when so many of the great masters of T'ang appeared at the imperial court. They may not be at the ~~the~~ height of the greatest art of the time yet, they are very pure and strong in style and marvellously fresh in colour thanks to their preservation in the dry desert sand. When exhibited in the British Museum a few years ago, they constituted something of a revelation to students of Chinese art, and those who did not see the

(which are now in Delhi)
originals may still obtain some idea about their beauty from the excellent colour reproductions published in the Burlington Magazine, June 1956, and in Incar-
most Asia, Vol. 11, p. 655, pl. CV and CV1.

In his descriptiv text ~~textxxxxxxfragment~~ Mr.Laurence Binyon has tried to re-construct the picture of which these fragments formed parts,and he arrives at the conclusion that it was a scroll or frieze-like composition divided into a number of short sections,representing ladies standing or seated under trees,playing on musical instruments or enjoying the performances of dancers and singers. He calls the whole picture "A musical festival in honour of spring", which gives the most beautiful interpretation of the subject.The close connection with a picture such as Chou Fang's above mentioned "Listenening to music" is obvious, and it may also be observed that we have here examples of the same feminine beauty type with full cheeks,high eye-brows and red spotted faces as praised by the old critics in ~~these~~ ^{the} ~~Fang's~~ works.of the famous Liang printers.

(On the other hand there is an obvious stylistic relationship between these figures from the cemetery at Astane and the female figures standing on coral under trees, which are represented on a six folded screen in Shosoin. This famous screen, which probably was placed in the temple treasury shortly ~~before~~ ^{after} the middle of the 3rd century, may well have been imported from China, but the figures are not painted as in the Chinese style. In other words, they are simply drawn in ink which were filled out and modelled with feathers of various colour. If there are only minor fragments remain now a days on some of the figures which are lacking in the element of colour that lends such a wonderful freshness and charm to the paintings from Astane.

To the same group belongs furthermore two smaller pictures, also representing figures standing under trees, accompanied by pages, brought from Kara-Khodia by the Japanese explorer Count Otani, one of which ~~is~~ ^{is pasted on a paper with} the date 716. They are inferior in artistic beauty and quality but important in so far as they serve to fix the date. All these ~~pictures~~ ^{representations} belong to the first half of the 8th century, and they form an important material for the study of the profane genre painting of the T'ang period. The gracefulness of the figures is tempered by a great dignity, the compositions

* Cf. Toyo Bijutsu. Novembre 1929. Numero special sur le Sino-japon.

are very simple, consisting in each case of one or two figures combined with a tree and ^a piece of rockery, but there is a suggestion of something more: a quiet atmosphere of music, of dream and ~~hazy~~ ^{suggested} odorous spring ~~suggested~~ by the harmonious translations of the poetic motives.

Many of the great painters mentioned in the preceding pages ~~executed~~ also occasionally portraits but none of these have been preserved. The only portrait paintings of the ^{Tang} ~~Tang~~ period which still exist are by a minor man, but nevertheless of a remarkably high ~~artistic~~ ^{artistic} quality, ~~and very important, indeed, as genuine specimens of Tang art.~~ ^{They} The pictures belong to the Shingon temple Fōji in Kyoto and ^{are} ~~have~~ sometimes ~~been~~ exhibited in the ~~Kyoto~~ ^{of the same city.} Museum. They represent five of the patriarchs of this mystic school of Buddhism and were painted by Li Chen, a comparatively little known master, who was active in the T'ang period (780-806). Their history is known practically from the day they were painted, because they were brought to Japan ^{in 804} by Kobo Daishi, the famous founder of the Japanese Shingon sect ^{in Japan} who also has provided them with explanation, inscriptions, and they have ever since ~~the time~~ been preserved in the temple treasury. Besides these five portraits by Li Chen there are two more of the same set but these are distinctly inferior in quality and probably more likely the works of an imitator than of ~~according to tradition not by the Chinese painter but by Kobo Daishi himself, as claimed by tradition.~~

The pictures are ~~no ordinary minor portraits but~~ imposingly large (24x30 in), representing the figures in approximately half life size. They are executed on a very fine silk, not pieced together but woven in the full width of the pictures. At the bottom of each picture a stripe ^(is added) with writing by Kobo Daishi. ~~But~~ ^{so} their present condition is far from good; with the exception of one, they are ~~well~~ ^{so} worn that the figures can be seen only in part; one is practically effaced. They represent single figures, Indian or Chinese monks, seated in meditation or in ritual postures on low platforms; the compositions show very little variation, only one of them is completed by a servant standing in reverent attitude at the side of his master. ~~At the side~~ ^{The} (of the figures ~~their names~~ ^{names}) are written in large highly decorative characters.

The best preserved ^{of these portraits represents} ~~is the portrait of the Indian monk Amoghavajra~~ (Fu-k'ung-chün-kang) ^{now greenish grey} ~~who is wearing a black~~ ^{is} ~~robes~~ ^{is} seated on a platform with reddish supports, which still show traces of flowery ornaments. The drawing of the

* Cf. Kokka, nr. 198. The following passage is quoted from Kobo Daishi's Chōrai-roku "The reverend Divine (the Chinese from whom he had received instruction) informed me that the secrets of the doctrines of the Shingon sect could not be conveyed without the aid of pictorial representations. Therefore I brought with me sixteen artists, including Li-chen, and had them draw different sacred figures".

figure is done with very fine lines, almost like an engraving, but the broad and rather angular mantle folds are ~~brought out~~ ^{shaded} by darker tones. The head is modelled almost without any perceptible shadows ~~yet it stands out with sculptural~~ ^{yet it stands out with sculptural} ~~form~~ ^{form} against the ~~background~~ ^{background} of the brownish yellow silk. ~~The artistic rendering is as a whole characterized by the greatest economy of means, a remarkable simplicity and concentration, which make the picture convincing as a portrait and endows it with a certain measure of monumentality.~~ ^{With remarkable simplicity and economy of means the artist has contrived to make a picture which is monumental as design.}

~~The same~~ ^{The same} refined and decisive ~~style~~ ^{style} may also be observed in the figure of a servant in white garment, who is standing reverently with folded hands at the side of Hui Kuo, Kobo Daishi's teacher, in another of these pictures. The main figure is here simply a shadow, almost worn away, but under the platform may still be seen his slippers, a characteristic detail, which returns ~~adding a note of intimacy~~ ^{adding a note of intimacy} to these pictures to the severely monastic portraits.

The importance of these pictures can hardly be overestimated; they are among the finest remnants of T'ang painting ~~that have survived~~ ^{that existing} ~~known to us~~ ^{known to us} on a large scale before the end of Sung or later times. ~~Notwithstanding~~ ^{Notwithstanding} their ruined condition, they reveal a balance of ~~composition~~ ^{composition} and syntetization that ~~is hardly surpassed~~ ^{is hardly surpassed} ~~by later~~ ^{by later} ~~painters.~~ ^{painters.}

~~From the 10th to the 13th century, a new and important development of Chinese painting took place. It was characterized by greater technical freedom and richer decorative designs and it entered the field of painting, particularly in the direction of landscape and other kinds of nature subjects such as flowers, birds and animals, but figure painting on a large scale was, as far as we know, never brought to a higher perfection. The Chinese critics are unanimous in considering the T'ang period as the golden age of figure painting; in China, and we have no reason to doubt this ~~opinion~~ ^{opinion}, although the ~~existing~~ ^{existing} material is too scarce to substantiate ~~it~~ ^{it}. T'ang painting is known to us only in fragments and copies, but as far as these go, they ~~are not~~ ^{are not} support the literary and historical traditions, according to which not only religious ~~painting~~ ^{also profane} but figure painting ~~in general~~ ^{reached} its classical stage before the end of this period.~~

The late Tang and Five Dynasties period

The brilliant artistic culture of the middle Tang period, brought about by some of the greatest poets and painters that ever lived in China, was never revived or equalled even though the Imperial house was reestablished ~~in~~ after the rebellion of An Lu-shan⁽⁷⁵⁵⁾ and continued ~~to~~ its reign ~~over the empire~~ for another 150 years (906). Its political power was gradually weakened through series of revolts by local governors who had established themselves almost as independent rulers in outlying provinces, and through more or less disastrous wars with border tribes, particularly the Uighurs and the Tibetans. In 763 the Tibetans sacked Ch'ang-an and although driven out again, the state of warfare lasted for another 20 years until a peace treaty was signed, in which the Chinese Emperor was styled "uncle" and the Tibetan ruler "nephew."

During the following century the greatest dangers were not caused by outer enemies but by ambitious eunuchs at the court and revolting governors. The rebellion which broke out in 881 under the leadership of Wang Chih-hsin and his successor, Huang-ch'ao, spread gradually over the whole country and became the signal for the downfall of the Tang dynasty. The third leader accepted of this rebellion, accepted to begin with, the authority of the imperial house, but as soon as an opportunity offered itself, he had the last scion of Tang put to death (906). He founded a ~~new~~ new dynasty at Loyang under the name of Xiang, but this did not last for more than 16 years and its rule was limited to the central part of the empire.

This so called Posterior Xiang dynasty was followed by the Posterior Tang which lasted for twelve years to 935, then came the Posterior Chin until 946, and the Posterior Han until 950, and finally the Posterior Zhou until 960, the year which marked the end of the Five Dynasties period and the foundation of the Sung empire. But while these five dynasties followed each other in rapid succession at Lo-yang and Kien-liang (Kaifeng) independent governments of a more stable kind were established in other parts of the country: the Liao Kingdom in the North with capital at Yen-ching (Peking), the Shu Kingdom in the West with capital at Ch'eng-tu (Chengdu) and the Southern Tang Kingdom in the South-East with capital at Nanking. These independent states which have no place in the official dynastic histories

of China, are well worth remembering because their capitals offered safer refuges for the artists than the imperial court; Ch'ing-tu and Nanking in particular became during this troubled period important centres of artistic activity where great painters worked under the patronage of the local rulers.

The political revolutions had, no doubt, a considerable influence on the state of the fine arts but still more important in this respect were the changes in the field of religion and philosophy. The lyrical poets who had spread a never fading lustre over the epoch of Ming Hwang, (and still for some time after though in a sadder tone) were followed by prose writers of a more philosophic and moralising type. Men as Han Yü (768-824) and Liu Tsung-yuan (773-819) were no longer inclined to transmute reality into metaphors of poetry. —

Han Yu was the classical representative of the Confucian state-philosophy, and his memorial to the emperor on the subject of Buddhism's bone ^(published 1119) touched the key for the reaction against this all-powerful religion and led, at least indirectly, to the serious blow of 845, when by imperial decree nearly 5,000 Buddhist monasteries were destroyed, besides 10,000 local temples, while 10,000 monks and nuns were restored to secular life. ^{*)} Such are the official figures, but even if these were never fully accomplished in reality, it is evident that a tremendous mass of religious buildings and works of art were destroyed. It was a catastrophe to the ~~artistic~~ ^{type of} religious painting which had flourished during the earlier part of the T'ang period under the protection of ~~such idolatrous forms of state-~~ ~~the~~ the ~~lands-~~ and the F'ier T'ai-schools.

The immediate inspiration for this momentous persecution did not, however, come from the Confucian camp but from the Taoists, who had succeeded in obtaining a decisive influence over several of the later T'ang emperors, including Sh' Chung-who "suppressed Buddhism on the ground that it was a superstition but embraced Taoism which was no better". Like some of his predecessors he partook freely of the mysterious decoct, ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~sterilized~~ ^{sterilized} by the Taoist sages, which was called the ~~the~~

Dr Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*. Vol. III. p. 267-268.

"elixir of life" with the result that he suffered a premature death. His uncle who followed him on the throne under the name of Hsüan Tsung revoked the anti-Buddhist edict, but he too fell ~~soon~~ under the influence of the Taoist doctors. (852) He issued a decree ^{should} according to which all Buddhist monks and nuns ~~must~~ obtain special permission before taking orders and succumbed also to the mis- use of the "elixir of life". Some of the later T'ang emperors may have been more con- siderate supporters of Buddhism ^{as the} but ~~they were too much~~ ^{increased. They were hardly} ~~convinced~~ by the political troubles of the tottering empire ~~able to offer much of a protec-~~ tion to the ~~Buddhist~~ ^{religious} institutions. ~~But~~ In spite of this rapidly ~~waning~~ ^{waning} of official support and the sharp reaction from the Confucianists ~~as well as~~ ^{and} the Taoists, the Buddhist religion did by no means lose its influence over the souls and minds of the people. The opposing forces did succeed in breaking the backbone of its ecclesiastical organisations, but as they had nothing of corresponding religious or philosophical value to put in its stead, Buddhist ~~ideas and piety~~ ^{ideas and piety} came back with renewed strength through other channels. Some of the most noto- rious sects, such as Chen-yen (in Japan ~~the~~ ^{obtained} Sain-ton), ~~gained an extraordinary influence~~ ^{gained an extraordinary influence} over religious minded people, while others gained new force by a process of rationalisation. This is true particularly of the meditative school, known in China as Ch'an, in Japan as Zen, which from now onwards became one of the ruling influences in the evolution of the fine arts in the far East.

The Ch'an or Dhyana school of Buddhism had existed in China since the arrival of the Indian patriarch ^{of Bodhidharma}, who is said to have come by way of Canton to Kiating in 6 or 7, but it had been of a rather exclusive kind, practised mainly within a narrow circle of monastic followers. Bodhidharma's message was extremely simple but at the same time by no means easy to grasp or explain. It could not be expressed by intellectual treatises nor could it be realized through prayers or asceticism. All that man had to do was to turn his gaze inward and find the Buddha, the illuminating ⁷ light, in his own heart. He might be prepared through certain teachings and practices leading to self-discipline and ^{to} the development of his intuition, but the final illumination comes in a moment as naturally as swallowing or dream- ing, and when it once has been experienced, it is a conviction which transforms the whole life. It gives a new significance to every experience.

cf. Eliot, op. cit. p. 304-309

The great influence of this school of Buddhism in China was much facilitated by its resemblance to certain old currents of Chinese thought. It was in perfect harmony with the Taoist tenets, according to which spiritual illumination, or the knowledge of Tao, could be obtained only by bringing the mind into perfect harmony with the eternal laws and workings of the universe, and not by intellectual studies or outward actions. The junction of this native tributary with the river of inflowing Buddhism ^{increased enormously the influence of} the contemplative school. ~~When~~ Taoism flourished the Ch'an school was also flourishing; and it lost its individualistic character was particularly well suited to the Chinese mentality ~~at periods when more hieratic forms of Buddhism had fallen in-~~ to decay.

The popularisation of the Ch'an school seems to have started with the sixth Chinese patriarch, Hu T'eng, ^(at the beginning of the 6th cent.) who is said to have explained the former's teaching in "simple terms", but according to other authorities his doctrine was also simple. At the end of the T'ang period, Ch'an was divided into a number of local schools or ~~centres of teaching~~. At this time, it seems, that ~~the~~ ^{concep-} was written in the colloquial and contained very vulgarisms. ~~The~~ ^{concep-} tions of Ch'an, formerly known only to the upper classes, were now ~~known~~ ^{reached} the common people, which indeed, may have been a result of the general dissolution of the old forms of culture which took place at this time. ³ The domination of the Buddhist clergy as well as the authority of the central government had been severely shaken, new leaders rose among the common people, ^{independent go-} vernments were gradually formed at ten or more places, culture ^{and art} ~~religion~~ were no longer exclusive matters of ^{hieratic organisations and the court circles but} ~~the~~ ^{reached broader} layers of the population. In contrast to the refinement of culture in the T'ang age, the new fashion held simplicity in esteem, and in consequence of this certain modifications also became manifest in the ~~arts~~ ^{the arts}.

~~In the field of painting, the new fashion was clearly noticed. The Miao-tzu ink painting now came to the fore; it became the favourite medium of the spontaneous and expressive form of pictorial expression which was inspired by philosophy.~~

* Cf. Eliot, op. cit. p. 305. * Cf. Xuan Hsiao, *Buddhist Art*, No. 14, November 1929.

In central China conditions were ~~no doubt~~, less favourable for the development of arts and letters. Here, at the imperial capital, changes of the ruling houses, revolts and outrages followed in rapid succession. One of the five dynasties which, as mentioned above, claimed the imperial prerogatives, were able to maintain its power for more than 15 years, the shortest one existed only 4 years; ~~others 2-10 years~~, but they all established their court at Pien-liang and tried, when conditions permitted, to keep up an air of artistic ^{cultural} ~~interests~~. Several prominent painters, particularly among the landscapists, worked ^{in the capital} ~~here~~ ^{preparing} the way, so to say, for the great school of landscape painting, which ~~flourished here~~ ^{flourished here} during the first 150 years of the Sung dynasty.

The particular importance of the period of the Five Dynasties in the field of painting depend thus on the fact that the ~~old~~ formal traditions of Tang and earlier periods were now definitely abandoned and new modes of composition and technique were introduced which became ~~the foundation~~ ^{the foundation} for the development during the Sung period. The classical and old fashioned was changed into something freer and more individualistic. It is also practically impossible to draw a line of demarcation between the arts of the short period, called after the Five Dynasties and those of the early Sung time, particularly as ~~many~~ ^{some} important painters worked ~~on~~ ^{from} during both of these political periods and we will therefore include in the present chapter some of those painters who usually are counted among the Northern Sung artists because they started before the beginning of Sung and carried on the stylistic traditions of the Five Dynasties.

The original paintings preserved from this epoch are ^{quite} ~~not~~ as rare as the pictures of Tang yet, they stand in no proportion to the great number of painters and their works recorded in the historical chronicles. The above mentioned *Shu Ming-hua Lu* contains the biographies of over fifty painters in Shu and this was only one of the centres of activity. At this distant place painting seems to have remained comparatively conservative. Several of the Tang painters had found their way here from Ch'ang-an when the political conditions in the capital became too uncertain, and they formed schools which became of determining ~~and~~ ^{of} influence. There were thus since Tang times ~~particularly~~ three families of painters who worked particularly for the temples to wit. the Chao -

Chaos (Chao Kung-yu, Chao Wen-ch'í, Chao Te-ch'í), the Ch'engs (Ch'eng Tsen and his son Ch'ang Chung-yin) and the Kaos (Kao Tao-hsing, Kao Ts'ung-yü, Kao Wen-chin and his sons Hui-chieh and Hui-pao, who worked in the Sung period). Their works were to a large extent wall paintings and no traces of their remains. All other painters of religious subjects are mentioned in the I-chou King-huei Lu, but as their works are completely lost, it may not be necessary to lengthen the list of names.

Buddhist painters

3 orders millennium!

The only painter of Buddhist subjects in Shu whose style still may be observed in certain pictures traditionally associated with his name is Chen-shu or

Ch'en-shu (Ch'en-shu). He was however not a native of Shu but born (about 1000) at

(He received his education in a Ch'an monastery and became widely known as an expounder of the Ch'an spirit in painting and poetry. His was as a matter of fact at least in his home country

then known as a painter, though his poems are said to be of a much more conventional kind than his paintings. It was only at the end of the 11th century, when he was well over sixty, that he moved to Ch'ang-tu, where he was received with great honors; the king bestowed upon him a purple robe and called him the Great Master of the Ch'an moon (Ch'an yueh). The people considered him like a deity (a famous calligrapher of the T'ang dynasty). In painting he followed the style of Yen Li-shan. He painted the sixteen Lohan with bushy eyebrows, big eyes, and thick cheeks and thin noses, seated in landscapes at the side of pine-trees and rocks. Their appearance was like that of monks or Indians. When someone asked him how he had seen such men, Chen-shu answered, "in the dream". He represented also Sakyamuni's ten disciples in a similar fashion. The people wondered at his pictures but his pupils valued them very highly. Everywhere in the country he was asked to write poems; such writings of his may still be seen, but they are not to be acquired. At the beginning of the 12th century (1126), when emperor Hui-tsung decreed everywhere for old pictures, Cheng-yü, who then ruled over Shu, made a present of Chen-shu's sixteen Lohans to the emperor".

This description from the I-chou King-huei Lu of Chen-shu's sixteen Lohans ~~xxxx~~ answers fairly well to the paintings which in Japanese collections are ascribed to the artist. They exist in two or three series of which the best known belong to the Kōdōji (temple) in Kyoto and to the Imperial Household Agency in Tokyo, formerly in the possession of Baron Tokugawa. The figures of these two

Chuan-Hsin's biography has been translated from Sung kao sheng chuan by Edw. Chavannes in his article Les Seize Arhats Protecteurs de la loi, in Journal Asiatique, Sept.-Oct. 1916, in which article he also communicates some of the historical information re. Chuan-Hsin's Arhat pictures.

note!

* A rather different kind of picture is the Lohan in Marquis Adano's collection at Hiroshima, which also is ascribed to Kuan Hsin. ~~(Chien Yüeh)~~ It represents a more Chinese looking man comfortably seated ^{on} a rocky ledge by a banana tree, holding in his hand a fly whisker. It is a monochrome ink painting broadly executed in a very fluent style which remind us more of the Ch'an pictures from the latter part of the Sung dynasty than of the above mentioned paintings which evidently are of an earlier type and more closely connected with the art of Kuan Hsin (Cf. Kokka 400)

ther than drawn or modelled, but so suggestive is the brush-work, so skilful the handling of light and shade, that the volumes stand out with full plasticity, ~~and yet, as living as a~~ ~~shown with the transient lightness of~~ ~~fleeting visions.~~ The pictorial rendering corresponds thus perfectly to the motives which illustrate the meditation of the Ch'an monks during which flashes of spiritual illumination may be received and transferred ~~mitted~~ with a few spontaneous strokes ~~of the brush~~.

According to ~~the historical accounts in~~ I-chou Ming-hua Lu and later chronicles, Shih K'o was a rather strange and bizarre person who amused himself by ridiculing his friends in painting. "It was from Shih K'o's wild mockery of the world in which he lived that his painting derived its masterly freedom; he can break all the rules of his art and yet delight and surprise us. If the types he depicts are some times uncouth, odd or repulsive, this is only that he may display the variety of nature," writes Li Ch'ien, a critic of the Sung period who possessed a picture by Shih K'o representing "The Jade Emperor holding his court" ^{(Waley, p. 228).} A number of other mythological pictures by Shih K'o are mentioned but also more realistic genre paintings of the life of the peasants, "Coreans testing their strength" etc. He executed ^{furthermore} a number of frescoes, depicting dragons, tigers and all sorts of appalling evil in Taoist temples in Sh'eng-tu, and though we know little about their actual appearance, we may safely assume that they were wild, fantastic and not without strains of humour.

Flower-painters

3 rods medium!

A special branch of painting much favoured by the emperors of China was the representation of flowers, birds, insects and the like i.e. the most delicate miniaturizations of the life of nature which sought and bear little resemblance to nature. In this field as in so many other directions the painters of the late imperial period ^{not only} are the precursors ^{but the competitors of the} of the modern school, principally from the Ch'eng-tu that this kind of painting was transferred to the Sung court.

The historical and artistic importance of these flower and bird-painters ^{can hardly be over} ~~very highly~~ ^{estimated, if we may believe the Chinese} ~~critics, who place the~~ ^{best of} them in the ~~foremost rank~~ ^{foremost rank} of Chinese painters, but we have no longer an opportunity of judging them by their original works. Yet, some idea about their style may be gained from the old descriptions and from paintings of later date ^{styling} ~~reproduced in~~ ^{their style}.

most famous among the flower painters of China was Wang Ch'ien and his two sons Ch'ao-p'ao and Ch'ü ts'ai (who worked at the court of Sung). Wang Ch'ien is said to have imitated Chen Huan of T'ang, though his immediate master in flower and bird painting was a later master of T'ang, also Wang-jin, whereas he followed Li Cheng in landscape painting; and Wang Su-hsiang in the painting of moist portraits. Ch'ü ts'ai admired him very much and praises particularly a picture of his representing a crane on which was used very appropriate rain, and he is said to have taken a more critical position towards Wang Ch'ien and considered his work rather academic and lifeless. It was characterised by great refinement and a skilful use of "five colours" while ink contours were ~~disregarded~~ more or less dispensed with. Only when painting old trees he used a ~~hard~~ rock brush, but when he painted bamboos, a fine brush was so sharp that it could cut iron nails. Another critic tells us that he drew with an extremely fine brush, so that the outlines were hardly visible and used the colours very sparingly. This he called "to draw things as they are". (Cf. Gu, p. 92)

Wang Ch'ien's particular style and technical set of the other painters characterised in contrast to the manner of his great rival Hsü Hsi, who is regarded as the most famous of all Chinese painters of flowers, birds and insects. He was a native of Su-chow, Kiangsu and worked in the court of the Sung. He is said to have been at the court. He is told that his creation was very great and that he painted ~~flowers~~, plants, trees, insects and birds. In a manner which no other painter could reach and which he called "drop ink" method. In other words, he used a rich red ink which was spread with quick and spontaneous brush strokes, and outlined the red contours in red. His paintings possessed in the highest degree a sense of expressive-ness and the rhythm of life. His birds seemed to be all in flight and his flowers were waving in the wind.

The opposition between Wang Ch'ien and Hsü Hsi, which is said to have been not only "du metier" but also of a personal kind, was continued by their descendants and followers, the sons of the former and the grandsons of the latter excluded other artists. The academicians kept very close to the style of Wang Ch'ien, but the younger independent artists followed that of Hsü Hsi. A somewhat younger painter of Shu who also sometimes is compared with these great masters, was

Cao Ch'ang (active ^{at the beginning} of the 11th century), of whom it was said that he rendered not only an accurate resemblance of the flowers but their very soul. Every morning, before the dew had gone, he would walk round the garden and examine some flowers carefully, turning them over and over in his hand. Then he would prepare his paints and paint it. He called himself Draw from life; and people in general declared that his flowers were ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ dyed and not produced by colour laid on". (Cf. Miles, p. 111). Cao Ch'ang is said to have been the first to paint broken branches with blossoms, a motive which later became very popular among Chinese painters. But whereas Cao Ch'ang painted his flowers full face, later artists usually represented them in side view.

According to the Shen Ho catalogue, ^{where} Cao Ch'ang's paintings ~~xxx~~ classified as shen ~~NA~~ (divine) and were thought not to possess the ming (mysterious) quality. Cao Ch'ang's paintings were classed as ming and were thought not to have the shen quality, but when looking at his shen paintings, it was as if shen and ming were ~~xxx~~ before the eyes, leaving a divine emptiness. Cao Ch'ang is said to have been in esteem the method of representing objects, and to have been to have been a method. He did not take much care in reproducing the true colour of the object, but let the indescribable and untranslatable which no other could reach.

Cao Ch'ang's paintings were eagerly collected by the last ruler of the Northern Song state, King Li ^{Hou-chou} ~~Li~~, who, when he was driven from his throne, turned ^{is} the whole collection of paintings over to the Sung emperor, but it was only after some compromise had been reached between the legation of Wang Ch'ang and the si, that ^{these pictures} ~~they~~ were ^{accepted as models in the} ~~accepted as models in the~~ Academy. The style of Cao Ch'ang was continued by several prominent painters, not only his famous students, Li Jung-shan and Hsu Chung-hsin but also Wang Hsi-t'ang and Li Chang-shih, whose style still can be found attached to flower paintings of more or less early origin.

The rather distinct characterisation offered by the Sung and later critics of the above mentioned flower painters is amply supported by the pictures traditionall associated with their names, the reason being probably that they are works by later followers or free copies. A landscape scroll with Cao Ch'ang's name on it, belonging to a Chinese collector, Kuan Mien-chin, figured in the Tokyo

exhibition of 1928, but it looked like a Ming copy after a rather ordinary composition in Wang Wei's or Li Sheng's style. An album leaf, representing Asters, in ~~from~~ ^{as an original work by Huang Ch'ian} Imperial collections in Peking is reproduced by Vergara (Chinese Painting p. 5) and praised for its splendid colour effects. ~~The attribution was evidently supported by a paper by Hsiao Lun who has reviewed the picture with a great number of details but the reproduction does not convey the impression of a particularly interesting rendering of the subject.~~

Far more remarkable are the two large paintings belonging to the Shion-in (temple) in Kyoto, which represent Lotus and Ducks and Lotus and Frogs. ~~They are~~ ^{sometimes} attributed to Hsü Hsi or his school. The material as well as the execution make it probable that ~~they~~ ^{They} ~~are~~ ^{were} ~~not~~ ^{not} later than the 14th century, and if we attach importance to their wonderful lightness and suggestion of quivering life, it might be imagined that they ~~are~~ ^{were} done by some follower of Hsü Hsi. The red, flowers and bright green leaves are again under a misty veil - some petals are falling, some leaves are torn at the edges; a stream of blue swans flows through every interstice of these magnificent plants. The technical execution is everywhere less remarkable for ~~any kind of~~ ^{its} fluency or broadness than for ~~its~~ ^{its} subtlety or exactitude. If I remember right, some red may be discerned in the background of these pictures as well as in others of similar type, which is characteristic of the Hsü Hsi school.

Another ~~flower~~ ^{great} painting of similar ~~type~~ ^{type} as the pictures in ~~the~~ ^{in Tokyo, which I had an opportunity of studying} collection of the late Marquis Inoue, ~~was~~ ^{was} seen ~~ten~~ ^{ten} years ago. It is ascribed to Ku Le-ch'ien, an attribution which, as far as I know, is accepted by the best Japanese authorities (J.F. Okabe, 27). The composition consists here ~~also~~ ^{also} of lotus flowers and ~~bordering~~ ^{a pair of} ducks, but the lotus leaves are ~~very~~ ^{and} ~~rich~~ ^{rich} than in the above mentioned pictures. ~~The~~ ^{They} ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~even~~ ^{are} ~~cut~~ ^{cut} ~~off~~ ^{off} ~~a~~ ^a ~~little~~ ^{little} ~~at~~ ^{at} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~edges,~~ ^{edges,} ~~which~~ ^{which} ~~indicates~~ ^{indicates} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~picture~~ ^{picture} ~~must~~ ^{must} ~~have~~ ^{have} ~~been~~ ^{been} ~~larger,~~ ^{larger,} ~~space~~ ^{space} ~~will~~ ^{will} ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~almost~~ ^{almost} ~~completely~~ ^{completely} ~~filled~~ ^{filled} ~~up~~ ^{up} ~~by~~ ^{by} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~lotus~~ ^{lotus} ~~leaves.~~ ^{leaves.} The contours of the slackening and drooping leaves have been confined into intricate patterns emphasized by various shades of green and blue against which the red flowers form a charming contrast. The picture is probably one of the finest of its kind that has come down to our times, and it seems to justify the great fame of the master. He worked at the court ^{King} Li T'ang (Yü-chou), the above mentioned last ruler of the Southern T'ang state, who is reported to have expressed his admiration in the following words: "Of old there was a 'Hsi-chih, now we have Ku Le-ch'ien". (Cf. Giles, p. 36)

The name of Chao Ch'ang which was mentioned above, as he has been compared with Hsueh Si and Liang Ch'uan, is attached to ~~the~~ ^{several} small pictures in Japanese collections, which in spite of their unpretentious size have a great artistic value.

~~One of them~~ ^{of them} belong ^{ing} to Hsueh Si Inoue, re presents bamboo stalks and winged insects, ~~and~~ ^{an} other, which formed part of the Akaboshi collection, A Branch of white Jasmin. (cf. Kokka, 241, 243.). The flowers are here rendered with a refinement and a fidelity to nature which remind us of the flower drawings by Leonardo or Dürer, though ~~perhaps less scientifically, with~~ ^{they have} more freshness and "spiritual presence" (ch'i yün) than ^{the flowers of} any European master. ~~which is still to be seen.~~

Landscape-painters.

The greatest artistic achievements of this period were however accomplished in the field of landscape painting. A whole row of prominent artists took up the impulses left by Wang Wei and developed them, rather in various individual directions. They were all masters of monochrome ink painting, though some worked with contours and others with dots and splashes, and considered by later historians as ~~the~~ adherents of the Southern School. We have already quoted Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's classification of them; he was a great admirer of this school of landscape painting which in his opinion formed the transition ~~from~~ ^{from} Wang Wei to Mi Fu and the later painters of the Southern School. The division may be arbitrary but the fact remains, that these painters realized for the first time those great qualities of romantic landscape art which ever since have constituted ~~the basis~~ ^{some} of the essentials of the finest pictorial creations in China. Some of them worked in the Shu Kingdom, some in the Southern Tang state, others again at the imperial capital but their art is fairly homogeneous and it stretches over a period of ca 150 years during which great progress was made. The discussion of this school of landscape painting carries us thus over ^{time} the limits of the Five Dynasties period, but this is less important than the close stylistic succession and homogeneity of the painters under discussion.

The greatest names, often mentioned by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and other critics are: Ching Hao, Kuan Tung, Li Ch'ang, Tung Yuan, Chü Fan, Fang Kuan and Kuo Chung-shu, all considered in later times as representatives of the literary ~~new landscape school of painting~~ ^{new landscape school of painting}.
(Wên jen hua or the)

The oldest of these landscape painters was Ching Hao or Hung K'un, as he called himself; his activity belongs mainly to the period of the Five dynasties. He was a native of Ho-wei in Honan but passed ~~most of his~~ many years of his life on the Shen Cheng mountain of the Tai Hang range, where he lived in ~~deep~~ solitude painting the rugged scenery of precipitous cliffs and gnarled old pine trees. His style was strong and original, ~~more influenced~~ though perhaps more imaginative, depending on reflection and the rhythm of the brush stroke than on any closer attempt at representing objective forms. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang says that he was too much attached to the refinements of the brush work and too little to nature, though he admits, that Ching Hao's landscapes marked the culmination of T'ang art.

A very remarkable large picture in the Freer Gallery is traditionally attributed to Ching Hao, though now classified as of the Sung period. It represents a wild mountain scenery executed with remarkable strength and originality in the brush work. The cliffs are rendered with strongly emphasized vertical and horizontal strokes which confer a definite structure to the composition. The stylistic character of the picture is of an early type and there may, indeed, be some good reason for the traditional attribution, though we are not able to tell whether the picture represents an original by Ching Hao or some work in his manner by a close imitator.

Ching Hao's original genius and the general trend of his art appear also in a very interesting light in the treatise on landscape painting to which his name is attached and which is reproduced ^{for instance} in Hsueh Hsin-yin (vol. I. p. 28-31) under the title Chi-i (Strange record). The thoughts on art here expressed, which he says had been explained to him by an old man on the Tai Hang mountains, are evidently of a more genuine and important kind than for instance the contents of the essay attributed to Wang Wei. The ~~style~~ ^{concentrated} mode of expression is very terse and ~~very~~ ^{very} (which increases the difficulty of translation) but it reflects a ~~deep~~ ^{very} ~~spiritual~~ conception of the aim and methods of landscape painting and ~~offers some idea~~ ^{offers some idea} about the fundamental principles inspiring and guiding the great painters of this period.

5) The main sections of Ching Hao's treatise were translated by Walley, op. cit. p. 169 but in view of the particulars of the text I have tried to do an independent translation of the whole thing.

Painting is to paint, to measure the form of things (noumenon) and obtain their truth, or the outward appearance and obtain the appearance, or the reality and obtain reality. One should not take outward ^{appearances} for reality. If one does not understand this method but is satisfied with resemblance, the picture will not contain truth. Resemblance can be grasped by the shape ~~but~~ this has no spirit. Truth is something that depends on the perfect ~~with~~ development of both spirit and matter.

The lusts and passions are thieves of life; the wise man finds his joy in pictures and not in inordinate lusts i.e. in spirit, harmony, thought, scenery, brush-work and ink. Spirit is (manifested) when the heart follows the movement of the brush and the form of things is ^{then} also established. By harmony the lines may be concealed, but shape is brought out; nothing is omitted, nothing vulgar. ~~By thought~~ ^{By thought} the main points are defined and the meaning of the shapes consolidated. By scenery the season is indicated, the mysterious is searched out, and truth established.

The brush should follow the rules yet, it may shift and turn to suit the case; it should not be bound by matter or shape but be all flight and movement. By ink a high or low tone (or colouring) may be given and also shallowness and depth and the natural beauty of every kind ^{of thing}, though not as with the brush.

Again there are divine, mysterious, wonderful and skilful (painters). The divine obtains from all efforts of his own and creates the forms spontaneously. The mysterious arranges thoughtfully the dispositions and characteristics of ^{all the} various kinds of things in heaven and earth, and as they are in accordance with the proper rules every thing flows out naturally. The wonderful excels in vast and immeasurable outlines which may be contrary to the truth of scenery; his comprehension is partial. It may be said of him that he knows how to use the brush but not how to think. The skilful (painter) carves and pieces together scraps of beauty, applying wrongly great principles; his drawing is exaggerated; his compositions have an air of excessive boldness. It may be said that reality is not enough for him, he bolsters up outer ^{appearances}.

*) These four categories are traditional in Chinese art-history since the Tang period.

The brush-work has four properties i.e. muscles, bones, flesh and spirit. Muscles are dead without flesh. The disconnected (broken up) lines have no muscles. Matter which is attractive has no bones. By faint ~~appearance~~ ^{appearance} the spirit is lost. There are two kinds of faults, i.e. those which depend on the shape of things and those which do not. To the former belong flowers and trees which are out of season, buildings which are too small and ^{which are} ~~figures~~ too large, trees which are higher than the mountains and bridges which do not rest on the banks. These faults do not change the picture (as a whole). The faults which are not of the shapes, consist in the absence of spirit and harmony and in the perversity of all the things that are represented. ~~Then~~ ^{in spite of all} ~~at the efforts of~~ ^{with} the brush and the ink ~~are in vain~~ things appear as dead; the growth ~~of~~ of the trees and the shapes of the objects are strange as far reaching thoughts without any correlation or connection between them.

In the representation of landscape the spiritual aspect depends on the ~~various~~ innumerable aspects of mist, clouds, smoke and vapours, which may be light and heavy according to the season and more or less distinct according to the wind. Since earliest times there have been few painters who have understood this. Chieh Ho and Liu Tan-wai were the most able; it is now a days difficult to find pictures such as theirs. Chang Seng-yu's pictures are very poor in regard to proper principles. Chang Tsao's ^{of trees} ~~brush~~ and ~~ink~~ stones have both spirit and harmony; his brush and ink gathered up all the fine points, his thoughts were lofty and he did not attach importance to the five colours. Chin Ting ^{the Taoist monk} (di Tsung-shih) had spirit and form and reached the mysterious. Wang Yu-chang (Wang Wei) brush-work was subtle and elegant; ~~his~~ ^{the} spirit-harmony in his work was strong and pure; he was skilful in ^{representing} ~~painting~~ form and movement, and his thoughts were true. General Li (di Su-hsin) had great principles and far reaching thoughts, but in spite of the skill and beauty of his work it was deficient in ink and colour. Hsiang Jung ^{was} ~~was~~ blunt and coarse and painted with edges and corners; he had heard how to use the ink from Wu Tao-tzu who knew how to represent form with spirit and structure (bone) of the highest kind."

9 See above p. xx) A famous painter of pine trees who was active in the reign of emperor Hsüan Tsung. xx) He was known as the Scholar of the Tien Tai Mountain and excelled in the p'ou style of Wang Mo.

Closely related to Ching Hao by the general nature and aim of his art was Kuan Tung, a Chiangan man who in his early years had studied under Pi Shung, the specialist in paintings of stones and trees. His favorite motives were also the wild and rugged mountain sceneries but he seems to have ^{had} a special predilection for stones and cliffs but no skill in painting figures. These were sometimes added in his pictures by ~~another~~ a colleague called Hu T. Such was the case in his famous scroll of the Travelling Immortals (Hsien Yu t'u) which for the rest seems to have been a continuous scenery of rocks and stones. They were "massed together and of enormous size; their colour was like fine iron without a speck of dust... In whatever direction one looked there were stones, some round, some angular, long and short, every kind of them; seated stones and resting stones, some seen from above, some from below, ^{with} their shapes ~~not~~ square, circular, broad, narrow, thin and thick. But the picture contained also high temples and cave palaces, phoenixes and cranes, flowers and bamboos and the Immortals who walked about "with feathers and hairs fluttering in the wind." It was done in a sketchy fashion yet, "it could move men's hearts and make them wonder about the meaning of it all."

In another description of Kuan Tung's paintings we are told that those who looked at them felt "chilled or agitated as if they were standing on the Pa bridge in snow storm or hearing the apes cry in the Three Gorges (San Chia)"; his pictures had the power of defying the imagination and ^{of making} ~~of making~~ people forget the ordinary world. He ~~then~~ worked quickly, ^{apparently} without effort and "the more impetuous the brush-work, the stronger the spirit, expression, the simpler the scenery, the deeper the thoughts. He was truly creative ^{and had} the purity of the ancient, like Tao Yuan-ming among poets and Ho Jo among Chin-players. No common painter could reach him."¹³

Kuan Tung was ~~at times~~ ^{most} became, perhaps in later times the most admired and eagerly imitated of the great landscapists of the Five Dynasties period. ~~For this in particular~~ but original works by him are now a days extremely rare. The only one which I have been fortunate enough to see is a picture in the possession of Mr Yang Yin-pei in Peking: a hanging scroll, painted on silk of very

¹³ Shu hua fan ^{V. 30} after Te Yu-chai Hua pin. ¹⁴ Shu hua fan ^{V. 31} after Hua hsi.

very fine quality and represented ^{ing} the most mountain scenery. The ~~cliffs are~~ piled up almost like cloud formations and split into strange shapes (as in Li Sh'eng's pictures) and at the foot of the mountains ~~are~~ ^{which is} some two storied buildings shaded by old willows. The picture ^{on me} ~~was~~ provided with seals ^(and writing) of emperor Hui Tsung ~~and~~ ^{made} the impression of an original ~~from the period, in and I only~~ ^{regret that all efforts to obtain a photograph of it could be obtained have been in vain.}

Li Sh'eng was a landscape painter from Shu (active about the middle of the 10th century) who in his life-time hardly was doing the most famous but afterwards, particularly through the appreciation of Li Zhi, became extolled as one of the great precursors of romantic landscape art. ^{He is said to have} ~~It is said about him that he~~ ^{to begin with the works of} ~~he did not like the pictures of Li Zhi but soon put them aside and started to~~ ^{as they did not satisfy him, he} ~~paint "according to his own heart"~~ ^{his} ~~his~~ ^{favorite} motives were the streams and hills of Szechuan. ^{These he painted in a} ~~his~~ ^{so fine and delicate that} sometimes the brush strokes could hardly be seen, but nevertheless his pictures possessed "ch'i yin" because of the great refinement of his ~~style, some people~~ ^{him} ~~work~~ ^{and sometimes called} "the Little Hermit Li" ~~Li Sh'eng~~ ^{(like} ~~Li Sh'eng~~ ^{Li Shao-tao),} ~~though other critics were of the opinion~~ ^{but others (who knew better)} that his pictures had more similarity with the work of Li Zhi. Unfortunately we have no longer an opportunity of judging ^{to what extent} ~~these~~ ^{these} ~~resemblances~~ ^{resemblances} were characteristic of Li Sh'eng's style, because none of his works seem to have survived; we know only the titles of some of them: "The Three Gorges", "The Peach-blossom Cove", "The Wu-liang Stream", "Rain on the Li-shao and Chang Rivers". All these are classical motives, and particularly the last one became later very popular among Chinese landscape painters; ^{it was one of the} ~~it was one of the~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{later generations.}

The following landscape painters were active during the first half century of the Sung dynasty, ^{but stylistically they are most closely connected with the} ~~though they still adhering more or less closely to the~~ ^{preceding masters of the Five Dynasties and may therefore be mentioned at this place.}

Li Sh'eng, also called Ying-sh'iu, the name of a place in Szechuan where he was born, was a precocious youth "with an overfondness for wine, with considerable aptitude for music and chess (wei ch'i), a great talent for large paintings and love of poetry". As to more trifling matters he never gave them a thought. His life seems to have been divided between drinking and painting, and he died of delirium tremens in a hot house at the early age of forty nine (or 50), but his art survived him. His pictures were, as matter of fact, most eagerly sought for ~~by~~ ^{for} by local connoisseurs, but as they had been bought up by the government, it was extremely difficult to obtain any. Li Zhi says that he had seen about 100 forgeries but only two real works by the master, and he must thus assume that the 109 pieces which were listed under his name in the ~~Shih-p'ing~~ ^{Shih-p'ing} ~~pu~~ ^{pu}, belonged to

*) Giles, op cit. p. 95.

Li Chi'eng's name is also attached to an essay on landscape painting, known as Shan Shui Fa (The Method of Landscape), a writing a time-late type as the treatise ascribed to Wang Wei. I do not know whether ~~the~~ Li Chi'eng's authorship is better established than Wang Wei's in regard to the Hua Hsueh Shi Chieh, but it seems rather more plausible. The text is written in a very simple style with no literary or poetic embellishments and does not contain anything which seems incompatible with the pictorial work of Li Chi'eng. Nor does it add anything to his importance as an artistic personality. Yet, it possesses an undeniable historical interest as it reveals what must have been rather common principles and methods among the landscape painters of the time. It leaves us with the impression that these painters worked less through inspiration from nature than according to certain formula or precepts in regard to the main elements of composition and style. They had their accepted ways of drawing and combining the mountains and the cravices, the winding streams and the waterfalls, the roads and the bridges, the trees and the stones, the temples and the huts etc. and most of these or similar ingredients were almost as necessary and definite as the postures or mudras of the Buddhist figures. Thus it became possible to formulate them in words as well as in ~~pictures~~ ^{painting} and to lay down rules for their ~~relative~~ ^{respective} positions and appearances in the pictures. The whole procedure may seem to ~~rest~~ ^{be} rather scholastic and foreign to the aim and spirit of creative art, but it should be remembered that Chinese painting was essentially an intellectual occupation, more closely connected with the art of writing or poetry than with ~~for instance~~ painting in oil. ~~It is not~~ This implied evidently more definite restrictions in motives and methods than we are used to in European landscape painting, but it also induced concentration on those elements ~~to~~ which were considered essential, and it led gradually to a degree of perfection within the accepted limits that never was reached ^{by a} less disciplined and less traditional art. Its formal and technical rules ~~and~~ methods were ~~not~~ ^{developed} ~~from~~ from the point of view of the creative consciousness rather than for the observing eye, and it required men of genius, painters with a strong creative spirit to make them something more than empty formulae.

The text of Li Ch'eng's Method of landscape runs as follows:¹⁾

"First decide the places of host and guest (the principal and the secondary elements); then divide the far from the near; after that draw in the scenery and mark out the figures; arrange the high and the low.

The ink should not be too thick; ~~when~~ if it is thick it looks dirty and not clear, but neither should it be too thin (or slight) because then it looks dry and not rich. If it dries or soaks in too much it ~~too~~ does not produce continuity. When too many details are inserted the spirit is lost.

Make the branches of the trees long towards the left and short towards the right; make the stones look heavier on the upper side and lighter on the lower side (towards the ground). Make the clouds and the mist elegant and not too abundant. The woods to the right and the left at the foot of the mountain should be spread out and not too dense. The roads should be curving and there should be both high and low mountains. If there is snow, ^{the sky needs} clouds or mist, ~~should cover the~~ ~~sky~~ if there is rain the distance cannot be seen.

Place mountain cottages at the narrow defiles and hithermen on the sandy banks. The waist (middle portion) of the high mountains should be surrounded by mist and the foot of the long ranges shaded by clouds.

The far off waters should be curving and coiling and there should also be clouds and mist to break off ~~the road~~ ^{conceal} some parts of their course. Make strange looking stones, sharp cliffs and precipices, but there must also be ^{small} hills to offer soil for the roots. The trees should be forked ^{but their} ~~with straight~~ trunks straight.

The seasons should be indicated by a decaying or an abundant vegetation. The running water should be shallow near the banks but deep ^{where} ~~when~~ it is rushing down in cascades over the precipitous cliffs. The slopes of the large mudhills should be high. The trees of a misty forest should not stand too close together. The numerous cliffs should not all reach the same line; some of their ^{peaks} ~~tops~~ ^{may} be higher ~~than~~ some lower, and a solitary peak should be placed in the far distance. A turbulent stream running in from the back ~~at the back of the ground~~

The roads should be sometimes hidden, sometimes visible.

¹⁾ The translation is after the text in Hua Hsiieh Hsin Yin. I. 34-36.

The wooden bridges may be introduced or left out. One should not too frequently use strange looking stones on the top of the precipices nor should there be too many dry tree-stubs on the mountain sides.

If the far off morning mist is too thick, one may risk to confuse the dawn and the dusk. The dense trees and thick forests should have interruptions so as not to make them look stiff (as carved in wood). The dangerous passes over the mountain plateaus should be like the wood-cutter's paths. Mist and fog confuse the distances like the rising vapours when the rain is threatening.

The prominent trees should rise straight and high, yet one or two should be curving and bending. The stones should be piled up confusedly, but ~~two~~ ^{three} or ~~four~~ of them should stand out with strange shapes. The leaves on the trees which grow tight together should be scarce. The heavy stones may be distinguished from the light ones by their wrinkles and furrows. The people who are moving about and looking around should be of many kinds. High buildings should be introduced only at wide distances. The roots of the trees should pierce (the soil) as the claws of a ^{coiled} dragon grasping the scattered stones which are partly hidden in the mud.

The winding water should not have more than three turns, the rushing cascades only two sections. A mountain should never have only one tree, a stone never be alone. The rustic bridges at quiet and solitary places should connect far away bamboo cottages with human dwellings. There should be stubs of roughly cut old trees making ~~light openings~~ ^{glades} in the pine forest around the pagoda, which may be partly clear and partly hidden so as to make it look both light and strong. If one neglects either the lightness or the strength it will become a leaning or decaying structure.

A thousand ~~steep~~ precipitous cliffs and ten thousand ravines, high and low and of every variety should be brought together in the picture. Two innumerable tops and peaks should be rising and falling, eminent and lofty and all different. If you can ^{understand the meaning of all this} apply all that you may ^{realize} from it the finest points (in painting).

Hsu Tao-ning, a native of Ch'ang-an, followed to begin with closely in the foot-
steps of Li Meng-ming, but later on he branched off into caricaturing the custo-
mers of the pothouses. An important and apparently genuine specimen of his be-
longing to Mr. Tang Yun-guan in Peking. It is a tall and narrow composition entire-
ly filled with winding mountain ridges and piled up cliffs. The water runs down
between the rocks, thin pines are growing in the crevices, and in the foreground
is the classical high wooden bridge on poles over which some travellers are pro-
ceeding on horseback. The tone is now very dark which, no doubt, makes the picture
look heavier and duller than it ~~was~~ ^{was} have been when first painted. In spite of the
grandiosity of the design, the picture has not the strength or significance of
Li Ch'eng's above mentioned ~~winter scene~~ ^{winter scene}, though it may be of the period, as testi-
fied by a number of seals and inscriptions.

Another picture considered to be by Hsu Tao-ning is the 'Rainy Day' picture, a
scroll for only in the T'ien Hsin collection and now belonging to Mr. Ogita in
Kyoto. The composition ~~consists of wide~~ ^{consists of wide} ~~long stretched off~~ ^{peaceful} ~~by~~ ^{by} ~~mountain ridges in the background and low~~ ^{spread their} ~~large solitary trees~~ ^{fantastic silhouettes, while the} ~~is~~ ^{where} ~~introduced only at the end~~ ^{traditional} ~~the execution seems rather too slight~~ ^{further of the picture} for a
master of the 10th century.

Li Meng-ming, Kuan Hsin and Li Ch'eng were at ~~this time~~ ^{this} ~~the greatest influence on the formation~~ ^{most important}
~~of the landscape painting in the 10th century, but~~ ^{the greatest names in landscape painting, but}
~~as the 11th century approached, the influence of the 10th century was~~ ^{contemporary}
~~the 11th century, it was recognized that there was a new~~ ^{or even greater} ~~equal importance~~ ^{i. e.} ~~in the 11th century~~ ^{they were}
~~the reign of the last ruler of the Southern Song~~ ^{of the}
~~the 11th century, the influence of the 10th century was~~ ^{disappeared}
~~the 11th century, the influence of the 10th century was~~ ^{work}
~~the 11th century, the influence of the 10th century was~~ ^{in the Kai-yao monastery. The recognition of these ten}
~~the 11th century, the influence of the 10th century was~~ ^{from the time of Li Meng-ming (1057-1107),}
~~the 11th century, the influence of the 10th century was~~ ^{appreciation and placed these painters in the foremost rank}
~~the 11th century, the influence of the 10th century was~~ ^{the greatest sensitivity and the most spontaneous power of expression.}
~~the 11th century, the influence of the 10th century was~~ ^{the 11th century, the influence of the 10th century was}
~~the 11th century, the influence of the 10th century was~~ ^{Through authentic}
~~the 11th century, the influence of the 10th century was~~ ^{of the}

The paintings of Kuan Hsin which still exist are more chrome landscape ~~studies~~
in a comparatively broad and forceful style but the old critics praise him espe-
cially for his more elaborate coloured paintings ~~and also~~ ^{and also} for his skill in paint-
ing dragons and figures. We are told that he used dark red in the figures and

in its present state a complete and harmonious impression. The design which does not exceed $1\frac{1}{2}$ metre may be enjoyed in one glance at a distance. It has a wonderful cohesion and unity, in spite of the great variations in the scenery, a bold continuous rhythm not only in the lines but also in the succession of tones. The artist has ~~known~~ ^{understood} how to handle the big masses of mountains and trees and how to dissolve them into infinity. And yet, at closer sight, one may discover a number of intimate details: the small boats on the water, the men on the promontory, waiting for the ferry, the riders and wanderers on the path which leads to the ~~top~~

faintly visible at the bottom of the misty gorge. The poetry of the grand, far-reaching scenery is ^{described or} unrolled as in a great epic carried by a firm rhythmic structure and interspersed with gems of lyric beauty. The conditions and advantages of the continuous scroll composition are utilized with consummate ~~the~~ power and skill; no portion is detached, no divisions or breaks in the scenery are indicated but it leads itself nevertheless to a gradual enjoyment as one proceeds step by step. There is a succession of scenes in spite of the fundamental unity of the whole which depends not only on the design but also on the coherent ^{the} character of the brush work.

The monk Chü Jan was a somewhat younger contemporary of Tung Yuan. ~~Jan, however, took steps as outlined as a painter, a representative of the school of imaginative mountain scenery, but "the ink is piled up in rugged, uneven and smooth". In the end of the work is better but it has no less a depth in expressing depth and atmosphere.~~

The most interesting example of Chü Jan's art that I have seen is a small and narrow ~~picture~~ ^{composition} in the possession of Mr. Shao Fu-hsing in Peking, which represents a high mountain and at the foot of it trees and water. The rocks are rounded, almost woolly, rendered in a fashion which seems to forego the manner of Li T'ai, though with remarkable contrasts of light and shade. It is the kind of picture that served as a model for Wang Meng and the other masters of the later period, though with more intimacy of detail and refinement of tone.

Another apparently genuine picture by Chü Jan is in the National Gallery in Peking (sometimes exhibited in Wen Hua Tien). It is a short scroll on paper representing precipitous cliffs and some hamlets in the crevices, executed with a firm brush in a soft greyish black tone. Less convincing as a work of art, though interesting of its kind, is the long scroll representing views along the Yang-tze-chiang, which was formerly in the Tuan Fang collection and now belongs to the Freer Gallery. The composition has a distinct map-like character as it spreads out in a kind of bird's eye's view with an infinite succession of craggy peaks and small villages ^{in front of them} ~~at the river banks~~ at the river banks. When published in the Kokke (nr 257) it was described as ~~undoubtedly~~ ^{certainly not later than} the Southern Sung period, but in the Freer Museum it is catalogued as possibly Ming. The attribution to Chü Jan must have been made for stylistic reasons, because it has no signature or seal proving the authorship of the artist.

Pictures honored with the name of Han K'uan are not many, but a few of them are of a convincing quality. The best ones, to our knowledge, are preserved in the Boston Museum. Their attributions may not be ~~possible to prove~~ ^{possible to prove} ~~by any reliable method~~, but ~~they~~ ^{pictures} are evidently of the ~~period~~ ^{period}, and their intrinsic characteristics are ~~certainly~~ in harmony with what we know about Han K'uan's art. They impress us by ~~an uncommonly~~ ^{an uncommonly} powerful interpretation of ~~the~~ motives of ~~his~~ ^{auster} grandeur, ~~as are the pictures of nature~~ ^{which} are brought very close to us, but their realism is screened in a veil of mystery, and the dark and forceful brush strokes are ~~of a quite definite kind~~ ^{of a quite definite kind}.

~~The motive of one of the~~ ^{One of them - a} scroll for pictures ~~is a pair of~~ ^{represents} ~~two~~ ^{old trees} with big roots that ~~coil~~ ^{coil} like monsters between the snow covered rocks. The gnarled trunks and branches are rendered with firm and yet soft strokes; their intricate pattern against the bleak grey sky marks a note of loneliness and isolation. It is not a picture which suggests space, like a landscape of the Chinese school, but rather nearness; the main trunk ~~is represented on a large~~ ^{represented on a large} scale and close to the foreground.

are difficult to see and are rarely ~~represented in this~~ ^{represented in this} ~~picture~~ ^{picture} ~~of this size and~~ ^{of this size and} ~~vertical extent~~ ^{vertical extent} is the large hanging picture which represents a precipitous rock with a narrow path or cliff side, trees and buildings on the terraces and water in the foreground. The composition has an extraordinary richness of detail. The mountains are made up of endless folds, ~~and crevices~~ ^{wrinkles} ~~the~~ ^{are} ~~are~~ ^{are} of branches and twigs. The innumerable details ~~are~~ ^{are} almost indistinguishable, particularly since the picture has lost something of its original color. Yet, one may still discover here the atmosphere ~~xxxxxxx~~ of a winter eve, when the sky is covered and the snow is melting. In the foreground, where the path leads and the buildings are, the more one finds the significance of the interpretation. In the foreground, well above the picture in his mind when he painted it, Han K'uan's landscapes are high and craggy mountains like Hua Shan or Tai Shan; the tall grey peaks ~~xxxxxxx~~ rise in front of us so near and with innumerable crevices... The streams and valleys are deep and wide, one can almost hear the rushing of the water. The painted snow covered mountains and hills are, in addition, the most famous of the (Wei) Mo-chi. In Li Shih-er's paintings, which were done with light ink,

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The most important figure painters of the Southern T'ang state were Wang Ch' i-
han and Chou Wen-chü, ~~the~~ both ~~were~~ active at the court of king ~~Yü~~ ^{Yü}.
Their delicate manner seems to reflect the extraordinary refinement of the T'ang
king court, where, it is said, women first started to bind their feet, because it im-
ported to "their gait a swaying motion which was found attractive by the men of
the day" (Jaley, p. 113). Chou Wen-chü specialised in the representation of these
elaborate court ladies, while Wang Ch' i-han painted Buddhist subjects and
contemporary genre motives. Chou decorated a hall in the king's villa with such sub-
jects, and though he followed in a general way the traditions of the past, it is
said that he did not paint fat beauties, like the T'ang master, but slender, willow-
like ladies. The painting had changed since the brilliant days of the great T'ang con-
querors and the pictures of course reflect the latest ideals of feminine grace.

And at the same time children came to play a role which they never before had
held in Chinese art. Artists took an interest in the gentler side of life, which
hardly had been discovered before; women and children, flowers and butterflies
became motives just as important as statesmen and philosophers or dragons and
tigers. ^{very} ~~High~~ ^{close} ~~but the~~ ^{penetration in a hitherto almost neglected side of life.} ~~are of a minor range, but they demanded a~~
~~very close~~ ^{penetration in a hitherto almost neglected side of life.} ~~observation and artistic~~

This is shown in the figure painting ~~of the T'ang period~~ is well illus-
trated by two small pictures, in the shape of rounded fans, ~~one of which is~~
one of which is ascribed to Chou Wen-chü and the other to Wang Ch' i-han. It is ex-
actly next to impossible to ascertain whether the traditional attributions are correct,
but it is generally said that the pictures are of later date than the T'ang Sung
period and they represent ^{very attractively} ~~the~~ the stylistic tendencies of these masters.
The subject of both ~~is~~ ^{the} children at play. In Chou Wen-chü's picture the chil-
dren are playing on a garden bench, is amusing himself with a ball, and in the
background luxuriant rose-mallows, while in the picture attributed to Wang Ch' i-han
there is a group of six small children playing on a terrace in front of
of a pavilion where a woman is chastising or cleaning an ~~old~~ ^{baby} ~~child~~
who is lying on his stomach. The intimate feeling of these pictures and the
their refinement of design may be observed in our illustrations, the colouring -
light blue, moss green, rose and white - is so delicate and soft
can be communicated by the originals. They are indeed small gems of pictorial
beauty, in which the artistic treatment corresponds perfectly with the nature
of the motives.

~~the picture by Wang Ch' i-han is more famous~~ ^{the picture by Wang Ch' i-han is more famous}
~~and it was formerly in the collection of the Earl of Arundel~~ ^{and belongs now}
~~to the Earl of Arundel~~ ^{to the Earl of Arundel} ~~as indicated by the title, it is~~
~~though the old~~ ^{though the old} ~~who is seated among his books~~ ^{who is seated among his books}
~~screen, for the moment~~ ^{screen, for the moment} ~~holds a pause~~ ^{holds a pause} ~~in his reading and is cleaning his ear with~~
~~the finger nail.~~ ^{the finger nail.} ~~It is a picture of a man~~ ^{It is a picture of a man}
~~old and modern authorities~~ ^{old and modern authorities} ~~written about this picture, it should be~~
~~ascribed to Wang Ch' i-han.~~ ^{ascribed to Wang Ch' i-han.} ~~In fact, its present owner says, that~~
~~considering the details as to historical ownership, annotations by two of~~ ^{considering the details as to historical ownership, annotations by two of}
~~most famous collectors, Shih Ch' i and Wang Ch' i-han, and its present state~~ ^{most famous collectors, Shih Ch' i and Wang Ch' i-han, and its present state}
~~of preservation, this scroll is probably the most complete and perfect specimen~~ ^{of preservation, this scroll is probably the most complete and perfect specimen}
~~of early Chinese paintings now in any collection.~~ ^{of early Chinese paintings now in any collection.} (G. Rawson, op. cit. p. 11).

A somewhat larger picture in the form of a short scroll, ~~also~~ traditionally ascribed to Chou Wen-chui, is in the British Museum. It represents four women and several children gathered on a terrace, lined by a low balustrade beyond which may be faintly distinguished a pond with lotus flowers. At both ends of the terrace are some trees. The figures appear as on a raised stage, all in the foreground, and they ^{are arranged} in four groups in a rather symmetrical fashion; the two ~~inner~~ ^{are higher and formed by} groups being higher in the middle ~~consist of~~ standing figures, while the two outer groups consist of a kneeling woman at a water basin and a child. The decorative design is ~~so~~ ^{so} carefully balanced that it almost would appear stiff were it not for the variations in the slight movements ~~of~~ of the graceful figures, but this restraint serves rather to enhance than to diminish the artistic charm of the composition.

The execution is ^{delicate} ~~refined~~, though with little strength in the brush work; the colours are subdued and probably retouched at some brighter spots (for instance the cinabar red). It impressed me as an early copy, but it cannot be very far removed from the original and may, indeed, ~~serve to give us some idea about the art of the particular style of the Five Dynasties period~~ ⁱⁿ ~~that a certain amount~~ by its combination of a peculiarly quiet and harmonious design with feminine gracefulness and charm serve to give us some idea about the stylistic ~~the~~ ideals of some of the best figure painters of this period of transition.

Li Ch'êng's name is also attached to an essay on landscape painting known as Shan Shui Fa (The Method of Landscape), which is of a similar type as the ^{so-called great} ~~this famous~~ Ming-Chünch of Wang Wei. I do not know whether the authorship of Li Ch'êng is better established than that of Wang Wei in regard to

21

A figure painter of entirely different origin, scope and character who however also was active at the end of Tang and during the Five Dynasties and consequently may be mentioned at this place, was Hu Kuei, a Tartar of the so called Hou Kitan tribe, who however has won a prominent place in Chinese art-history. He is classified in the Hsüan Ho Hua P'u as the most important painter of Barbarian people and horses and also mentioned with high commendations by Kuo fo-hsi and later Chinese critics.⁴⁹ No less than 65 of his pictures were preserved in the imperial collection, mostly representing horsemen, hunters, barbarian camps and the life on the great plains beyond the northern border of the Middle Kingdom. The ~~descriptive~~ descriptive notice about his art in the Hsüan Ho Hua P'u may be worth quoting:

"Hu Kuei from Fan Yang painted barbarian horses. His compositions were ~~not~~ ^{ingenious and} intimate; they seemed sometimes overcrowded or scattered but the brush work was clear and strong. His camp scenes with all their paraphernalia, his pictures of shooting and hunting tribes men were delicate and minutely ~~represented~~ and representing with perfect clearness every detail. His camels and horses were painted more broadly, with a brush made of wolf's hair so as to give them more life. He interpreted all these things ~~very~~ ^{very} skilfully as may be seen from such pictures of his as The Seven Riders coming down from the Yin Mountain, Eagle Hunters and Horse Catchers and others. His style of painting was continued by his son Hu Chien.

Mei Yao-ch'ien⁵⁰ wrote a colophon on Hu Kuei's picture of Barbarians dismounting from their horses which said in substance: ~~In the~~ ^{Among} the ~~of~~ ^{the} wooden tents surrounded by screen walls the cauldrons are boiling, ~~and~~ the drums and horns are silent and do not scare the wild, ~~yes~~ ^{of the} vast plains.... From Mei Yao-ch'ien's words may be realized that Hu Kuei certainly was no vulgar man.

We have no information as to where this great artist learned to paint, but it seems rather evident that he ~~had~~ ^{had} been in contact with Chinese art, though he may have spent most of his life outside the borders of the empire. He would hardly have become ~~so~~ ^{highly appreciated} ~~so~~ ^{so} ~~well known~~ ^{well known}.

⁴⁹ Cf. Tai Wen ch'ai Shu Hua p'u.

⁵⁰ Mei Yao-ch'ien (1002-1060) was a distinguished scholar and poet of the Sung dynasty, a close friend of Ou Yang-hsiu. Cf. Giles, Sing. Dict. 1511. His colophons on Hu Kuei's paintings ~~seem to indicate~~ may indicate that the painter lived into the Sung period.

by the Chinese scholars and critics if he had been entirely unknown among them personally and the specimen of his art that still survives (whether it be an original or an early copy) indicates also a close adherence to ^{the pure} ~~purely~~ Chinese traditions of style.

The picture in question is one of the great treasures in the museum in Boston. It is a small fan-shaped painting on silk and represents a Mongol Horseman with a Hawk on Quarry; the old label on the picture reads: "Hu Kuei's Barbarian Horseman". It may however be noted that Okakura considered this picture to be the work of an early Sung master, a distinction which perhaps does not exclude Hu Kuei's authorship if he lived to the beginning of the Sung period. However this may have been, it seems to us that the general character of the picture answers perfectly to the descriptions of Hu Kuei's paintings of barbarian hunters and horsemen and the same is true of its execution in a very fine and exact manner: every detail for instance of the horse ~~trappings~~ ^{trappings} is carefully rendered and yet, the whole thing has a strong and big character. The man is standing at the side of his horse occupied in tying his quarry (an eagle?) at the back of the saddle. The hunting falcon is ^{proudly} ~~is~~ ^{perched} on the front of the saddle, and the short-legged Mongolian pony is snuffing at the ^{short} grass that covers the ground. This group is however not placed in the midst of the picture but as close to the right edge as possible, while all the rest of it is simply an open grass-covered plain reaching up to a high horizon - a very suggestive arrangement by which the painter has contrived to give an impression of the ~~extra~~ wide expanse of the hunting grounds where the prey was caught.

Four other small pictures in the same museum may be mentioned in this connection as they evidently are related by their characteristic motives with the ~~type~~ ^{style} of art of Hu Kuei and hardly fit in as well with any other painter known to us. They are illustrations to the story about Princess Wen-chi's Captivity in Mongolia and her return to China and no less than three of the scenes are staged on the Mongolian plains, while the fourth illustrates her arrival at the paternal house in a Chinese city. These scenes from the ~~the story of the Princess Wen-chi's Captivity in Mongolia and her return to China~~ ^{on the Mongolian plains} wind-blown sandy plains of Mongolia where the nomads have pitched their camps of large woollen tents screened by walls of ~~felt or hide~~ ^{felt or hide} where horses and camels are rested during the breaks in the journey while soldiers (or grazed at some river bank)

A painter of entirely different origin, scope and character, who however also was active at the end of Tang and during the Five Dynasties period and consequently

with pennants stand on guard (and where the Chinese people look as strangers) are evidently painted by somebody who possessed an intimate knowledge of the country and the barbarian camps. Everything down to the minutest details of the men's outfit, the horse trappings, the construction of the tents and the preparation of the food in the large tripods is represented with convincing simplicity and directness, conveying the impression that the painter must have seen and lived among such things. The very remarkable artistic charm and expressiveness of these pictures results, as a matter of fact, much more from the vividness with which the separate groups of men and animals are depicted and from the faithfulness in the description of all the paraphernalia than from any strictly compositional features. The designs are ~~as~~ indeed very simple, not to say loosely brought together, without any serious attempt at decorative arrangement. It is true, that the scenes are transposed in accordance with a definite sense of style, but this is much more naive than in the works of the average Chinese masters producing also a curious correspondence between certain parts of these pictures and the works of ^{so called} primitive European painters ~~of~~ the 15th century. It is very seldom that one meets with Chinese pictures of early date ~~that~~ ^{which} to the same extent as these remind one of parallel artistic endeavours in other countries, a fact that rather tends to support our surmise that the artist ~~did~~ ^{did} not come from any of the great centres of Chinese art.

Yet, he has also been well acquainted with the life in the Chinese cities as proved by the fourth picture in the series representing the return of Wen-chi to her paternal house. This scene takes place in the busy street of a Chinese city ~~at~~ as the entrance to the family compound. The princess is received by various members of the family under the roof of the inner gate pavilion, while porters are hurrying with her luggage over the court yard, and the horses and guards are resting before the outer gate in the street. The scene has attracted crowds of people, as such things do in China, where crowds emerge with surprising facility when something unexpected takes place. The whole thing is so naturally depicted that one seems to recognize it from actual observations. The walls, gateways and pavilions are ~~practically~~ quite similar to those which still may be seen at the residential compounds in the Old cities in northern China. But here too one cannot help but noticing a certain

lack of stricter compositional arrangement, a somewhat arbitrary rendering of the buildings (all seen from above) in accordance with the primitive descriptive style ~~of the~~ that we have observed in the other pictures. ~~But~~ Nothing could however be more entertaining than the painter's representation of the crowd in the street, the food-vendors, the sooth-sayers, the greeting friends, the priest with his page, the coolies and so on, they are all characterized with ~~an~~ ^a vivacity that easily makes us overlook the somewhat map-like scatteredness of the the picture as a whole.

The traditional title and attribution of these pictures: "Auspicious Omen of Kao Tsung's by Hsiao Chao" ~~is~~ must, indeed, as explained in an article by Mr. Tomita, be the result of some old error and cannot be considered seriously*. The motives have nothing to do with Emperor Kao Tsung's accession to the throne and the artist must have been of an earlier age than the 12th century painter Hsiao Chao. The consensus of modern expert opinion seem to be that the pictures were executed in the Northern Song period, and for my own part I think that they show a kind of primitiveness which makes it probable that they were executed in the early part of the period, if not before. As to the artist, we have no clue whatsoever; but the motives as well as the somewhat scattered manner of composition and, whops also the ~~manner~~ execution with strong ink contours and more broadly painted in pigments point in the direction of Hu Kuei. ~~†~~ The pictures may not be his works, though they answer peculiarly well to the descriptions of ~~his~~ some of his paintings; he may have been dead when these pictures were made, but his art and style lived on in the works of his son Hu Chien who is said to have possessed "the spirit of his father" and to have followed ~~him~~ ^{the older Hu} so closely that the creations of the two men could hardly be distinguished. ^{††} These two men were the most famous painters of Barbarian people known in the ~~time of~~ ^{time of} emperor Hui Tsung and ~~it~~ lies thus near at hand to connect the above mentioned pictures with their family style, even though it is impossible to make any definite assertion as to their master.

* Cf. Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, June 1928

†† According to Hsüan Ho Hsue p'u Hsue Chien painted similar scenes as his father, with equal refinement and success and was represented with 44 paintings in the imperial collection.

Hsi Tao-ming was evidently a genius by nature, though it was only later in life that he reached his great fame as a painter. According to certain records he came from Ho-chien in Chili, though he is usually classified as a man from Chang-an, where he probably spent a large part of his life. It is told of him (as ^{about} of the Tartar painter Kuo I) that he started as a pharmacist and used to hand over ~~a~~ small pictures of trees or flowers to ~~the~~ the clients together with the medicine that he sold them. Thus he became ~~first~~ known as a painter and ~~was~~ ^{as his fame increased he was} employed by many noblemen such as Chang Shih-hsing, Duke of Tung under emperor Chien Tsung (998-1022) and officials ~~such as the poet Wang Wei~~ ^{who ordered him} Hsi Tao-ming to execute ~~to make some~~ paintings on the walls and screens in his house. These pictures pleased the minister so much that he composed ~~a~~ a poem in praise of the artist in which he said: Li Chi'eng has passed away, Fan Kuan is ~~dead~~ ^{dead}, now there is only Hsi Tao-ming from Chang-an (who may be considered their equal).¹⁾

He started by following the manner of Li Chi'eng and painted in a rather ~~fine~~ detailed and cautious style but when he grew older his brush work became simpler and bolder expressing his strong temperament and he painted high peaks, steep mountain ranges, strong and inflexible trees, forming a style of his own.

The pictures preserved under his name and which may be originals show rather a mixture of styles. The landscape scroll formerly in the Tuan Fung collection, and now belonging to Mr Fuji in Kyoto, is a ~~very~~ carefully executed with a fine brush in a style that evidently is derived from Li Chi'eng. The composition is made up of wide stretches of peaceful water, bordered by mountain ranges in the background and low banks in the foreground with some large scraggy trees which form fantastic ^{dark} silhouettes against the ~~sky~~ ^{background} of the more light-toned mountains. It is a picture of great refinement both in tone and brush work which stylistically holds a place halfway between Li Chi'eng and Kuo Hsi.

~~Close~~ ^{Close} akin to this, though executed with somewhat stronger and stiffer brush is the tall mountain landscape belonging to Mr Wang Hung yian in Peking which is provided with a number of inscriptions by prominent connoisseurs. The mountain ridges are here winding and coiling almost as if they still were in a state of ^{plastic} formation, and in the deep crevices between them the water rushes down with ^{at} impetuous speed.

¹⁾ The main points of Hsi Tao-ming's career are told in Hsüan-ho ^{two} p. 4, which also contains the titles of 151 pictures by him. Additional information is given in Hsü Shih Hui Chuan and in Shu Hui p. 4 v. 50. He is said to have served as a second imperial secretary and to have been prominent also as a poet. None of the records quoted in these books offers any support to Giles' presentation of Hsi Tao-ming as a painter "who sank to pot-house caricature". G. Giles, op. cit. p. 109.

forming in the foreground a broad stream which is spanned as usual by a high wooden bridge over which some travellers are proceeding on horseback. The finest parts of the picture are however the tall pines, truly strong and inflexible trees, as said of the pines in Hsü Tao-ning's later paintings. The very dark tone of the picture is, no doubt, largely caused by age and wear but it detracts a great deal from ~~the~~ original decorative effect of the grand design.

Quite different in style and technical execution is the small fan-shaped picture in the Boston museum which has the apparently authentic signature: Tao-ning (which hardly can signify anybody else than Hsü Tao-ning) but otherwise might be dated a century later. The title of the picture is: A Man in a Pavilion watching the Tide on the Yang-tze Ching, and it is largely occupied by an open plain of water ending in a long ^{sharp} which rolls in from the back round. The foreground is occupied by the pavilion on a rocky ledge and a tall pine ^{firmly} drawn in a ~~very~~ somewhat jerky style as in the pictures of the Ma-school. If this picture is by Hsü Tao-ning, he must, indeed, have developed very far in his old age, though we have no reason to believe that he lived over the middle of the 11th century. One may ask whether there ~~were~~ some other later painters who possibly could be responsible for this very freely and strongly executed fan-painting. It is altogether a thing of superior quality and should consequently not be passed over even in a short study of Chinese landscape painting.

The pictures in the Free Gallery ^{have old attributions to Hsü Tao-ning} which ~~are traditionally attributed~~ (being) are evidently copies (as indicated in the manuscript catalogue in the gallery) but they are not entirely devoid of interest, because the compositions are characteristic. The tall winter landscape with Travellers in a Mountain Gorge is a suggestive rendering of a great design, often repeated by later artists though seldom ⁱⁿ with a more imposing fashion. The execution is rather coarse and can hardly be older than late Ming. The other picture, a horizontal scroll representing Lakes and Cloud-capped Mountains, ^{which} ~~is~~ ^{executed in colour} ~~slightly coloured~~ may also be considered an excellent specimen of late Ming work based on an original ~~of~~ design of great and striking beauty.

*) Cf. Chinese Pictures in American Collections. P. 176-177. 189.

draw things as they are.⁴¹ He is said to have used an exceedingly fine brush so that the ink lines were hardly visible, and the effect of his pictures may, on the whole, have depended more on the colouring than on the ink drawing ^{the} or brush strokes.⁴² Yet, it is evident that for instance in his paintings of bamboo or the trunks and branches of other trees the brush stroke was essential but the principal technical novelty that he introduced seems to have been a kind of "boneless painting" i.e. the use of colour without any visible outlines.

These remarks about Huang Chüan's art are well born out by a painting called Lin Tang Chia Chin tu (The Willows at the Pool with Gathering Birds) which has been published in a series of large photographs in Japan without any ^{text or} indication of its owner. To judge by its seals, it must have formed part of the Imperial Manchu collection and also been in the Hsüan-ho collection. The original is unknown to me but the photographs convey a rather convincing impression of a very fine original painting very likely by the master. It is painted on silk with ink and abundant use of pigments. The composition may be called a panorama of bird life amongst flowering trees and shrubs. In the first large flowering (prunus?) tree are number of magpies and smaller singing birds; then follows a group of two families of very large cocks and hens with their chicken among rose mallows; the third section contains ^{small} pheasants, rockeries and blossoming irises, a prunus tree in bloom and willow with some small birds; the pool starts here and spreads over the rest of the picture where the swans and ducks are enjoying themselves on the water. The last portion of the picture may thus be said to be ^{most successfully} unified, least panoramic, but the blossoming trees and plants and the magnificent gay coloured birds ^{confer} evidently to the earlier portions a very charming decorative character. The whole thing ~~is~~ more in the nature of a series of decorative screens or wall panels than like a united ~~picture~~ scroll composition and the artistic merit of it ^{depends} ~~is~~ mainly on the wonderful rendering of the various flowers and birds. It makes us realize that Huang Chüan was ^{a painter of a rather} old-fashioned ^{type} who in his art was guided by a very close adherence to nature and a great sense of decorative beauty.

⁴¹ Giles, *op. cit.* p. 92. Quotation from Shen Kua

⁴² In Tung-p'o had evidently a somewhat different opinion about this; he writes: "Huang Chüan painted the flying birds with their necks and feet extended; but somebody remarked that when the birds stretch their feet they draw in the neck and when they stretch the neck they draw in the feet; they never extend neck and feet at the same time. This may be found quite true on observation, and it is thus evident that he ~~who~~ looks at things does not ~~mean~~ always discriminate; though he was a great painter, he did not understand this point. Tung-p'o, *Chüan Chü*, vol. 70.

The foremost of all the flower and bird-painters in Shu and probably one of the greatest masters in this special field that ever worked in China, was Huang Chüan. He ~~was~~ was active about the middle of the 10th century in Cheng-tu under ~~the~~ Wang Yen (919-25) and Meng Chiang (934-965), two rulers of the later Shu kingdom, who honored him with high titles and official charges. We are told that when Wang Yen asked him to improve an eye in Wei Tiao-yüan's painting of Chung Kuei he refused to do it, pointing out that the whole meaning of the picture would be destroyed and made instead a copy, painted in the fashion that the ruler desired.

His paintings were executed with the greatest care; "he selected the best points of various schools and combined them: Flower and bamboo-painting he learned from Wang Chiang-yu, bird painting from Tiao Kuang-yin, landscape from Li Sheng, cranes from Hsueh Chü, dragons from Sun ^{Hsi}. Though he studied in this way (the various masters) his brush work was strong and daring; he ^{threw off} freed himself from all the traditional rules and surpassed greatly his various teachers. It is generally said that in Tu Fu's poems and in Han Yü's essays every character has a definite source; in the same sense it may be said that Chüan brought together the best wonderful parts of various styles. There was no man of old nor anyone of later times equal to him. He painted all the mountain flowers (of Szechuan) the wild herbs, the rare birds, the strange animals, the river-banks and the rocky islands, angling boats and old roofs on the waters, and everything with utmost refinement. The pheasants which he painted in the year 953 in the Pa Kua hall of the king's palace were so natural that when some ^{foreign} envoys ~~from the Western~~ came with an eagle to the king, this bird tried several times to attack the pheasants by the rack. One of his contemporaries Duke Fan Chen in Shu, who was a specialist in raising eagles and hawks (for hunting) said that Chüan grasped the very life of the birds and did by no means content himself with the imitation of earlier bird painters. No less than 349 of his pictures are listed in the Hsün-ho catalogue in succession to the above remarks; the great majority of these pictures represent birds in landscapes, but there are also ^{a few} Buddhist and Taoist motives among them.

Stories from other sources may be quoted to illustrate the extraordinary life-likeness of Huang Chüan's birds but it seems hardly necessary. Huang Chüan was evidently right when he said about himself that he

figures. Implements, costumes and manners are also important and the painters of old paid special attention to them. This picture is wonderful in all these respects. Every hair seems to move and the figures seem to speak as in a vision. A truly divine work of art."

The Chih Kung t'u, together with two other pictures by Yen Li-pen was in Emperor Ch'ien Lung's collection, and is said to have consisted of twenty-five parts. It may be one of these which exists in a copy in the National Museum in Peiping, where it ~~is the last in a series of pictures~~

Considered an original work by Yen Li-pen

~~is the last in a series of pictures~~ ^{old} The composition answers well to the ^{picture} descriptions of the ~~work~~;

it contains a number of strange-looking men with very large grotesque heads, some in long gowns, others almost naked, carrying all sorts of marvellous objects, such as elephants' tusks, large pieces of petrified wood (or minerals), fans made of colourful plumes, bows and caskets, or leading different kinds of rare and wild animals. The picture is highly entertaining as an illustration, the characterisation of the figures is almost dramatic, and though the execution reveals ^{the hand of} a copyist, ~~the~~ the picture transmits an art of extraordinary concentration and originality. It makes us realise that the enthusiasm of the old critics for Yen's paintings of weird people and animals was by no means exaggerated.

The scroll representing the Thirteen Emperors has been known for some time through reproductions published in China and Japan but these are not complete nor of the kind that would do justice to the artistic quality of the picture. It is only since about a year ago when it was acquired for the Ross collection in the Museum Boston, that adequate photographs of this important picture have become available ~~which offer a good substitute~~ and the picture has been properly described and scrutinized in a ~~short~~ scholarly article by Mr N. Tomita in the Boston Museum Bulletin*. We may thus refer the reader to this publication, where all the historical informations concerning the picture are brought together, relating here only a few of the main points in regard to the motif and its artistic presentation.

The thirteen personages who are represented in the picture form a selection of the numerous emperors of various dynasties who reigned in China (or over parts of the country) from Chao-wen Ti of the Western Han dynasty (179-157 B.C.) to Yang Ti of the Sui dynasty (605-617). Most of them appear in full & regal attire, standing ~~and~~ walking, but there are four exceptions to this rule, figures dressed in simpler garments and not accompanied by their ministers of state but simply by servants, either male or female. These are all emperors of the short-lived and weak, though artistically gifted Ch'en dynasty (557-587) and they form by far the most interesting portions of the whole picture. Thus Ch'en Hsüan Ti is carried on a litter by four grooves while other grooves are carrying tall fans on both sides of the emperor; Ch'en Wen Ti, the noblest character of this dynasty, sits on a dais with two ladies in waiting standing behind him; Fei Ti likewise, forming a somewhat weaker pendant to the former, while the last ruler of the house of Ch'en Hou-chu is represented as a small man in long loose garment with simply a train-bearer in attendance. It may ^{indeed} ~~thus~~ be said that each emperor with his accompanying servants or ministers forms a separate picture, and these successive groups have no connection between themselves. The main interest lies in the characterization of the figures, the more or less imaginary portraits which, no doubt, are based on earlier originals. The strongest emphasis is naturally laid on the emperors but some of the secondary figures, the ministers, the servants and the ladies, reveal more intimate features of human character and offer thus more interest from an artistic point of view.

* Cf. Bulletin of The Museum of Fine Arts. Boston. February. 1932.

The method of expression is mainly linear and in ~~some~~^{certain} of the figures of a somewhat mechanical character, but then too, as pointed out by Mr. Tomita, "there are attempts in modelling of the faces by means of shading in pale red and in various colours on the folds of the costumes - a technique which disappeared from the later part of the Tang dynasty (except in Buddhist paintings)... The principal colours used on the scroll are black, white, red, green, yellow, brown, and violet, all have deteriorated greatly and are darkened by age, as is the silk on which they are applied."

Several documents are attached to the painting all containing testimonials by prominent critics as to its execution by Yen Li-pen. The earliest of these writings dates probably from about 1000, or shortly before, and in this it is stated that the picture was painted by Yen Li-pen in the Ch'ang-kuang era (627-649). Several prominent Sung scholars have expressed their opinion to the same effect yet, one of them, the state minister Chou Pi-ta, qualifies this opinion as applying only to one section of the picture. He saw the picture first in its ruined original condition and then after it had been remounted ^{in 1188} and wrote as follows: "I examined it and of the thirteen emperors, only in Hsüan-te of the Ch'ien dynasty, his two ministers, the two fan-carriers, two attendants and four litter-bearers, is the vigour of the brush especially excellent. The silk in this part, moreover, is particularly ^{well worn} ~~smooth~~. I have no doubt that this ~~part~~^{portion} is the genuine work of Yen Li-pen. The rest appears to me to have been copied from the old and is therefore somewhat better preserved." - This observation is no doubt well founded in so far as the ~~part of the picture~~^{whole picture is} not executed uniformly by one hand yet, it seems far from certain that the portrait of Hsüan-te would be the work of Yen Li-pen. Mr. Tomita has arrived at a different conclusion after a careful examination of the silk and the colours. He admits that the first six groups are replacements of earlier ones which may have been destroyed beyond repair in the tenth or eleventh century; they show fresher colours ^{and} a somewhat coarser drawing than the other seven groups and the silk is different, but they rest are "all from the same hand" and the silk in this second half of the scroll is uniform: "In fact the same irregularity of threads in the weaving runs from 7 through 13 inclusively. For these reasons, we believe that if the Hsüan-te group be genuine, then the groups 8 to 13 must be equally so."

The famous scroll of the Thirteen Emperors well known through the reproductions issued.

However this may be, it can hardly be denied that the ~~two~~ group representing Hsüan Ti carried on a litter is the finest and most interesting in the whole series ^{not only} ~~partly~~ because of the great variations in the assistant figures but also ~~is~~ through the remarkably intimate characterisation of the emperor. Chou Pi-ta had good reasons for exalting it above the rest of the painting. Yet, it seems hardly possible to draw a line of demarcation between this group and those of the two following Ch'ien emperors in regard to style and ~~technical~~ execution. And the same may be argued as to the elevation of the three last emperors, Wen Ti of the Northern Chou and Wen Ti and Yang Ti of the Sui dynasty, although they are represented ~~according to~~ ⁱⁿ the same stiff ceremonial attitudes as the six first emperors at the beginning of the scroll. We have thus no actual reason to discard Mr. Tomita's conclusion that the groups 7 to 13 may be by Yen di-pen.

To what extent he has copied the figures from earlier portraits or composed them ~~from~~ ^{by} imagination is difficult to tell, but it might be supposed that the four Ch'ien emperors, who are represented in a somewhat freer fashion and with more life-like and varied assistants than the others, are more imaginative inventions by the artist than the ^{uniformly} ceremonial personages in regal attire. The groups of Hsüan Ti and Wen Ti in particular ^{indeed,} may be reckoned among the most interesting remnants of ^{early} Wang painting which have survived to our days.

In addition to the pictures by or after Yen di-pen described above may be mentioned one or two works which very likely are based on his designs, though the connection in these cases is more difficult to prove. The short scroll representing Scholars of Northern Ch'i Dynasty Collating Classic Texts which also recently has become part of the Ross collection in the Boston Museum has been attributed to Yen or described as a picture in his manner by prominent critics ever since the Sung dynasty.* In a colophon on the picture written by Fan Chieng-ta (1126-1193) it is stated: "This picture of collating books in the Northern Ch'i is traditionally said to be done in the manner of Yen di-pen. It is described fully in Hsüang Ting-chien's (1050-1110) Record of Paintings. This scroll, however, lacks the seven scholars who are seated on two desks. It is clear that half (of the whole picture) has been lost." ~~The~~ The other four inscriptions ~~of~~ by men of the Sung period refer to the motive of the picture and not to the artist but in the later colophons by connoisseurs of the Ch'ing dynasty the picture is again commended

* Cf. Mr. H. Tomita's article on this picture ~~with~~ containing all the historical informations regarding it in The Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Aug. 1931.

as a work by Yen Li-pen and it is also described as such in Mo Yüan Hui Kuan and by ~~Yang Tsu-hu~~ du Hsin-yüan in Jang Li Kuan Kuo Yander. In the Boston Museum it is now catalogued as a work of the Northern Sung period probably after a design by Yen Li-pen which, no doubt, is the most exact definition that may be given to this picture.

The present picture which represents a gathering of five scholars, assisted by a number of male and female servants, occupied in reading and copying ancient writings ^{reproduces} probably (as stated above) only one leaf of the original composition. The scholars who were appointed by ^{in 556} emperor Wen Hsiang of the Northern Ch'i dynasty to collate the classics were twelve in number, and according to Huang Ting-chien, the original picture ^(or drawing in pen) represented the whole company. The very free and animated composition may be seen in our reproduction; it reaches its culmination in the group on the dais where one of the worthy scholars is pulling the strap of the trousers of one of his colleagues who is preparing to go away and ^{who} resists ^{with a smile} the friendly pull.

This central group is in itself a masterpiece of composition, and it must have become particularly famous because we find it reproduced also in another picture now in the Palace Museum in Peking and attributed to Chin Wen-po a less known painter of the 16th century.¹⁾ In this picture, which is known to me only in reproduction, the dais with the four scholars and the female servants standing behind and at the side (carrying the chin and the big cushion?) are placed in a garden landscape. There are rocks and some high trees behind it, the whole picture being treated as a hanging scroll. The figures are distinctly weaker and of a more modern type; whether the picture is a work of the 16th century is impossible to tell from a reproduction, but it is quite evident that it is a later rendering than the scroll in Boston. And as the groups with the horses and the two figures nearest to them also are left out, one may ask whether this later picture was made after the Boston scroll or after some other original which possibly also was utilized in the scroll. There is said to have existed an earlier rendering of this motive, "Collating the Books in the Northern Ch'i", by Yang Tsu-hu a sixth century painter, ^{who was particularly admired by Yen Li-pen (p. 74)} ~~which possibly also may have inspired Yen~~. The probability lies near at hand that Yen followed this earlier representation at least in part, but we would venture the supposition that he added on his own account the horses and grooms which stand in

¹⁾ Cf. the Palace Museum publication, Ku Kung, No. 1.

²⁾ Cf. Mr. Tomita's article in the Bulletin, XXIX, p. 62.

rather loose connection with the rest and which to us seem particularly characteristic of Yen Li-pen. The bearded groom of ~~Tan~~^{Chen} type reminds us of certain figures in the Hsi Yü t'u scroll in the National Museum in Peking and the horses are quite like those of Tang Tai Tsung's tomb which also were done from drawings by Yen Li-pen.

The probability that the Boston scroll faithfully reproduces a work of Yen Li-pen seems to us very great, but it is evident that the execution must be later. It is very delicate and done in a fashion that was practiced at Hui Tsung's academy in K'ai-feng. The drawing is done all through with fine ink lines and over this are spread thin pigments with a light hand. The picture has darkened by age, but the sensitiveness of the coloring and the fine quality of the drawing may still be perceived. To quote Mr. Tomita: "Although the lines are extremely delicate, the assurance and strength of the hand which drew them are marked. The soft and stiff materials (of the costumes), whether falling loosely or in plaits, are clearly differentiated. The most remarkable of all are the faces, especially those of the scholars. Their seriousness, their eagerness to accomplish the task entrusted to them, their jocularity when a moment of idle relaxation is their reward, are admirably expressed. The faces, which are only about one inch and a half in height in the original, when enlarged, reveal reveal a master-hand capable of delineating vivid portraits in thin brush-strokes without any attempt at light or shadow." The merit of this extraordinary quality of draughtsmanship may be largely due to the executing ~~master~~ artist, who must have been one of the great masters of the Northern Sung period, but but the types, their character and expressiveness must also have existed in Yen Li-pen's original.

Yen Li-pen painted also Buddhist pictures, though of a more unusual kind, as for instance Manjusri's visit to Vimalakirti and the Trussling of the Elephant, which are mentioned by Chang Ch'ou. After having described the forms of these two pictures, he says that it was no exaggeration when Yen was called "the colour magician". The latter picture is not described by Chang Ch'ou, but the composition is known through later copies of which the best belongs to the Freer Gallery. This picture is somewhat surprising because not only the general appearance of the composition but also the trees and ^{the} types of the figures correspond quite closely to the Tang mode whereas the materials on

~~the~~ glossy silk or satin, ~~which~~ ^{a much} it is painted, seems to be of later origin. It is difficult to say at what time the picture was executed, but it was evidently done by a man who knew how to preserve the characteristics of T'ang style. It is not a dead copy, but a thing which is artistically alive, in spite, or perhaps because of its rather worn condition, which adds to the difficulty of ~~reaching~~ ^{arriving at} a conclusion as to its age. The colouring with its blue and cinnober red pigments is also of a decidedly early type.

~~had more life and character.~~ [It was, after all, ~~pre-eminently~~ the extraordinary vitality and character in Yen Li-pen's figures which aroused the enthusiasm of the old critics. He is said to have mastered all "the six principles", but his greatness as a genius depended on the chi yung, "the spirit harmony" to use Hsieh Ho's expression. He was original, fantastic, creative even to the degree of neglecting natural verisimilitude and the laws of nature. Very telling in this respect are some of the remarks made by a twelfth century writer, Tung Yu, on Yen's picture Wei Ch'iao t'u (The Bridge on the Wei River):^{x)}

"The picture represented the Count of Han accepting homages from some foreign tribes on the Wei River at the first month of the year. Its length and breadth, far and near, could not be measured. Hibiscus, apricots and plums were all blooming together. Men, horses, houses and trees were all out of shape. It was not like the pictures of to-day. What was the reason of its excellence? It seems to me that the people who discuss pictures attach too much importance to outward likeness, which is not the real thing in art. If an artist is to reach spiritual significance, he must give an original interpretation and avoid the traditional. It is not enough to copy the shapes and lay on colours. That is like taking off the clothes and to ~~coil up~~ ^{sit cross-legged} instead of laying down to rest, which will enable you to move freely afterwards. In such a way people will never reach a proper appreciation of the brush-work of a man like Yen Li-pen."

x) Quoted in Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Fang, III, after Huang Chuan Hua Shu

The Sung Period

The historical background.

It is generally admitted that the Sung period marked a culmination in the development of the pictorial arts in China and that its accomplishments in literature, philosophy and other branches of intellectual and spiritual culture were hardly less important. This very high estimate of the arts, and particularly of painting, of the Sung may however ~~not give~~ ~~any~~ ~~an entirely correct idea of the development~~ be somewhat exaggerated, dependant on the fact that practically all the original works of the great masters of Tang and earlier times are lost while many of the most prominent painters of the Sung dynasty ~~may~~ ^{can} be studied in original creations. We may still become subject to the spell of their genius and realize their individual ^{aims} and modes of expression; ~~but~~ ~~the earlier painters are to us little more than masters of technical study~~ they are not so far removed from us ^{as they} through material vicissitudes or remoteness of their ideal as the great masters of earlier epochs. But whether they actually were greater painters than their predecessors is a question which hardly can be answered definitely.

The political events which form the outer framework of the brilliant cultural efflorescence in the Sung period are particularly devoid of the spirit of firmness, self-reliance and consistency which might have served to stem the tide of ~~the~~ invading enemies. After a short ~~initial~~ ^{initial} period of reunification and expansion during the reign of the first emperor (960-976) the new empire became the butt of dangerous attacks by some of the northern border states, and instead of making a stand and fighting the invaders to the last hold, the rulers and leaders of the nation over and over again ^{purchase} sought to the peace by offering gold and silk, oxen, horses and royal princesses to the threatening enemies. Every time this happened again, the Chinese had to increase their offers, thus gradually draining the country of its material wealth and weakening its moral stamina. And still more dangerous was the method soon introduced of making alliances with one enemy in order to fight another. It was like opening the sluices for a tributary river while they were trying to fight the flood lower down.

The principal enemies of the Sung empire were the Tungusic and Tangut ^{tribes} at its northern and western borders, and later on the Mongols. The former were organized first in the Liao kingdom and then in the Chin empire; the latter in the short lived but very extensive Hsi Hsia state and both were finally wiped out by the Mongol avalanche. This was started already at the end of the 10th cent. when the second Sung emperor,

Wei Tsung (976-983) tried to exercise the Liao kinship for his support of the
 last independent Chinese state, the so called Northern Song (in Shensi), but ~~was~~ ^{was}
 completely defeated. This led to a series of wars with increasing intensity, which hardly
 need to be ~~mentioned~~ ^{mentioned} at this place. By the successive treaties ~~which were concluded~~
~~in 1004 with the Liao, in 1040 with the Liao, and in 1127 with the Chins,~~
 the Chinese ~~became~~ ^{became} obliged to pay ever increasing annual indemnities and to cede
 certain ~~certain~~ territories to their ~~neighboring~~ ^{neighboring} neighbors. In 1080 ~~the~~ ^{the}
~~involved~~ ^{involved} not only large demands of silver and other territories but also the
 delivery of the whole ~~royal~~ ^{royal} family into captivity, as the final catastrophe of
 the Northern Song dynasty. "With this sad procession of emperors, princes and
 ladies of the royal household (to a number of 2,000, led by a general and victor-
 ous) into a large camp, came the first drama of the great Song dynasty."

The record of which was enclosed in the South, were the Chinese as well as the
of which the Imperial court in Peking, had been a great deal of time in the
riches of the land, if a stronger enemy had not appeared in the field, the land had
been secured not only by the ~~very~~ large quantities of land, but also by the
by an ever increasing ^{from the} Chinese cultural influence, ~~in their realm~~. They ruled
over the northern half of the country, and to the south of the ^{The} river, they
showed no intentions of encroaching upon the territory of the southern empire
after the conclusion of the peace treaty of 1141. Their government was
as a matter of fact, almost as Chinese as that of Hang-chow, like the ~~Chinese~~
the ~~Chinese~~ the national customs, and traditions, and the ^{language of the country} officials.
After their protection, the land art enjoyed a new period of peace and
looking, or non-seeing, as the place had been called, because of the Imperial trans-
ference, but the relatively peaceful conditions which reigned until the second
half of the 13th century were completely upset at the beginning of the next ~~century~~
century.

from beyond the Great Wall came an avalanche of ruthless warriors led by the lieutenants of the greatest conqueror of the world, Genghis Khan. They no longer their old ² (over of resistance) and fighting spirit; they ¹ ~~were forced~~ ^{were forced} to give up. In the twenties their government was moved from Pien-lien to Kai-feng ^(Kai-feng) the old Sung capital in Honan, and here they might have held out for a longer period, had not the Chinese ~~voluntarily~~ ^{new feeling} made common cause with the ~~barbarians~~ ^{new feeling} and opened the way for ~~them~~ ^{in 1232} into the heart of the country. Pien-lien was taken and the Chinese no longer dared to rejoice over the defeat of their old enemy before the Mongols started further on their conquest of central China. Again their former ally betrayed them. It became, indeed, a struggle for life for the ~~old Chinese~~ ^{shrinking} empire, and there were many gallant efforts of heroic resistance on the part of individual

*) Cf. J. Macgowan, Imperial History of China. Shanghai 1906. p. 396.

also as writers, poets and historians. Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-1072), for instance was a brilliant essayist and the author (together with Sung Chi) of the so called New History of the Tang dynasty; Shu-ma Kuang (1019-1086) who earned his great fame among his contemporaries as well as with posterity less through his activities as a minister of state than through his widely known historical work, Tung Chien, Mirror of History, a name given to it upon its publication in 1084 by the emperor, because 'to view antiquity as it were in a mirror is an aid in the administration of government'; an Sa Shih or Sa Tung-p'o, the best known of all these scholar-statesmen, represented as the perfect gentleman equally skilled in literary composition, painting and calligraphy as he was prominent as a leader of the nation. Each one of these men served ~~at~~ for a time as the head of the ~~the~~ government and each ^{was} forced for a longer or shorter period into retirement by opponents who were inspired either by Taoist ideas

or by hopes of reforming the government along more liberal lines. However, all these oppositional movements, save a few for the time being, all were doomed to ultimate failure, because they were not, in the same extent, based on the national principles, based on the historical traditions and on the interests of the people.
Wang Yang-ming (1493-1529) was the first to attempt to oust the Confucians as the reformer of China (An-shan 1041-1093). He too was a devoted student of the Canon, of which he regarded the 'New Edition' in order that the people might understand the real meaning of the Canon, but he utilized his knowledge to build up a kind of state socialism which stood in absolute opposition to the doctrines of the conservative party. His leading thought of his reform, of which he can give no detailed account at this place, was that ^{the} state should take the entire system of commerce, industry and agriculture into its own grasp with a view to supporting the working classes and preventing them from being ground to the dust of the rich. He also attempted to reform the examination system, requiring more the candidate not so much graces of style as acquaintance with practical subjects. Ideologically he was far a head of his time and rather closely akin to some of the most radical of present day Kuomintang philosophers, but he lacked the sympathetic understanding for the actual needs of the people without which no permanent reforms can be established, and true statesmanship. Personally he was obstinate to the utmost degree (like other idealists of a similar type) and his outward appearance with dirty cloths and unwashed face was also a ~~marked~~ striking opposition to the gentleman-like habits of the Confucian scholars.

137^a

Sa Tung-po, the poet and philosopher, whose intimate understanding of the Chinese people, their traditions and national characteristics, made him no less appreciated as a leader of the government than as writer and art critic*. But when - - - - -

(Amusing)

* The following pronouncement by Sa Tung-po may be ~~quoted~~ ^{serve} to throw some light on his principles of government:

"The good government and peace of a country depend wholly upon the free communication between the ruler and the ruled. During periods of ideal government the humblest subject was free to make known to the emperor his wishes and his woes, but when trouble and disorder prevailed, even the officer nearest the emperor was denied the right to voice his complaint."

The ~~part~~ collections of the emperor ~~are~~ closely connected with the ~~idea~~ of the
Academy of ~~the~~ ~~emperor~~
such, as ~~the~~ ~~emperor~~, who ~~also~~ ~~was~~ ~~affected~~ ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~emperor~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~year~~ ~~1711~~ ~~the~~
as ~~the~~ ~~emperor~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~year~~ ~~1711~~ ~~the~~

The artistic ideals of the Sung period found their fullest and most definite expression in landscape painting and, to a less degree, in paintings of ^{bamboos,} flowers, birds and insects. It is true that this movement towards an intimate and often romantic interpretation of nature started already in the period of the Five Dynasties but it did not reach its full maturity until the Sung dynasty. We have observed ^{in the Five Dynasties period, also,} its beginnings and followed it during the first four decades ^{of the Sung dynasty,} in the works of certain forerunners of the great galaxy of painters who were active ~~during~~ in the 11th century, ~~the~~ and will proceed to consider a few of these as representatives of Sung landscape art ~~both in practice as well as in theory~~ but it may not be out of place to devote first a few words to the ^{more} ~~most~~ conservative ~~type~~ of painting which was made for the Buddhist and Taoist temples.

Not a few of the wall paintings of this period were still done in adherence to the models of Tang ~~or even~~ ^{or} earlier times; a great number of Buddhist temples were restored or newly built in the XIth and XIIth centuries particularly in northern China ^{after it came under the} ~~during the~~ dominion of the Chin dynasty. The finest and oldest of the fresco paintings which have been exported from China to Europe and America are probably of this period, as for inst. those previously mentioned Bodhisattvas which now decorate the entrance wall of Mr C. F. do's house in Paris, ~~but~~ there are also Sung-frescoes still in situ in China as, for inst. some of the paintings in one of the ruined halls of Ta Fo sou in Ching-tung fu. Nor are the Buddhist paintings on silk or paper from the Sung period very uncommon, though we know no such great collection ^{of these as the} ~~though we know~~ Tung Shung paintings. The new creations represent also to a large extent other motives than ^{Buddhist pictures} ~~the earlier ones~~. We meet no longer the dazzling displays of Amitabha's paradise ~~nor also the~~ ^{the} resplendent Vairochana ^{or the great hepter} ~~and Shaisayaguan~~ ^{but the} ~~the~~ Shakyamuni still holds a certain place in Sung art but much more popular are some of the Bodhisattvas, Kshitiagarbha (jizō) and Avalokitesvara, who now takes on a female aspect and becomes the white-robed goddess who sits in the posture of royal ease (maharajita) at the shore of billowing waters or appears (through a combination or confusion with Mia's Chen) ^{the} Sung-tze Kuangyin, the protectress of children, or Kuangyin with the fish basket.

The only other Buddhist motives which during the Sung period

via in popularity with the Bodhisattvas are the Lohans or Arhats, the Sixteen patriarchs who after the death of the Master of the Law served to spread the doctrine in various ~~com~~parts of the eastern world. A definite series of the Sixteen (sometimes eighteen) and of the Five Hundred Lohans were established and often repeated in painting as well as in sculpture. The earliest seem to have been the famous Lohans by the tenth century artist Kuan Hsin which we have described above; they were in the eleventh century substituted by Lohans of a more Chinese type originated probably by the great Li Lung-nien and these again were developed in individual compositions by specialists of Buddhist painting like ^{Chou Chi-ch'ang} Chang Shu-kung and Lu Hsin-chung who were active in the 12th and 13th cent.

The Lohans of the last named artists are well known to Western students through the paintings in the Boston Museum and in Oatohuji and Shōkokuji in Kyoto but as these are more or less direct derivations from the types created by Li Lung-nien, a closer study of the pictures may be postponed until we have ~~discussed the~~ ^{discussed the} art of the great master.

It may however be observed that Lohan pictures of such kind are not, properly speaking, examples of the average mass of ^{colourful} ~~religiously~~ imagery which in all times spread over the sombre walls of the temples in China but artistic creations of individual character approaching in style and composition the portraits of priests and monks which also were painted in increasing number at this period. Portrait painting became as a whole an important branch of painting in the Sung period and it had also a religious significance in so far as it ~~served~~ ^{served} as an element in the ancestral worship. The portraits were considered as simulacra through which the ancestors were present at the memorial ~~and~~ sacrifices, their purpose was of a moral rather than of an aesthetic kind. Consequently it has also been a matter of surprise to the Chinese that Western art-lovers have collected such ^{ancestral} portraits of various dynasties from the same point of view as other kinds of painting.

All the temple pictures, ^{Lohans, priests,} portraits and the like ^{constitute} ~~are~~ however only ^{part} of the religious art of the Sung period, another part, which from the Eastern point of view is of far greater artistic importance, is made up of all those monochrome ink paintings, be they landscapes, ~~or~~ legendary scenes or Buddhist images, which were inspired by the spiritual impetus of the Ohyana school. They reached their highest development during the Southern Sung dynasty in Hang-chou.

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Myint

Kuo Hsi

The earliest and best known among the great landscape painters of the 11th Century is Kuo Hsi, often called Ho Yang after the district in Honan where he was born about 1020. He is said to have continued his activity until about 1090. A prominent member of the Academy, he executed a great number of paintings for his imperial patrons, some on a large scale "on the white walls of lofty halls". His fame as a painter was, indeed, of the first magnitude during his life time but in later times it has been surpassed by his renown as a writer because while his painted works, with one or two exceptions, have been lost, his essays on the practice and theory of landscape painting still exist and belong to the most widely quoted and appreciated writings on such subjects in China.

~~According to his~~ Kuo Hsi's first guide in landscape painting was Li Cheng, but he studied widely, following, evidently, the selective method which he recommends in his writings, and formed gradually a style of his own, which was unlike that of any other painter. His brush work was remarkable for its terseness and strength, expressive to a high degree; his mountains were painted with "wrinkles like convoluted clouds" (*chuan yüan tsun*) and his trees according to the ^{crab} "claw" method.

Of pictures known to us which are ascribed to Kuo Hsi the finest is certainly a short scroll, formerly in ^{the} Tuan Yang collection and now in the Freer Gallery in Washington. It is known as *Autumn in the Valley of the Yellow River* and provided with the signature of Kuo Hsi and a number of seals, but no colophon. The picture may originally have been somewhat longer; it seems to be cut off at its further end.

The composition opens with a view over a broad stretch of the river between low banks; the mountains in the background appear only as faint silhouettes but gradually, as we proceed, they draw nearer and rise into steep cliffs divided by crevices. At their foot, nearest the foreground, are small huts ^{under} tall pines with dry branches at the top and heaped trees ^{which creep and bend with interlaced} ~~into a tangled mass of gnarled~~ trunks. The further we advance, the higher ^{grow} ~~the~~ the mountains; they become ~~more~~ fantastic, ^{and} awe-inspiring, the highest ^{ridges which} ~~peaks~~ are cut off by the edge of the picture; ^{are split and} ~~they are~~ folded up as if ^{by giant} ~~glaciers of prehistoric~~ time. The continuation of the ^{composition opens} ~~picture~~ with a view through a deep valley but it is abruptly cut off.

It would no doubt be wrong to suppose that the picture represents some actual scenery ^{of a} ~~of the~~ Yellow River ^{valley}. It may be inspired by impression that the artist has received in travelling along the river, but these he has utilized quite freely and transposed into a vision of cool and autumnal grandeur. The expressiveness of the work depends on the rhythmic succession of the magnificent forms ^{as well as on} ~~and~~ the atmospheric tones which in spite of the somewhat darkened condition of the ^{painting} ~~picture~~ impart to it an almost colouristic quality. Within this grand and far-reaching composition there is a mass of well defined ~~expressive~~ details, more than can be discovered at first sight.

Our impression of this picture is that it may well be a work by the master or of his immediate surrounding. Judging by the material criteria, it must be accepted ^{as} of the Sung period and its characteristics of style answer well to all what we know about the art of Kuo Hsi. But as long as we have ^{no} definite material for comparison, it would be wrong to insist on the individual attribution. Yet, the picture may well be considered as ^(an old and) fine representative of Kuo Hsi's ~~typical~~ landscape style.

In the National Museum in Peking there are at least three scrolls and one large hanging picture ~~that had~~ ^{original} cataloged as works by Kuo Hsi. The scroll which used to be on exhibition in Wen Hui tien, representing a mountain pass with a beautiful gateway, seemed to ~~be~~ me at the time like a late copy whereas the Chou (Pakemon) known as Kuan P'ei L'ü (Contemplating an inscribed stone tablet) seemed like a somewhat older (Yuan-thing?) rendering of a famous composition by the master. It represents two scholars standing in front of a large stone tablet ^{on a hill grown with} ~~some~~ some half decaying old trees while their servants are waiting with the mules below the hillside. The ~~brushwork~~ ^{execution} is rather broad, ~~the~~ brushwork not lacking in strength, but it seemed to ~~be~~ too coarse to ~~be~~ by a ^{Sung} master like Kuo Hsi. ~~It was not on a level with~~ ^{The execution} the poetic sentiment and ^{the} striking decorative beauty of the composition.

Two other large decorative landscapes of a similar type were exhibited under Kuo Hsi's name at the Chinese Exhibition in Tokyo in 1928, ~~the~~ one representing a huge mountain with rushing water, old trees and some small huts, the other a cluster of gnarled pines on bare rocks. The latter picture which belonged to Hsi Shih-chang, the former, president of China, ^{was} a remarkably dramatic rendering of a motive which may be considered particularly characteristic of the master. Though probably executed at a somewhat later period, it may be said to reflect the spirit of the master's art and ^{perhaps} to give some idea about the great compositions which he painted on the white walls of the pavilions in the capital.

[illegible]

Comments on Painting (Hua hsün) by Kuo Hsi (Hua Hsüeh Hsin yün, I. 36-44)

Landscapes may be classified as those fit to walk in, those fit to contemplate, those in which one may ramble and those in which one may stay. When they are brought out of the obscure by a master-hand they all enter the class of the marvellous, or, mysterious = *miao*. The painter should always work according to these ideas and the ~~critic~~ ^{critic} should also ~~pay attention~~ ^{thoroughly investigate} them.

Painting has also its rules of physiognomy (*hsiang fa*). Li Ch'ing had a numerous progeny (which may be traced in his way of) painting the foot of the mountains and the face of the earth thick and strong, large and broad. ~~He made the~~ ^{He made the} mountains ~~are~~ graceful at the top and luxuriant lower down.

The measurements of the landscapes are in our thoughts. If one looks at them from a distance, one grasps ^{only} the general aspect; if one looks at them & near by one sees ^{the substances} ~~the materials~~ of which they are made.

The clouds and the vapours are not the same at the four seasons. In spring they are light and diffused, in summer thick and dense, in autumn scattered and thin, in winter dark and solitary. When such wonderful effects ~~may~~ ^{are} seen, the clouds and vapours ~~are~~ ^{are} alive.

The mist of the mountains is not the same at the four seasons. The mountains of spring are light and seductive as if smiling, the mountains of summer have a blue-green colour which seems to be dropping all over; the mountains of autumn are light and clean as if prepared for a feast, the mountains of winter are sad and tranquil as if sleeping. When such great ideas may be perceived, the mist of the mountains is right.

When looking at wind and rain at a distance, one cannot get them in, but when examining them close by, it is impossible to hold them out; their appearance is all confusion from beginning to end.

The Idea of Painting (Hua i) by Kuo Hsi (Hua Hsueh Hsin Yin. I. 45-47)

Placed at a bright window before a clean table with fine paper or light silk (the painter) is like a little god of the ink.

In the Tang dynasty there were Cheng Chien²⁾ and Wang Mo-chieh and others, in the Sung dynasty Kuo Hsi, Lin Hsueh-shih and others; under their brush appeared rivers and mountains, thousand peaks and ten thousand gullies.¹⁾

Mr Kuo from Ho-yang said: There is no difference between the ways men learn to paint and to write. Those who nowadays study Chung Yu,³⁾ Wang Hsi-chieh, Yü Shih-nan⁴⁾ and Lin Kung-chüan⁵⁾ will after some time become like unto them; one should combine (several models), make observations ^{on a} broad basis and study extensively - in such a way I myself became a master. To study only one kind of style has, since earliest times, been considered a fault; it is like playing only one cord.

Lin Tzu-ho⁶⁾ has well discussed literature, but (I think that) everything has its secret and should be entirely in accordance with it. Whatever motive the painter represents, he must always concentrate on its essence. If something of the essential is lacking, the soul is not manifest. He must do his work with his whole soul; if he does not work with his whole soul, the essential will not be clear. He must be severe and respectful in his work, otherwise it will lack depth of thought. He must apply zeal and reverence to complete it, otherwise the picture will not be properly finished.

Therefore when he is possessed by a spirit of laziness but forces himself (to paint), his brush-work will be soft and weak without decision. It is the fault of not concentrating on the essential. When he feels distracted and throws ^{down} ~~out~~ something in a disorderly way, the forms become obscure and evasive without vigour. It is the fault of not putting the whole soul into the work. When he is light-hearted and elated, his forms will become unsteady, sketchy and not complete. It is the fault of lack of severity. If he is sluggish and careless, his style will be lax and coarse and not properly adjusted. It is the fault of working without zeal and reverence. Thus, lack of decision leads to faults of definition, lack of vigour to loss of ease.

1) These introductory sentences are probably composed by the editor of Hua Hsueh Hsin Yin, freely transcribing ~~from~~ other passages by Kuo Hsi.

2) A prominent writer and landscape painter of the Ming Huang era, also known as ^{fu chai}

3) Chung Yu, d. 230, famous for his skill as a calligraphist in the li style.

4) Yü Shih-nan (558-638), one of the most brilliant literati in the time of Emperor Tang

5) Lin Kung-chüan (778-865) one of the greatest calligraphists of the Tang period. ^{Tai Tung}

6) Lin Tsung-yüan (773-819) a famous poet and essayist

and dignity; lack of compe-

teness to ~~the~~ faults of composition, lack of orderly arrangement to faults in the ~~very~~ relation between the important and the indifferent. These are the greatest faults of the painters.

The men of the world think that pictures are made simply by moving the brush; they do not understand that painting is no easy matter. Chuang-tzu said: 'the painter takes off his clothes and sits cross-legged - a true statement about the painter's ways. The artist must nourish in his heart gentleness and cheerfulness; his ideas must be quiet and harmonious, ~~as~~ said (in *Li Chi*), 'the heart should be quiet, honest and sincere to the utmost' (see, *Conversations*, Dict. p. 670), then the various aspects of man's gladness and sorrow and of every other thing, be it, pointed, oblique, bent or inclined will appear naturally in his mind and be spontaneously brought ^{out} by his brush.

An K'ai-chih of the Chin dynasty constructed for himself a high building as a studio for painting; he was indeed a wise man of ancient times. If one does not act in this way (not doing so) the inspiration will soon be restrained, distracted, dulled or obstructed, and how could one then represent in painting the appearance of things and of emotions?

It is like a workman making a ch'in (table harp or lute). He has found at ^{a wood} ~~the~~ ^{Yang tree} ~~his~~ hands are skilled, his ~~idea~~ thoughts ~~expressed~~ mysterious, his mind quite clear on the point, and so while the tree (living material) still stands with branches and leaves untouched, he sees the lute made by master Lei quite clearly before his eyes. But the man whose thoughts are troubled and whose body is worn out looks at the sharp chisels and knives and does not know where to begin. How could he accomplish the ^{Chiao Wei} ~~chiao wei~~ of the five notes and make its sounds resound with the clear wind and the running water? It is indeed as a man of former times said: a poem is a picture without ~~shape~~, a picture a poem in ~~shape~~ forms. Wise men have often discussed this (saying), to me it has become a ~~guide~~ teacher.

His son Kuo Shu has told: I often saw my father working on one or two pictures. Sometimes he put them away and did not ~~look~~ ~~at~~ pay any attention to them. ^{Ten} ~~Often~~ ^{to ten} ~~to ten~~ days passed before he turned to them again, and he repeated the method three times,

*) Chiao wei (Scorched tail) alluding to a lute made of a charred log of the Wu Tung tree, which an antineurotic rescued for that purpose from the flames. The man who made this famous lute, which produced ^{Giles, Dictionary 1517.} sounds of unforced beauty was Tsai Yung of the later Han dynasty. Cfr. *Walley*, op. cit. 192.

his intention being ~~to~~ not to be too impulsive. This kind of disinclination, is it it the same as what he meant by the 'spirit of laziness'? When ^{however} ~~when~~ he felt inspired and stated he worked, forgetting everything else, but if some outer disturbing thing happened, he would put away (his work) and not pay any attention to it. This relaxation, is it it what he meant by a disordered spirit?

On days when he was going to paint (he placed himself) at a bright window before a clean table and burned incense right and left. He took a fine brush and the most excellent ink, washed his hands and cleaned the ink stone as if to receive an important guest. He let the thoughts settle in his soul, and then he worked. Is not this what he meant by not to work in the hurry of excitement?

What he had planned, he would remove, what he had put in he would modify, not only once or twice but over and over again. Each picture had to be done over from the beginning to the end, as he was fighting a severe enemy, then only it was finished. Is not this what he meant by not working in a sluggish and careless way?

The ideas of Kuo Hsi and his son are by no means new or extraordinary; their interest lies rather in the fact that they reflect the traditional point of view and methods of Chinese landscape painters as they had developed since the end of the T'ang dynasty. We have several times had occasion to notice the close association between landscape painting and poetry and also its detachment from objective reality. The mainspring of this art was an intimate communion between the painter and the spirit of nature, which often was cultivated in the Taoist fashion during a solitary life among the hills and forests. Painters like Wang Wei, Li Ch'eng, Fan Kuan and others spent many years of their lives almost as recluses far away from the market-places of the world seeking the friendship and confidence of the trees and the mountains. Even if Kuo Hsi did not actually lead the same kind of life, ~~for~~ he is inspired by the same desire: "The artist must place himself in communion with the hills and streams, and the secret of their scenery will be solved."

But he offers something more than this romantic longing towards the hidden realms of nature. The first ^{Commentary (Hua hsiang)} part of his ~~commentary~~ has evidently a practical purpose; its rather detailed and sometimes meticulous descriptions of natural scenery and phenomena are, no doubt, intended to serve as guidance for students of landscape painting. ~~Here in the Hua hsiang~~ he tells ^{here} ~~us~~ how the pictures should be made, what they should contain, how their different elements should be arranged; his ^{comments or lessons} ~~recapitulation~~ is so thorough and exact that in reading these paragraphs one may almost get the impression that landscape painting was a quite mechanical occupation that could be ~~performed~~ ^{performed} according to definite recipes. And it may, indeed, have been so for many of those indifferent painters who could do nothing else than ~~repeat~~ ^{repeat} what they had ~~observed~~ ^{observed} in the paintings of greater men. But for Kuo Hsi and the masters of his class it was something different.

There is an imaginative or poetic element in his descriptions which goes far beyond the ordinary matter of fact statements about the phenomena of nature and the ingredients of ^{traditional} landscape compositions. What he ~~speaks of~~ ^{speaks of} the ~~hills and mountains~~ ^{hills and mountains} ~~which are like stacked tigers~~ ^{which are like stacked tigers} ~~at the road side, the majestic~~ ^{at the road side, the majestic} ~~streams, the~~ ^{streams, the} ~~hills and the~~ ^{hills and the} ~~hills and mountains~~ ^{hills and mountains} which stand on guard

or bow in salutation, the master pine which supports the minor trees, the watercourses which form the arteries of the mountain, the grass as ~~if~~ its hair, the coiled up hills, the home going clouds etc. he gives them a peculiar significance almost like that of animate beings. All these various forms and phenomena of nature receive individual characteristics and they play their parts quite actively in the great drama which is unrolled before us, act after act, scene after scene at the various seasons, ~~and at the changing~~ ^{in the morning} and ^{in the evening}, day and night. And the human beings which he introduces take part in the same drama. They accord themselves by their appearance, their actions and expressions ^{with} the seasons and ^{with} the changing moods of the days. There is no essential difference between them and the trees and the mountains to the great landscape painter. They are all pervaded by the same consciousness, the same feeling of unity with nature, if this word is taken in its ^{most} general sense, including spiritual as well as material things. The realization of this may be reached when the consciousness of the painter is in perfect ~~accordance~~ ^{harmony} with that of nature. Then his representations will be convincing and he will be able to express the essential character and significance of all the changing forms.

This he does by the vigour and suppleness of his brush. If he knows how to use it, he may catch by it the pulse of life and make things appear as if they moved before the eyes. But this he can do only after a long and assiduous training according to proper principles as for instance like Kuo Hsi himself, who in his youth day after day painted large pictures of pouring rain. And when he knows how to manage the brush and the ink, he can even in this monochrome medium obtain wonderful colouristic effects and suggest the white snow as well as the dark clouds of the storm and all the changing hues of water and sky.

If the Hua hsün contains mainly descriptions of paintings and the motives which may be transmitted by them, the Hua i is a discussion of the psychology of the painter; it completes the former section by defining ^{the} of the mental attitude which is necessary for the kind of creative work ~~which~~ ^{that} the painter should do. The leading or underlying ideas are, indeed, the same here as in the first part, but they are ~~discussed~~ ^{considered} from another angle.

The right mental attitude of the painter is ~~allegorically~~ ^{symbolically} expressed by Chuang-tzu in the saying quoted by Kuo Hsi: 'The painter takes off his cloths and sits crosslegged', which evidently means that the painter should divest himself of all exterior influences and reach absolute mental equipoise - only in this state of aloofness and inner harmony will he be able to grasp the 'secret' of things. This is essential, because everything must be represented in accordance with its 'secret', the aesthetic significance which only the real artist can see or sense and ~~make his~~ ^{reveal in} his work. He may discover it in the forms of the objective world as the great lute-maker who saw the wonderful lute in the growing tree (or, like Michelangelo, who saw the shape of his statue in the marble block).

The work by which this inner form ~~or~~ ^{its} significance is made manifest in a painting must not be forced or hurried. It can not be done when the body is tired or the mind distracted, because then the picture will become weak, sketchy or loose. The painter must choose the right moment, both from an ^{outer} psychological and a material point of view, and then work with utmost concentration, putting his whole soul into the work. Kuo Hsi gives a vivid description of the severity of the task, the mental energy needed to surmount all the ^{outer} obstructions and inner difficulties, and he makes us realize that the final picture, which may have the appearance of being thrown down lightly, is the result of a long and repeated struggle. And this applies not only to the technical execution, it is also a matter of character, concentration, mode of life.

Similar ideas have also been expressed by Leonardo for instance when he says: 'The painter ought to be solitary in order that the well-being of the body may not sap the vigour of the mind' etc. and they have been realized by many of the great artists in the West as well as in the East, but they have seldom been put into practice with more devotion than by the landscape painters of the Sung period. To them painting was not only poetry in form, as often said, but it was also truth, a manifestation of a spiritual reality which existed in their own consciousness ^{and this source} from ~~where~~ ^{it} was reflected in great works of art.

Mr. Fei

Mi Fei, also known by his Tzu, Mi Yuan-chang and by his hao, Mi Nan-kung was a somewhat younger contemporary of Kuo Hsi who also distinguished himself by writings and critical observations on painting ~~outside of~~ ^{beside} his activity as a landscape painter. Yet, his extraordinary fame with posterity rests mainly on the fact that he was one of the greatest calligraphists in a country of great writers.

He was the scion of an old family of military officials, which for generations had lived in Tai-yuan (Shansi) but at the time of his birth in 1051 his father had moved to Kiangsu. His mother was then in attendance upon the Consort of Emperor Jen Tsung. He died ^{in the capital} at the age of 56. ~~1107~~. According to tradition, ^{Mi Fei} ~~he~~ was an extremely premature boy who showed great fondness for arts and letters. His faculty of memorizing was truly Chinese. At the age of six he could learn 100 poems a day, and by going over them again, he could recite them all. He was later on appointed to various official posts, but he never held them for long time, because his eccentric genius could not comply with the rules of officialdom. He rather liked to shock the conventional people of the day and to manifest his absolute independence. His character was like his style of writing firm and upright, "like the mast of a sailing craft in the wind", to use a metaphor of his great friend Su Tung-p'o.

[illegible][illegible]

The ~~writings~~ ^{thoughts / pronouncements} on landscape painting which have been ~~passed~~ ^{transmitted} under Kuo Hsi's name may in part have been written down by the painter him-
~~self~~ are known under the general title Lin Ch'uan kao chih (the
wonderful effects of woods and springs or The Marvels of landscape) but this
~~collection~~ ^{work} is not a homogenous essay written by the ~~painter~~ ^{master} but a collec-
tion of thoughts on ~~the effects of~~ various aspects of nature, on the interpre-
tation of these in painting, on the ^{state} psychology of the artist

The extraordinary fame of Mi Fei and of his son Mi Yu-jen as painters is evidently ~~closely connected~~ ^{dependent on} their position as the most prominent representatives in the Sung period of the ~~type~~ ^{type} of landscape painting which later on became known as the "Southern School" and ~~hailed~~ ^{which the world} by the most stable and influential critics as the only kind of painting ^{worthy} ~~of critical praise~~. We have already, in ~~over~~ the chapters on Wang Wei and the landscapist of the Five Dynasties period, had occasion to say something about the appreciation of the ~~Southern School~~ ^{Southern School} particularly through Tung Ch'i-ch'ang; it may be added that ~~this same~~ ^{he also} critic speaks ~~out and over again~~ ^{with greatest admiration} in terms of highest praise of Mi Fei and ~~his~~ ^{with greatest admiration} Mi Yu-jen ~~as~~ ^{surpassing} characters ~~historically~~ ^{historically} as intermediate links between Tung Yuan and Kao K'o-hung (and other masters of the Yuan dynasty). His ~~point of view~~ ^{opinion} which was founded on a more extensive knowledge of the material than any later critics ~~have been~~ ^{possess} able to acquire, has been practically decisive for the appreciation of Mi Fei and Mi Yu-jen, who thus ~~thence~~ ^{by their countrymen} are considered as the greatest landscapists of their age.

To what extent this ~~appreciation~~ ^{opinion might} be supported by Western standards of criticism is a question no longer possible to answer ~~because too~~ ^{as to} little of anything of Mi Fei's painted work has been ~~reserved~~, but if we may judge by the pictures ~~this~~ ascribed to him, we would ~~be inclined~~ to consider his virtuosity in brushmanship greater than his creative genius. None of the ~~landscapes~~ ^{Mi Fei} ~~known to us~~ ^{known to us} that I have had occasion to see, could be placed on a level with the finest creations by Tung Yuan, Fan Kuan ^{to name only two of the} ~~or later masters like~~ ^{great ones} ~~Wang Meng~~. They are ^{very} highly effective and suggestive renderings of clouds and mists ~~around~~ ^{around} mountains and trees but manipulated to a high degree and ~~masterly~~ ^{peculiarly} lacking in structural form and draughtsmanship. A notable consequence of this ~~has also been that~~ ^{peculiarly are the} ~~Mi Fei's works have induced to~~ ^{imitations} numerous successful ~~imitations~~ ^{which in many instances are} ~~close enough to make it~~ ^{close to the originals} extremely ~~difficult to tell the~~ ^{difficult to tell the} ~~difference between~~ ^{difference between} possible originals by the master and the imitations. I therefore prefer to leave the question open whether any of the beautiful ink scrolls ^{mentioned before} which carry Mi Fei's seal and signature, are his own works or those of some close follower of his like the son, Mi Yu-jen, who had the spirit and the manner of his

48 A

~~Ali Fai~~ made several self-portraits, in one of them he appeared in old-fashioned costume and on this there was an inscription by his son which said: "My father used to draw the portraits of loyal officials and virtuous scholars of the Chin and Tang dynasties and hang these on the walls of his studio. They were copied by men who loved the ancient times and thus transmitted to our days." (Hsi Yieh I Shih)

by ink colour, if one knows how to produce the required shades." (Ch'en Chieh-chou, a critic of the Wang Hsi-erai). We are also told that Mi Fei in painting with ink did not necessarily use the brush; he sometimes used paper sticks or sugar cane, ~~after~~ from which the juice had been extracted, or calyx of lotus. He always painted on paper which had not been prepared with gum or alum; never on silk or on the wall. If we see pictures done on silk attributed to Mi Fei we may be sure they are not by him. Neither he nor his son did anything of the kind. (Tung Tien Ching Ku).

48A. Mi Fei must have spent much more time in studying specimens of ancient painting and calligraphy than in producing pictures of his own. His Hua Shih^{48B} (History of Painting) is filled with notices about pictures which he has seen all over the country and about early and contemporary masters, and it also contains practical advices as to the proper way of keeping and mounting pictures but very little that ^{could} ~~would~~ serve to throw light on his own methods or brushmanship. It is the work of a rather ~~disparaging~~ scornful critic and collector, who loves to ridicule people for their indiscriminate ^{judging and} way of collecting, ~~as pictures~~. Two or three passages may suffice as examples: ~~for instance in the following characteristic passage~~: "There are many excellent pictures without artists' names, but people of today are very liberal in giving names to ~~these~~ ^{them}; ~~thus~~ they commonly call paintings of Xan Tai Sung and paintings of horses Han Kan playing with these names like saying hao (cranes) of Tu Hsien and Hsian (elephants) of Chang Te."^{48C} Another time Mi Fei writes: "Of Li Ch'eng's Landscapes I have seen only two specimens; one representing pines and stones, the other being a view in four scrolls... But the noblemen of today collect large pictures (as Li Ch'eng's works) in a similar fashion as the signboards of medicine shops supposed to be written by Yen and Lin; ~~at~~ these pictures are quite ordinary things in which the ~~forest~~ forests are spread out carelessly, the pines are rotten, poor and disjointed, the minor trees dead and meaningless like fire-wood etc.... I have the intention of discussing the non-existence of Li Ch'eng." 48B.

⁴⁸ Cf. S. Taki, Three Essays on Oriental Painting, London 1910, p. 66.

^{48B} There are several reprints of Mi Fei's Hua Shih. The earliest known to me is in a Ming edition of (by Mao Chia) of Chi Ku Ko; another complete reprint is included in Mei Shu Ts'ing Shu.

^{48C} This is a play on words. The writer has chosen two names, Tu Hsien-hao and Chang Te-hsian, and implies that these should of course be used for pictures of cranes and elephants, because they contain the characters signifying cranes and elephants.

ambitious dilettantes:

In a third passage he makes a general classification of true connoisseurs and)

"It happens quite often when pictures are shown to present day people that they are given names of old masters which fit them more or less, ~~and~~ ^{as} they are ~~thought to~~ resembling the correctly named works. Yet, dilettantes and students form two different classes of people. To the latter may be counted those who are earnest in their love of painting, who have studied extensively and recorded their observations. They have taken it into their hearts or they have learned how to paint themselves. What they collect is consequently of a high order. But those present day people who possess wealth without a great love of painting, and whose ambition it is to pose as connoisseurs in the eyes or the ears of other people may be called dilettantes. They place their pictures in silk ~~and~~ bags and provide them with jade-rollers as if they were most wonderful treasures, but when they open them, one may break down ^{with} laughter! I must take hold of the table and shout loudly: 'What a shame to take the trouble of killing people!'"

This exclamation became afterwards a common saying among connoisseurs when they were shown false pictures.

The discriminating collector Mr. Fei gives ^{also} ~~sometimes~~ good advice for the proper preservation, mounting and cleaning of pictures: "When you get hold of an old picture which is not damaged, you do not need to mount it; if the preservation is not good, you should change the mount and the backing once. If you change the mount several times the picture will be ruined, because the spirit of the figures, the variegated colours of their hair, the charm of the luxuriant flowers, the flattering bees and butterflies are merely suggestions among the dark and light, which may be lost if the picture passes through several remountings."

The best method of cleaning ancient scrolls of painting or calligraphy is described as follows: "Whenever I obtained a good scroll, I would exhibit it to my friends, keep it beside my dining table and carry it along when driving in a coach. After having enjoyed it enough, then on a fine day, I would spread a paper on a clean table and unroll the scroll completely covering it with another paper. This being done, I sprinkled it with a solution made of *Gleditsia japonica* and let it soak for a while. Then I rubbed the covering paper, and when it was destroyed, I rolled it into a ball, with which I slowly cleaned the scroll. When all dirt and spots had been taken off, I turned the scroll on its face, pulled off the paper on its back and got rid of whatever marks left there by handling. On parts which would not clean at once, the process had to be repeated until ~~every~~ it became all clean and white. Then I would make some paste with my own hands by using olibanum and cut off the tainted edges of the ~~old~~ mounting paper but leaving the rest on the back of the scroll. After this was done the scroll was pasted once more on a second paper. --- The work finished, the scroll was put into a case. I seldom took it out again unless it was displayed before a bright window, on a clean table in the presence of friends who were real connoisseurs."



Mi Fei's son Mi Yuan-hui or Mi Yu-jen followed as a painter
 very closely in the foot-steps of his father but was evidently ^{original} ~~less of a~~
~~and~~ ^{and} impetuous character. He rose to high official posts and lived
 to the age of 80. After he had become a famous man, it was difficult to
 get hold of his paintings and people jeered at him saying: 'He knows
 how to paint rootless trees and how to draw ~~diffused~~ ^{diffused} clouds but
 they are only for the emperor's eyes; common people have no share
 in them'. Tung Chi-chang ^{became} ~~was~~ however the owner of a famous picture
 by Mi Yu-jen representing the White Clouds at the Hsiao ^{and} Hsiao
 Rivers, and he tells us that he took this picture along when he went boar-
 ting on the Tung Ting lake, into which the ^{two} rivers flow). "The rays of the
 sun were slanting, and when I looked out from under the matted roof
 of the boat into the far expanse, I found that the strangely shaped clouds
 were the same as in the ink painting by Mi. In after times, at the appro-
 ach of evening, I rolled up the bamboo blinds of my window and loo-
 ked at the same picture, ~~and~~ it appeared to me ^{then} as something quite su-
 perfluous (so close was it to nature). The strange clouds of the Hsiao ri-
 ver are very similar to Luo Hsi's snow mountains and the open sandy
 plains at their foot are painted with watery ink in blobs as did both
 the older and the younger Mi. The old saying that Luo Hsi painted his stones
 like clouds is not wrong." In the continuation of the same paragraph
 Tung Chi-chang points out that Mi Yuan-hui was less interested in the
 mountains than in the clouds and such motives can be represen-
 ted only by the artist who have reached ^{a complete} ~~a perfect~~ interior ^{repose} ~~calmness~~.
 in which all passions dissolve.

* * *

The great admiration expressed by Su Tung-p'o for Mi Fei as a painter and a calligraphist was evidently reciprocated by Mi, who in various passages has ~~expressed~~ ^{set forth} a remarkable appreciation of Su Shih's paintings of bamboos and old trees. ~~These two were kindred spirits and were inspired by similar ideas, they even though Su Shih, the same spirit and from the same point of view at the time, Su Shih was hardly more than a dilettante as a painter - the perfect scholar - whose accomplishments in poetry, calligraphy and painting almost reached the level of the professional experts and professionals. As a critic he stands practically on the same standpoint as Mi Shih demanding above all that the artists should convey in a concentrated and distinct form the essential ^(to express much by little) significance of things. His remarks about paintings and painters are abundant in his poems as well as in his prose writings, but we can here only quote one or two passages of general interest.~~

In his notes on the paintings by Chin Yün-yuan he says: "In painting, of human figures, birds, palaces and objects everything should possess ~~constant (unchanging) form~~ ^{form}. As to mountains, rocks, bamboos, woods, water, waves, clouds, they do not ~~have~~ ^{possess} a constant form but they have ~~in their~~ constant principle (eternal fitness). When the constant form is misrepresented, people know it at once, but when the constant principle is not properly expressed, even those who know about painting do not easily perceive it. ~~Therefore~~ ^{Therefore} the cheaters and pretenders take advantage of this. However, misrepresentation ~~in form~~ does not necessarily mean that the whole thing is bad, but if the constant principle is not properly expressed, the whole picture will be deplorable... Sometimes mere artisans may represent perfect forms, but they will never be able to give the principle - that can be ~~expressed~~ ^{done} only by the superior man and gifted scholar." (Tung-p'o, Chuan Chi, vol. V)

Su Tung-p'o evidently painted many kinds of landscapes, ~~as for inst.~~ ^{as for inst.} ~~these of his pictures may be grouped~~ A Flat Riverbank, A Fall at night, The Blue Cliffs, Epiphyllum and Bamboo etc, but there were two motives in nature he loved ~~above~~ ^{above} everything else: water and bamboo. He passed many days of his life ⁱⁿ contemplation ~~of the river banks~~ ^{at the river banks} trying to realize ~~the~~ ^{the} ever changing message and he studied bamboo painting with the intensity of a passion. (of the running water)

Su Tung-p'o evidently did various kinds of landscapes and studies of nature, as for inst. A Flat River-bank, A Fallen Pine-tree, The Blue Cliffs, etc. but what he loved above everything else were bamboos and water, two motives which express, each in its way, a peculiar combination of suppleness and strength. He has painted these motives and he has made notes about them, in which he again ~~re-emphasizes~~ ^{emphasizes} the demand for the essential significance, the inner life or what he in the above quotation calls the "constant principle". He says about water: "In ancient and modern pictures water is usually represented flat and far stretching with ^{quite} small wimpy ruffles. Even the very skillful painters did no more than make the tops of the waves rising and falling; ^{could} ~~merely~~ almost touch them with their hands and feel the heights and the hollows. They are said to be wonderful yet, they are little better than prints from wooden blocks. In the Kuang ming era (850) of the Tang dynasty there was a ^{retired scholar} ~~scholar~~ called Sun Wei who first conceived a new idea: he painted rushing torrents and raging waves breaking against rocks and twisting around mountainous shores ^{adapting themselves to} ~~following~~ the shapes of the barriers. He painted the ever changing aspects (revolutions) of water and may be called a divine master."^{xx}

^{x)} Sun Wei, also known as ~~W~~ Yü from Tung Yüeh, a prominent painter at the end of the 10th century, known for his Taoist and Buddhist paintings as well as for his ~~landscapes~~ ^{sea} landscapes. He is said to have reached the knowledge of Tao.

^{xx)} From Hua Hsüeh Hsin Yin, I. 48.

An entirely different type of landscape painting than that which grew up around the Mi family was represented by ~~Chao~~ the art of Chao Ling-jang, better known by his style, Chao Ta-nien, who was almost contemporary with Mi Fei (active ca 1070-1100). He was related to the imperial family and seems to have remained in his art as well as in his life a man with the limitations of extraordinary refinement. His pictures often approach miniatures ~~by their~~ in size and technique, and we are told that he was able to write characters no larger than a pin-head, which hardly could be distinguished by ordinary eyesight. Nevertheless, he was a true artist, and his works were highly appreciated even by Mi Fei and later on, by a critic like Teng Ch'ing-chang who praises him as the most successful follower of Wang Wei in the Sung period. He must have studied Wang Wei's style very intimately, because several of his copies after the Tang master were considered almost as good as the originals. His own compositions represented mostly low river banks with thatched cottages and weeping willows ^{enveloped} in a misty atmosphere, not the mountainous views which so many of the other painters represented. ~~The soft ink tones are often~~ ^{soft ink tones are often} slightly heightened with colours.

A perfect example of his work is the often reproduced pan-suei belonging to Mr. Hara in Yokohama (Ch. Kotcha, 41) which represents a river scenery in autumn mood. The driving mist is enveloping the trees on the other side of the river, but in the foreground rises ^{a solitary} leafless willow, and white geese are playing on the water. In another small, belonging to Mr. Hagasaki, Benkeichi, in Tokyo, the season is further advanced: white snow covers the riverbanks and black crows are circling in the gray misty air. Views of this kind may be called pages of the kind; the carry definite suggestions of nature's moods at the respective seasons.

A more important composition ^{of the artist is} ~~is~~ the scroll in the National Museum in Beijing ^{which} represents a long river scenery in spring color. The background is filled with ~~xxx~~ ridges of sharply cut blue mountains; in the foreground are ~~low~~ green hills with shady trees ^{in pink and brown, small}, pavilions and cottages, and between them a broad placid water-course over which the mist is lifting. The composition is of a ^{rather} traditional type, but it may well have been rendered by ~~Chao~~ Chao Ta-nien, as is claimed by the signatures and inscriptions. ~~The picture itself has~~ ^{the} ~~is however a copy of the Sung period~~ ^{picture itself has} all the marks of a late copy; the execution is dry and the materials are of no great age.

Flower and bird-painters

Another branch of pictorial art which developed to a high degree of perfection in the Northern Sung period was flower and bird-painting. It enjoyed the particular attention of Emperor Hui Tsung, who himself was an expert in this kind of art, and was most eagerly collected by the rich amateurs of the time. The flower and bird-painters are, as a matter of fact, represented by ^{more numerous collections} ~~a far larger number of works~~ in Hui Tsung's catalog than the painters of any other class. But very little indeed has survived of their abundant works, and we have thus no occasion to dwell here on more than one or two of them.

The most famous and influential among these painters was Ts'ui Po, who came from Hao-liang in Szechuan and ~~was~~ who distinguished himself ~~as the~~ ^{as} the winner in an imperial competition.

the main part of the Ch'ing period (1644-77) ^{He} seems to have produced not only pic-
tures of flowers and birds but also landscape paintings, while his brother Hui-shan
was a specialist in portrait pictures. ^{*2)} ^{with} His style was both realistic and expressive.
~~Hui-shan's pictures~~, because no less than 41 ~~of them~~ ^{by T'ung Po}
his immediate pupil and successor was Hsiang-shan, also a famous
scholar-poet, who was a native of Chi-chiang and also a prominent member of the Impe-
rial Academy. The flower and bird pictures of those two men were of such high
standard, that they were accepted as official models ⁱⁿ the Academy instead of
the Huang Sh'ian's flower paintings, which had hitherto been regarded as per-
fect specimens of their kind. ^{which respects} They are not told in ~~any other~~ ^{any} source.
Yuen-yi's pictures differed from those of Huang Sh'ian, ~~but~~ ^{and} are the more or
less authentic materials still preserved, it may be concluded that they introduced

x) Cf. Chavannes et Petrucci, *La Peinture Chinoise au Musée Cornu* 1912. *Art Asiatique*, vol. I.
and Fergusson, *op. cit.* p 116. xx) Cf. Giles, *op. cit.* p 118. p. 17.

a broader and freer pictorial style than the ~~earliest~~ ^{earliest} manner of their famous predecessor. The pictures ascribed to these artists are, as a matter of fact, treated in rather broad ^{their} ~~ways~~ ^{are} combined with ^{luxuriant} ~~plants and animals~~, and the ^{more decorative} ~~effect~~ of their compositions is carried out in a bold ^{may be seen in the works of} ~~vision~~ ^{after them} ~~than the earlier bird painters.~~ ^{Compositional features are evident also} ~~these~~ ^{in copies and reproductions} ~~as for inst. fl. III in~~ vol. I. of Art Asiatique, which represents a fragment of a picture of a goose among flowering trees, ascribed to Ts'ui 10, or 11. 9 of the illustrated catalogue of the Peking exhibition of 1908, which represents a pair of geese on a river bank among some rushes. ^{pictures look like} ~~either of these seem to be~~ ^{originals} ~~of the period, but~~ they may well be based on compositions by Ts'ui 10, the vertical painting, which is complete, is effective through the contrast between the dark, ~~background~~ ^{background} and the open spaces of water and sky.

The same principle of composition is repeated in a smaller and more decorative ^{way} ~~way~~ in a pair of pictures representing a goose and a duck, or rather, a pair of white swans, with their chicken, belonging to the artist Chen Hsueh-shan, 16th cent. The pictures are provided with old labels containing the name of the artist, the date, and the year and month, 1st day, which in this case probably corresponds to the year 1603. More than ten years have passed since I saw these pictures in Peking, but if my recollection is correct, they will be originals of the period and painted by the master. The compositions complete each other: the gander is standing on the shore with three newly hatched chickens in front of him looking with some anxiety (with opened beak) towards the goose which, in the other picture, is represented floating on the water with two small chicken under her wings, while a third one is ^{hesitating} ~~hesitating~~ on the shore. Some tufts of rushes and flowering plants are growing at the water's edge in the foreground and serve to accentuate the dividing line between water and land, but they do not interfere with the large white silhouettes of the birds, which dominate the compositions completely. They stand out most significantly against the darker tone of the silk, which represents water and sky without any further indications or dividing lines. It is simply by the placing of the birds and the perfect rendering of their full bodies in ~~the~~

white feathery garments that the artist creates an impression of levitation. The goose, which is placed almost in the midst of the picture, is actually floating in the water; she is carried by something which may be felt rather than seen. Beyond the bird is an indefinite space, out of which the white emerges as with full plasticity. By the strictest economy of means the largest possible effect has been obtained. Within this framework of bold contrast the artist has concentrated on ~~little~~^{the} core and technical skill on the main motives. ~~the large and small birds~~. He has given a perfect characterisation of the different arrangements of the male and the female seen; the former upright, proud, strutting in the foreground, the latter placidly floating on the water and looking over her shoulder with the most graceful movement of the long neck. There is a note of tenderness and love as expressed in a form which lacks the brittle beauty, the indescribable charm and purity which we associate with the white bird alone, a perfect example.

The intrinsic beauty of pictures like this is ~~the~~ the result of their nature. Later bird painters who have tried similar devices have not succeeded in this skill in rendering of the poses, have never reached the same degree of intimate and harmonious beauty.

Tsu T'ao and Yu Yuen, were no doubt the most important of the Chinese bird-painters during the North Song period, but they were not alone; there were also others who reached considerable fame. The oldest was Wang Meng, a native of Ch'ang-sha in Hunan, who was employed in the court and was a friend of the emperor. He is said to have been as a painter of flowers and birds, but he was also a landscape painter. Other painters such as ~~Chao Ch'ang~~ ^{Chao Ch'ang} and ~~Chao Ch'ang~~ ^{Chao Ch'ang} had long since to perfection, he strided out in an original line not already occupied by the sea of old. He became the foremost painter of birds. His best picture was the "Red and Blue", which survives in an interesting copy, and a copy of this may be seen in the National Museum in Beijing.

At Tsien who came from Hsien-an, is mentioned several times. He was active during the reign of a emperor (1013-32) and specialised in depicting "birds amid the falling leaves and curved reeds or autumn" (see also on, p. 116). He represented in the National Museum in Beijing a picture of an egret and some tufts of reeds. Although a copy, the picture may serve to give some idea about the almost scientifically exact and tender of the

It is a notable fact that several of these painters (and also later ones) excelled in representing a hundred (i.e. a great number) birds or animals of the same kind in one picture; it was evidently considered as a test of skill in composition and brushmanship to be able to do this without causing an effect of confusion or monotony. Thus Ma Fen (or Pan), who was active at the end of the 11th century and became a tai chao in Hui Tsung's academy, ^{also} painted the Hundred Apes, The Hundred Horses, The Hundred Bulls, The Hundred Sheep, The Hundred Deer, The Hundred Wild Geese etc. and ~~it is said~~ ^{it was} said that though all these compositions contained great crowds, they were not confused. This is certainly verified by the charming scroll in the Honolulu Academy of Arts which bears Ma Fen's signature and represents ~~the~~ The Hundred Wild Geese. It is painted on paper ^{with} light ink in a very fluent style and has the quality of an original of the Sung period. It bears an imperial seal and a label on which it is stated that it was preserved in the Nan Hsueh Chai.

To render justice to this subtle paraphrase on the airy and volatile motive in words is hardly possible; it is like a virtuoso performance in tones of ink instead of music by which the ^{momentary} ~~reflex~~ movements of the hundred birds are expressed as swiftly, smoothly and lightly as they are performed. The long river or marsh landscape, which forms the background, is only slightly indicated by tufts of bending reeds and faint silhouettes of stones disappearing in the misty atmosphere. ^{And} through all this the birds form a continuous ~~theme~~ ^{leitmotif}, sometimes in groups, sometimes in a thin ^{string} ~~row~~, soaring through the air, diving in the water, flocking on the shore, playing, quarrelling and brooding - an infinite variety of positions and combinations, accentuated by the touch of the life-imparting brush of the painter.

Ma Fen, ^{the first of the numerous painters of the Ma family} was certainly not one of the great men of the epoch; he is mentioned by Shi Tei in a rather disparaging tone, but he evidently knew how to use the brush and the ink, and if the above mentioned picture is an original work by him, as we believe, it may serve as an example of the average high standard of ~~paint~~ ink painting ~~at the end of~~ in Hui Tsung's reign.

Li Lung-mien and his following

The only figure painter of the Northern Sung period fully comparable as an artistic genius to the landscape painters of Kuo Hsi's and Mi Fei's class is Li Lung-hin. Such was his family name, which however has become less popular than his type (style) Li Po-shih and his has (nom de plume) Li Lung-mien, a name which he received from Lung-mien shan (the Sleeping Dragon mountain), the place where he passed the later years of his life. He was born about 1040 at Su-chang in Su-chui and died 1106, probably ^{at Lung-mien shan} ~~in Su-chang~~ only a year before Mi Fei. The ^{main} ~~entire~~ ~~outline~~ ~~of his life~~ ~~are fairly well known~~ ~~and have been~~ ~~retraced~~ ~~in the biography quoted below~~; ^{it appears from other sources} ~~that he passed through~~ ~~several degrees~~ ~~of the~~ ~~official~~ ~~rank~~ ~~without ever doing much~~ ~~service in any government office~~ ~~and~~ ~~he~~ ~~gradually~~ ~~became~~ ~~known not only as~~ ~~a great~~ ~~painter~~ ~~comparable to the classic masters of antiquity~~ ~~but also~~ ~~of one of the most cultured and noblest characters of the age~~. Li Lung-mien was hardly what would be called a religious personality, ^{was he} ~~nor a~~ ~~dreamer or~~ ~~nature-worshipper~~ like some of the other great painters, his genius was coupled with a clear intellect, ^{with learning and with} ~~and with an~~ ~~unusual~~ ~~balance of character~~. ^{Among} ~~the~~ ~~107 pictures~~ ~~which are listed under his name in emperor Hui Tsung's catalogue~~ ~~the Buddhist subjects form by far the largest~~ ~~class~~ ~~but many of these were evidently represented in a~~ ~~highly~~ ~~conventional~~ ~~fashion~~, and beside these there are Taoist and Confucian (classic) subjects, historical portraits and genre scenes, at least a dozen horse paintings, birds, butterflies and flowers and landscapes with figures. Li Lung-mien was ~~probably~~ ^{not so} ~~highly specialized as a painter~~ ^{as most of the other painters of the} ~~his artistic activity as well as his cultural interests spanned over many fields~~, though he is officially classified simply as a figure painter. It was also as such that he exercised the greatest influence on the development of Chinese ^{an influence} ~~painting~~ ^{which is} ~~most noticeable~~ ~~evident~~ ~~particularly~~ ^{in the later Buddhist} ^{art} ~~of the~~ ~~Sung period~~. The ^{fullest} ~~best~~ ~~records~~ ~~about~~ ~~Li Lung-mien's art and life~~ ~~are~~ ~~in the~~ ~~Hsüan-ho hua p'u~~ ^(the text) ~~which was composed only about 14 years after his death~~; they are quoted here with the exclusion of a few irrelevant phrases.

1
His father Hsü-i received the title of a Wise, Good and Upright man and served as a Counsellor in the Ta Li ssu (The High Court). He was fond of collecting standard calligraphies and famous paintings. Kung-lin had thus an opportunity of studying these from an early age and to become familiar with the style and brushwork of the old masters. His writing in "model style" and "running hand" showed the influence he received from the styles of the Chin and the Sung dynasties (265-479). As a painter he stands unsurpassed and his works are highly valued in the whole world.

He was a man of great learning and penetrating intellect, who by the power of his thoughts and his quick observation ~~understand~~ realized the essentials in everything. At first when he started to paint, he studied Ku K'ai-chih, Lu Tan-wei, Chang Seng-yu and Wu Tao-yuan besides the works of other famous masters of the past. In this way he stored up in his memory a great wealth, utilizing all the good points of his predecessors to form a style ^{or school} of his own. ~~But he did not~~ ^{not however} work as if were plagiarizing the earlier masters but tried to grasp the essential secrets of their art. Whenever he came across a famous painting, ancient or modern, he made a copy of it, and thus his house became filled with famous pictures of every kind.

He was particularly skillful in painting figures and he knew how to characterize their form and countenance so that anyone who looked at them could understand if they were courtiers, scholars, hermits, uneducated common people, servants or slaves. Their manners, gestures, expressions, ^{their} use of the limbs, inclinations forward and backward, size and appearance, etc.: every feature ^{was} brought out distinctly.

Kung-lin started generally by establishing the idea of the picture, then followed composition and decorative arrangement. Common artists may be able to imitate his beautifully coloured and highly finished paintings but they cannot reach his more simplified free and sketchy manner. He learned a great deal from Tu Fu's art of writing poetry and applied it to painting. For instance when Tu Fu wrote the poem "Tying up the Hens", he did not dwell on the gain or loss of the hens or the insects but piled his attention on the moment when he was standing in the mountain pavilion, contemplating the cold river. In Kung-lin's ~~poem~~ illustration of Tao Ch'ien's "Kuei ch'ui lai" (Homeward again) he did not insist

on the fields, the gardens, the pine trees and the ~~prunellus~~ *prunellus* ~~santhemums~~, but rather on the enjoyment of the clear flowing water. When Tu Fu wrote about the destruction of his grass hut by the autumn storms, he did not lament over the torn bed-cover or the leaking hut but expressed his wish to extend a big shelter over all the poor scholars of the world so as to make their faces grow happy. Likewise Kung-hsi in making a picture of the Yang-kuang pass, thought that partings and outbreaks of sorrow were too commonplace ~~were too common~~ ^{sentiments} and instead of such scenes he represented an angler quietly seated at the side of a stream showing no concern over the sorrow and the joy around him. All his other works were done in a similar fashion; it was left to the people who looked at them to discover (their meaning).

Therefore in regard to ideas he was like Wu Tao-yan but by his cheerfulness he was like Wang Wei. The figures in his picture of the Hua-yen (Buddhavatamsaka) Council may be compared to (Wu's) Scenes of Hall, whereas his painting of the Ling-mien Hill Farm is comparable to (Wang Wei's) Wang Chuan scroll. He appropriated all the good points of his predecessors, united them in his works and rose high above the common level. His paintings have been spread all over the world so that everybody can find an opportunity to examine them.

To begin with Kung-hsi was fond of painting horses mainly in the manner of Han Kan, which he however modified, but one day a Taoist ^{advised} ~~warned~~ him not to do so, because (he said) there is a danger that you may fall into the ways of a horse. Kung-hsi grasped the meaning

It would take us too far to mention here all the pictures associated with the name of Li Tung-hui; they are mostly scrolls or album leaves executed in the "pa'ing" style but among them are also larger hanging pictures in colour.

~~(or was advised)~~ ^{changed} and ~~devoted himself~~ to the painting of Taoist and Buddhist subjects which he did with still greater skill.

^{Once} ~~At one time~~ he painted some horses of the imperial stable which had been ~~given~~ ^{sent} in tribute by the Chotense (^{horse} ~~of~~) of the Western Land, for instance the Good ~~and~~ ^{Red} Herd and the ~~Procure~~ ^{Procure} Shoulder Horse, besides others. ~~He~~ ^{He} was a master of them, but the stable officials asked him for the pictures, as they feared that the spirits of the horses would go with the images. ~~He~~ ^{He} ~~was~~ ^{became} ~~to~~ ^{to} be ~~known~~ ^{with} of ~~famous~~ ^{famous} as painter of horses.

When he was serving as an official and lived in the capital for ten years, he never entered the house of a man of great influence or of high rank. Moreover he could leave his duties and the weather was good, he would provide himself with some wine and go out of the city accompanied by some friends. They would visit some famous gardens and shady forests and sit down ~~on~~ ^{on} stones at the side of a water, feeling happy and ~~joyous~~ ^{joyous}, for the whole day. During this period it also happened quite often that men of wealth and high rank ~~came~~ ^{obtained} some of his works, showed him courtesies and the like, but ~~he~~ ^{he} ~~was~~ ^{stubborn} and did not ~~take~~ ^{take} them. ~~He~~ ^{He} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~interested~~ ^{interested} in scholars of worth, even though they were complete strangers, he would befriend and accompany, and for their sake he was willing to ~~move~~ ^{move} ~~about~~ ^{about} the least ~~difficulty~~ ^{difficulty}. He also collected ancient jade objects ~~such as~~ ^{such as} the ~~lute~~ ^{lute} and the ~~pi~~ ^{pi}, and studied carefully their names and meaning, so that (his pictures) would show no mistakes.

~~He served as an~~ ^{He served as an} ~~official~~ ^{for} ~~thirty years~~ ^{thirty years}, but ~~he~~ ^{he} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~interested~~ ^{not} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ the mountains and forests. Therefore his wind screen filled with pictures. ~~Later in~~ ^{Later in} his life ~~he~~ ^{he} ~~was~~ ^{became} afflicted with rheumatism, but between ~~the~~ ^{the} screens he would still lift his hand and draw with the finger on the bed-cover as if he were holding a brush. His family folks warned him not to do it, but he smiled and answered: "It is an old habit of mine, I do it ~~unconsciously~~ ^{unconsciously}." ~~When~~ ^{When} ~~his~~ ^{his} ~~illness~~ ^{illness} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~abating~~ ^{abating} the ~~people~~ ^{people} ~~who~~ ^{who} ~~asked~~ ^{asked} ~~for~~ ^{for} pictures came again, Kuan-lin sighed and said to them: "When I paint, I do it ~~as~~ ^{as} the poet composes his poems; I chant of nature and of my heart's desire — nothing more. ~~It is~~ ^{It is} that people of the world cannot understand this, but are seeking for my pictures simply for their ~~enjoyment~~ ^{enjoyment}. entertainment?" After ~~this~~ ^{this} ~~words~~ ^{words}, whenever he made a picture to

Student of modern times may not be able to quite agree with the last sentence of the biography; we should be more inclined to regret that the details and the historical informations about the life of Li Kung-lin are not more fully recorded. The main interest of the biography seems to be that it reflects the appreciation of Li Kung-lin's art as it existed among his contemporaries and the current ideas about his evolution and his way of working. It represents Li Kung-lin as the assiduous student of the great masters of antiquity, Ku, Lu and Wu; these were his principal guides, and furthermore Han Kan in horse painting. It insists on his extraordinary power of characterization, his inexhaustible richness of ideas, the great variety of his subjects, both religious and profane. And above all, it ~~gives~~ transmits his conception of painting, quoting his words: "I do it as the poet composes his poems, I chant my heart's desire and my love of nature." His friend Su Tung-p'o has ^{further} explained the same thing; when writing: "When Li Kung-nien is on the mountains, he does not concentrate on any one object but his soul enters into communion with all objects, and his mind penetrates the mysteries of all crafts." (Cf. Giles, p. 127).

Li Kung-lin belonged to the same constellation of great poets, artists and philosophers as Su Tung-p'o, Huang Ting-chien, Mi Fei and others of this golden era, but he was evidently less inclined to excesses and sarcasms than some of the others. When these people met, they often amused themselves by making pictures and poems in collaboration; he added figures to the landscapes of Su, and Su wrote poems on his pictures. Their philosophical or religious tenets were evidently made up of a rather free mixture of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucian elements, more or less along similar lines as those formulated later on by Chu Hsi; it was less the question of doctrines than of individual interpretations and the search for a unity in it all based on the intuition of great souls and minds. Huang Ting-chien has well expressed their attitude towards the problems of life in his well known saying: "If a man is commonplace, there is no hope for him; those who are not commonplace behave under ordinary circumstances like ordinary people, but when some crisis ~~comes~~ comes, their real value is made evident."

* Born 1050 d. 1110, an officer in the Imperial Academy, distinguished as a poet and writer, known for his sharp tongue. (Cf. Giles. Biogr. Dict. 873.)

If we turn to the paintings which in modern times have been ascribed to Li Kung-lin, we are surprised by their number as well as by their variety in style and motives. Hundreds of such pictures could be mentioned, album-leaves with figures executed in delicate lines, scrolls with legendary motives likewise in monochrome and large paintings in colour on silk. It is evident that the great majority of these pictures have a fairly remote connection with the master, but a certain number are early copies and a few may be originals. It may at least be claimed that they are of the period and fulfil the conditions of originals by a great master. It may be recalled for instance that the catalogue of the paintings in the National Museum in Peking (Umu Hwa tien) enumerates five scrolls and one hanging picture by the master, but only one of these impressed me at a careful examination as an original work of the Sung period. But of the ^{more than} ~~ten~~ ~~by pictures described in Chinese books as Li Kung-lin's works~~ ~~only one has survived to our knowledge as an original (the Hwa tien)~~ hundred pictures which in Charles D. Freer's personal catalogue were attributed to Li Kung-lin only two are now accepted in his museum as originals.*)

*) A somewhat more liberal opinion about the Li Kung-lin's in the Freer collection is expressed by Agnes B. Meyer in her book: Chinese Painting as reflected in the Thought and Art of Li Kung-lin. New York 1923. pp. 219. 223. She considers the following pictures as the most authentic works by the master: The White Lotus Club (also known as landscape with Fairies); The Shu River scroll; The Album of 100 poems; The Cassia Hall and Epidendrum Palace (a scroll of garden pavilions and terraces) all belonging to the Freer Gallery, and furthermore a picture representing Lao-tzu delivering the Tao Te Ching in her own collection (unknown to me in original).

and a v. fine collection of the same.

A still more fantastic and ~~far more~~ varied landscape composition is the long scroll (9 1/2 metres) in the Greer Gallery, which is described officially as "Poetics and Fairies in an Imaginary Landscape, and called by Mrs Mayer 'The White Lotus Club', a title which refers to a society of priests and literati, who in the fourth century, retired to the solitude of the Lu Mountain under the leadership of Hui Shan, the founder of the Sh'ian, a sect. They lived here in closest communion with the elements, known as the 1. ~~White Mountain~~ ^{Wu Mo} of the Lu Mountain, or the White Lotus Club. The traditions of this spiritual communion, a blend of Taoist and Buddhist ideas seem to have been ~~combined~~ ^{combined}, and have inspired him to his composition, which is a vision rather than an illustration. The continuous landscape consists of the most fantastic ^{rocks,} split and moulded into cloud-like shapes, gnarled pines, open stretches of water, grassy terraces and lotus ponds, a succession of poetic ideas, inspired by nature, and reflected still more vividly by the lost towers and temple pavilions which ~~rise~~ ^{now and again} rise to reach the ~~top~~ ^{top} of the clouds. The holy men, the hermits around these buildings ~~seem to be filled with a spirit of devotion, veneration for the gods, reverence indicated not only by their robes, but also by such features as men descending on clouds, the power of suggestion, the spiritual content of the whole thing, especially in the last part of the extraordinary features of the composition, there are also expressed by the ~~masterly~~ ^{masterly} ~~brushwork~~ ^{brushwork} of the painter's hand, which plays ~~on the~~ ^{the} ~~viewer's~~ ^{viewer's} ~~soul~~ ^{soul} ~~lightly as if he were giving vent to~~ ^{lightly as if he were giving vent to} ~~his~~ ^{his} ~~own~~ ^{own} ~~thoughts~~ ^{thoughts} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~feelings~~ ^{feelings} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~his~~ ^{his} ~~soul~~ ^{soul}.~~

The other scroll in the Greer Gallery, which is described as "The Imperial Summer Palace" by Li Hung-lin (identified by Mrs Mayer as the Chinese calligrapher "Liu Hsiang") represents views of an Imperial Summer Palace, ^{i.e.} ~~series of open pavilions and galleries arranged around~~ ^{series of open pavilions and galleries arranged around} courts and lakes. It is predominantly an architectural painting of the kind which is known in Chinese art as "Shan Shui" or "Landscape painting". The buildings are drawn with a ruler ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~along~~ ^{along} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~lines~~ ^{lines} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~drawing~~ ^{drawing} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~view~~ ^{view} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~presented~~ ^{presented} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~a~~ ^a ~~kind~~ ^{kind} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~modelled~~ ^{modelled} ~~child's~~ ^{child's} ~~eye~~ ^{eye} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~view~~ ^{view} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~presented~~ ^{presented} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~a~~ ^a ~~kind~~ ^{kind} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~modelled~~ ^{modelled} ~~child's~~ ^{child's} ~~eye~~ ^{eye} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~view~~ ^{view} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~presented~~ ^{presented} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~a~~ ^a ~~kind~~ ^{kind} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~modelled~~ ^{modelled} ~~child's~~ ^{child's} ~~eye~~ ^{eye} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~view~~ ^{view} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~presented~~ ^{presented} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~a~~ ^a ~~kind~~ ^{kind} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~modelled~~ ^{modelled} ~~child's~~ ^{child's} ~~eye~~ ^{eye} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~view~~ ^{view} 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from above while those situated further off are visible only in their lower portions. We have already had occasion to discuss some pictures of this kind (and to mention their high appreciation by the Chinese critics) in connection with the art of Li Meng-cho, but it is evident that Li Hung-lin's picture marks a great progress in this particular field of painting. It offers a clearer idea of the architectural structures ^{than the Tang pictures did and} ~~which~~ ^{than in} ~~those found in~~ an atmosphere of peculiar refinement. The buildings are so sensitively drawn, so light and airy that they almost lose their character of earthly structures. They are more like dream ^a ~~pieces~~ ^{visions} seen through the veil of a silvery mist. The pale grey tone of the ~~paper~~ ^{ink} and the ink is not heightened by any contrasts. The picture is really too delicate for reproduction and its subtlety is too subtle to be conveyed by any description. It is difficult to believe that anybody but Li Hung-lin himself could have done such a masterpiece of delicate ~~and~~ ^{draughtmanship}.

If we may believe Li Hsi, Li Hung-lin ^{worked sometimes also} ~~printed~~ in closer alliance to his predecessors of the T'ang period. Most remarkable in this respect is his picture, representing "Poetical Gathering in the Western Garden," which contained the portraits of many of the most famous literary men of the time such as Li Hung-po and his brother Li Hsi-yu, Li Chun-shan, Wang Chang-mu, etc.; and others, seated under the trees and occupied in writing, or reading, or playing. ^{It} ~~is~~ ^{the} ~~title~~ ^{caption} of the picture is: "Li Po-shan has made, after the style of the ^{Ch'ao} ~~former~~ ^{Ch'ao} ~~Ch'ao~~, a landscape in colours in which the rocks, clouds, grass, trees, flowers and bamboo are done with consummate skill. The figures are very life-like and their expressions show none of the usual artificial traits commonly seen in the every day world. It is certainly an extraordinary piece of work." The writer goes on describing the various positions, occupations and costumes of the men, and then adds: "From this picture, the artist has drawn together sixteen, in which the same and great essayists, scholars, poets, calligraphists, archaeologists, and so on, are represented. They all stand in a row, and their names create a stir even among the foreign races outside the four boundaries of China. People in after-generations who have the opportunity of looking at this picture will, I believe, not only appreciate the painting, but

¹ Cf. Agnes S. Meyer, op. cit. p. 105.

~~may~~ gain some understanding of each one, all of these men.

Alas, the opportunity is no longer ours! The picture is lost and at a trace, and we have no means of appreciating either Li's skill as a painter in colour or his characterisation of his most famous friends.

The same fate has befallen Li Kung-lin's Buddhist pictures. We can no longer be sure that any of them has been preserved in original, but some of the compositions are known through what seems to be faithful copies, pictures which retain something of the masters ~~style and individuality~~ ^{very original, sometimes} humorous or fantastic, interpretation of traditional motives, ~~without losing the very essence of the subject~~. ^{The} They make us realise the truth of the remark in the Li, that Li Kung-lin's pictures assisted upon the front stage and original in order to startle the people without ever losing the standard of his artistic excellence.

The particular type of Lohans which Li Kung-lin is said to have introduced will be discussed presently; it may have been realized in some larger pictures rather than in the small album leaves and scrolls of which various fairly authentic copies exist, as for instance in the Forer Gallery and in the National Museum in Peking. These two series represent both the 18 Lohans; the latter is in the form of a continuous scroll with landscape background, the Lohans are moving through water and air as mystic supernatural beings, and even in a somewhat dry copy like this which is executed with hair-fine sharp lines, one may discern an element of ^{great} imaginative ~~fantasy~~ power.

Another picture of a similar type, though perhaps superior in craftsmanship (I know it only in reproduction) is the so-called "Drunken Priest" in Mrs Eugene Meyer's collection. Waley points out (p. 199) that it really is an

illustration to a poem by the priest-calligrapher Hui-su, in which he says that,

"I deserve that my portrait should be inserted in the drunken priest picture."

The composition shows the old man seated and one writing on a scroll while a

child before him a boy, while two other servants stand by with

wine pots. The situation is replete with life but, to judge the reproduction, the execution does ~~to seem to~~ ^{not} possess the strength of the conception.

The pictures associated with the name of Li Lung-mien are, as said above, ~~so~~ numerous and multifarious. To describe them all would require a special volume; we can only add a few words about certain works by his following and imitators.

The imitations after the master seem to have had a ready market already in his life time, ~~as the~~ demand for his works grew larger than the supply. The older and more famous Li Lung-mien ~~was~~ became the less he worked and the larger became the field for the imitators. We are told, in Hua Chien, that a certain scholar, called Chiao Chung, imitated him so successfully that their pictures could be confused, and also that the monk Fan Lung from Wuhsing followed him very closely, though his figures were spiritless and his horses poor. A long scroll in the Treas. Gallery representing Lohans moving through Forests and Sea, is attributed to Fan Lung and bears witness to this dependence. The composition is full of fantastic details, the holy men are riding on all sorts of beasts and dragons, ^(with a very fine style) and the execution is elegant and skillful but comparatively dry and superficial. The pictures may serve to illustrate a whole class of minor ink paintings, usually representing Taoist or Buddhist worthies, which are to be seen in various collections under the name of Li Lung-mien. They are executed in the "pai miao" style often with great refinement and skill but lacking in vitality and strength of brushmanship. These imitations remind us, by their general resemblance to his works as well as by their weaknesses of the following characterization of Li Lung-mien's art: "Li Po-shih cut down the pictures to the smallest

lest size and painted only one or two figures, and the result was the most marvellous thing known in Chinese composition (from the time of the Tang to the present). He never saw that he had used a cold brush, but this was his secret. He was unable to do it; he was opposed to it because he feared that his followers would be forced to imitate him. He was a great artist." (D)

① Hua Chi, quoted in Ching-ho shu hua fang vol. 8.

There can however be little doubt that Li Kung-lin also executed larger pictures in colour on silk, though none of them may have survived to our day. Especially pictures intended for Buddhist temples must have been of this more decorative type, and it seems that Li Kung-lin exercised a certain influence also on this class of painting. According to a tradition, which is particularly persistent in Japan, he would have created a new type of *Arhans*, the Buddhist patriarchs, who became very popular motives in the religious art of the Sung period. The earlier type of *Arhans* is known to us through the highly dramatic grim old men represented by Kuan-hsin at the ^{end of the} 10th cent.; they are quite unlike those which became popular in the 12th and 13th cent. and later. In his valuable articles on the *Arhats* in China and Japan professor H. W. De Visser quotes a Japanese authority who distinguishes four types of *Arhan*-paintings in Chinese art i.e. Kuan-hsin's, Li Kung-mien's, Chang Su-kung's and Lu Hsin-chung's, but it is evident that the greatest difference is between the two first types, the two latter being merely more decorative or ~~more~~ realistic elaborations of the second type, which retained a leading influence during the Sung and Yuan dynasties. The same authority claims that "in Li Kung-mien's style the expression of the miraculous power of the *Arhats* was made the chief object, whereas additional matters like the variegated colours of the garments and their ornamental patterns were treated as important details (which were more emphasized in Chang Su-kung's pictures). This became the commonest style. The centre of this style was Southern China; it was especially in vogue in the Sheng'an (Zen) monasteries and introduced into Japan by Shingon priests. This school also propagated the cult of the 500 *Arhats*." It weakened gradually in the hands of inferior ~~and~~ painters who "laid stress ~~on~~ upon the outer appearance instead upon the inner greatness and slid down into the stream of a naturalistic style which wiped away the last traces of divinity and majesty of the saints. Yet Li Kung-mien's mighty art maintained its dominating position down to the end of the Yuan dynasty; when Ming began, it passed away forever."

*) H. W. De Visser, *The Arhats in China and Japan*. A series of articles first published in *Oriental. Letterb.* and then published in one volume 1923. The Japanese authority quoted ^{here} on p. 129 is: *Nihon hyakkuwa daijiten*.

The above presentation of the problem concerning the representation of dohans in Chinese painting is apparently based on old temple traditions rather than on still existing documents or paintings. It does ^{not} appear from any of the Chinese sources known to us whether any of Li Kung-min's Lohan-paintings were on a large scale and represented single figures, ^{but} such may have existed. We have previously mentioned some minor ^{ink paintings} ~~paintings~~, scrolls and album leaves, traditionally attributed to the master which represent the 18 Lohans, ^{and} ~~these~~ ^{beside these} may be remembered the very famous picture of the 500 Lohans which is described in great detail in *Hua Chi*. But this too seems to have been an ink painting, remarkable for its ^{excellent} brush work ^{and} its fantastic variety of motives which nevertheless were presented "in accordance with the Buddhist principles".

The finest dohan paintings on a large scale in colour which sometimes used to be associated with the name of Li Kung-min is the set of Daitokuji in Kyoto, out of which ten pictures were secured for the Museum in Boston and some by private collectors, so that only 82 pieces remain in the possession of the ~~now belonging to the temple~~ ^{temple}. The original number was 100, and each picture represents five Lohans with their attendants and followers. The traditional attribution of these pictures has been disproved by the discovery of the signatures of the two painters Chou Chi-chiang and Lin Ting-kuei on one of the pictures in Daitokuji, and through the inscription we also learn that they were executed in 1118 for a monastery in Ning-po (Chekiang). It may however be admitted that the style and general character of these pictures reflect to some extent the art of Li Kung-min. One or two examples must here suffice as representatives of the whole series; ~~though~~ the general principles of composition are the same in them all, though they are applied with considerable variation and the execution is uneven. My observations on a great number of the pictures in Kyoto lead me to the conclusion that Chou Chi-chiang was the greater of the two otherwise quite unknown painters.

One of the finest is the picture which shows Five Lohans descending on clouds towards a man (of Hindu type) who is seated on a camel, holding with both hands a coral crown as if he were offering it to the holy men. By the position of the figures and the design of the clouds

*The ten pictures of the Boston Museum are all reproduced in my publication: *Chinese Paintings in American Collections*, II. pl. 56-64.

a kind of double curve is formed which sweeps along the tall picture and imbues it with an airy movement. The composition is perfectly adapted to the high and narrow proportions of the picture, and the characterisation of the Lohans (^{who} ~~which~~ now have become more Chinese than Indian) is carried out with great concentration. The same kind of curving and sweeping vertical design may be observed in several of these paintings, sometimes accentuated by trees and water courses, sometimes by the formations of the rocks and the clouds, always imparting ^{a harmonious} unity and strength to the decorative effect.

But similar results may also be obtained by ~~by~~ other arrangements. There are for instance pictures of a more symmetrical design as may be seen in the one which represents the Buddhist patriarch triumphing over Taoist heretics. The scene is laid in a grotto. In the upper part of the picture stands a large altar silhouetted against the opening of the cave. A roll of documents lying upon the altar radiates light and is not consumed by the altar-fire that seems to shrink from it. The figures below are grouped in a V-shape that almost repeats the direction of the rays above. The attention of all is fixed upon the altar. The five Lohans are ~~also~~ obviously rejoicing over the phenomenon, while their adversaries, the Taoists show considerable consternation. The whole picture is dominated ~~and illuminated~~ by the miracle; our attention is drawn to as towards a luminous point, and from it ~~it~~ issues the force that creates such an intense reaction in the different figures. The artist has succeeded in representing the irresistible spiritual power of the miracle by reflecting it in the figures and ⁱⁿ a design which accentuates the focal point and radiates like the rays of ~~light~~ the altar.

The compositions in this series are characteristic of a whole group of Chinese figure-paintings, be they religious or profane which are built up on the high hanging scrolls. The main figures are placed in the upper part or in the middle of the picture and drawn on a somewhat larger scale than the rest. They ~~form~~ ^{mark} not only the ideal but also the decorative centre of the composition, and as they look down on the rest of the composition with the minor figures, the beholder is induced to do likewise. The arrangement is essentially ideological but in accordance with strictly decorative principles, so that not only the main idea but also the unity and significance of the design ~~at once~~ ^{clear} become clear.

Among the Lohan pictures attributed to Li Kung-hsi should be remembered the large kakemonos belonging to the ^{Imperial} Academy in Tokyo. They are only two ^{now} but must have formed parts of a series of sixteen (or eighteen) pictures, each representing ~~a~~ Lohan accompanied by a worshipper or an attendant. The characterisation of the holy men, who are seated on cliffs, under the shadow of some tree branches, is excellent but the execution is of a kind that nowadays is considered more characteristic of the XIIIth than of the XIVth century. This approximate date is also proved by their stylistic resemblance with the famous sets of sixteen Lohans in the Museum in Boston and in Shokokuji in Kyoto which are signed by Liu Hsin-chung an artist who worked at Ning-po at the end of the Southern Sung dynasty (and possibly also later). These two sets are ~~markedly different~~ ^{closely resembling} in design and ~~must~~ ^{are} both ~~to~~ be executed by Liu Hsin-chung and his assistants, though, as far as my observations go, the pictures in Boston are somewhat finer in quality (with the exception of one which is a Japanese substitute). Although these Lohans never have been ~~or~~ associated with the name of Li Kung-hsi they ^{still} continue the type introduced by him and as they furthermore must be reckoned among the most important Buddhist pictures ~~the~~ preserved from the Sung period a few words about them may not here be out of place.

Generally speaking, the expression and significance of these paintings depend more on their excellent designs, in line as well as in colour, than on any particular refinements of style or individual accents in the brush-work. The execution is good, almost surprisingly so, considering the amount of labour involved in the long series. In the best of ~~them~~ ^{them} the drawing actually becomes a means for communicating a spiritual significance, and the colours may ^{also} serve to enhance this, at the same time adding greatly to the decorative effect of the compositions. ~~Not a suggestion~~

Particularly beautiful and expressive in this respect is the picture of the fourteenth Lohan. He is seated in contemplation at the ^{bank} ~~side~~ of a lotus pond, the figure being placed towards ^{one} ~~the~~ side of the picture. On the other side grows a curving willow tree. Behind it a servant approaches with something on a tray - but hesitating as if he were afraid of disturbing the holy man, who sits motionless contemplating the message.

Detailed historical information about these pictures and reproductions of the 15 Lohans of the Boston Museum are included in Chinese Pictures in American Collections, II. pl. 65-79.

of the lotus flower. Tranquil rises the Trunk of the willow, balancing the figure and, curving like the lines of the mantle folds. But the tender foliage of the tree and the flowers in the pond move softly in the evening breeze. The harmony of the design reflects the deep peace in the soul of the holy man.

A similar correspondence between the decorative design and the psychology of the motif may be observed in some of the other of these Lohan pictures. As an example may still be pointed out the picture which represents the eighth patriarch watching two dragons fight. Here everything is a sudden outburst of wrath and fear. The slim bodies of the furious dragons move like flashes of lightning through the splashing waves. The holy man jumps up from his seat on the rocky bank to save his feet from the raised claws of the animals; he clings to a trunk that bends across the scene ^{but keeps his eyes intently fixed} ~~and concentrates his whole attention~~ on the fight. The tree and the man are intersecting exactly in the centre of the picture; ^{they} ~~and~~ are marking the two main diagonals of the composition, which thus gains a perfect balance in spite of all the impetuosity, which also is reflected in the quick and energetic brushwork. The picture is an original conception of unusual dramatic expressiveness.

There are other series of Lohan paintings of the late Sung period as, for instance the pictures signed: "Hsi-chin Chieh-shih", some of which ^{belong} ~~are~~ to the ^{Ueno} ~~Ueno~~ museum and some in the collection of Mr. Hara, Kumezō, in Tokyo, but they are not on a level with the Hsin-chung's best works, nor do they reveal ^{close connection} ~~any relation~~ with the di Lohan-mien tradition. And we know ^{more} ~~nothing about~~ this monk painter than about Hsin-chung i.e. that he too worked at Ning-po while the Sung dynasty still was reigning in Hang-chou. It is evident that Ning-po and the great monasteries in the mountains beyond the city was a main centre of Buddhist painting in the South Sung period, and as Ning-po ^{also} was the port of ~~the~~ ^{for the} trade and intercommunications with Japan, it is easily explained how so many of these Buddhist pictures have reached Japan and from there (to some extent) America. This also applies to certain Buddhist paintings ascribed to Cheng Su-kuang, an artist who is unknown in China but ^{placed} ~~is~~ in the ^{highest} ~~top~~ class of Buddhist painters by Soami in his *Kundaikwan*¹⁾. Several pictures, representing various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, but also priest portraits are ascribed to him in Japan, and their stylistic character ^{points} ~~points~~ to the late Sung

¹⁾ *Kundaikwan Saytchōkei*, translated by O. Kinnel, *Orientalische Literatur* I. p. 14.

period. According to the popular Japanese tradition, to which reference was made above, Chang Sui-kung would also, (like Lin Hsin-chung) have followed Li Kung-kun's directions, particularly in the representation of Lohans, differing however from the master by ^{less power of} more insistence on ornamental details and ~~less power of~~ characterization. ~~All~~ The pictures ascribed to him, many of which have been reproduced in Japanese publications,² are all executed in an exquisitely fine technique with abundant use of fine gold ornaments on deep reddish, greenish or brownish pigments. They include however no Lohans but a portrait of a priest, Fu-kung San-chang, which belongs to the Kozanji (Temple) in Kyoto. The bald-headed priest is seated in meditation, (though with open eyes) in a large chair which is completely covered up by a large drape. His legs are folded under him, his hands joined in the lap. The figure is firmly placed, the rather stout body and full face are convincingly real, though rendered without any apparent modelling in light and shade almost entirely with lines and some slight gradations in the tones. By this method a decorative unity has been preserved which is seldom found to the same extent in Western portraits. It is as if the refinement of the execution and the absence of all strong material ~~accents had~~ ^{accents had} enhanced the suggestiveness and the spiritual import of the portrait. The best Buddhist pictures of the Sung period, whether ~~by~~ ^{executed} by known masters or by unknown monk-painters, ~~have~~ ^{possess} this peculiar quality of suggesting a mental state ^{or} an inner reality without neglecting or violating the bodily form. They are great decorative works of art which by the harmonious unity of their design and the peculiar sublimation of the material form convey a great deal more than can be defined by words or shapes. The final perfection of this spiritual suggestiveness was however reached in the monochrome paintings by the Shyama masters to which we will return in a later chapter.

²Cf. Kokka, nos 149, 249. Masterpieces selected from the Fine Arts of the Far East, vol. VIII, pl. xxxi - xxxiii.

Among other Lohan pictures attributed to Li Kung-lin should be remembered the two large kakemonos belonging to the Art Academy in Tokyo. They have no doubt formed parts of a series of sixteen or eighteen, each representing a single figure accompanied by an attendant or a woodcutter. The characterisation of the holy man, one of whom

The years of warfare, flight and humiliation which followed immediately after the fall of ~~the~~ Hsien-liang (K'ai-feng) into the hands of the Chin Tartars and the carrying ^{away} ~~off~~ into captivity of the old emperor Hui Tsung (1127) caused evidently a serious desorganisation also in the artistic activity, but the pause was not very long. The old traditions were not lost or forgotten. Emperor Kao Tsung had no sooner reestablished the government of the dynasty in Hang-chou (1138) before he devoted himself with the greatest enthusiasm and success to the reorganisation of the painting Academy and other institutions of ~~a~~ similar ^{kind} ~~type~~ that had existed under his predecessors in K'ai-feng. ~~He~~ He was himself a sincere lover of art and a ~~very~~ ^{very} ~~good~~ calligraphist, and in his work of reorganisation he had the support of several of those men who had been prominent members of Hui Tsung's model academy. Like most of the scholars and officials who had stood in ~~close~~ personal contact with the court they fled from the burning capital and hid themselves ~~where~~ where best they could (like Li T'ang and Hsiao Chao-~~ff~~ who met in the forests of the Tai-hang mountains), but when the new order of things had been established, they gradually verged again towards the new capital, drawn thither by their sympathies or by imperial ~~orders~~ ^{orders}. Kao Tsung spared no efforts to reunite the old scholars and artists in Hang-chou and to make them feel the solace of the imperial favours. When the compulsory interruption was over, the play of Sung painting was continued, the main actors were the same as before, but the scenery of the new act was completely changed. ~~And~~ ^{what a scenery!}

Hang-chou, the city of lakes, ~~and bridges~~ ^{and bridges}, pavilions and temples, "the finest and noblest in the world," to quote Marco Polo, standing "as it were ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ the water and surrounded by water... And truly a trip on this lake ~~is~~ ^{was} a much more charming recreation than can be enjoyed on land. For on the one side lies the city in its entire length, so that the spectators in the barges, from the distance at which they stand, take in the whole prospect in its full beauty and grandeur, with its numberless palaces, temples, monasteries, and gardens, full of lofty trees, sloping to the shore." Marco Polo's enthusiasm for Hang-chou as it stood in its days of glory at the end of the 13th century was certainly

not ill founded. He was no incompetent judge; he came from Venice, and he had seen many of the most famous cities of the world but none that he considered equal to the great city of Kinsay (as the place then was called) in charm of nature, architectural beauty and refinement of life. Art and nature had here combined into a peculiarly rich and picturesque harmony. We may well believe him, though the "beautiful palaces and mansions of the richest and most exquisite structure that you can imagine" no longer exist on the islands and the shores of the Western Lake - nature is still the same as in the days of glory, and the soft hazy light may help us to forget that the temples and pavilions have been ruined or rebuilt. They are all steeped in an atmosphere which seems to retain an echo of the great harmony that enchanted Marco Polo. One may still listen here to the hush of the bamboo groves and to the rustling of the old gnarled pines on the terraces of the mountain slopes beyond the lake. At least, so it was when I visited the place some fifteen years ago. The inspiration was still there when the spring morning sprinkled its dew over the flowering soil and the shapes of the great trees slowly emerged from the light ~~hazy~~ mist - it was there when the evening spread its veil over the quiet lake, where a lonely fisherman lingered in his boat and the nightingale took up "the self-same song" in the shrubs at the foot of the old pagoda.

This was a place where nature held before the eyes of man motives of unsurpassed decorative beauty and where it revealed its secrets in symbols of tones and shapes. It tuned the creative genius of the man who lived here and made them realize ~~the vision and~~ ^{or} the waking dream. ~~One may well ask, if ever there has been a closer harmony between the painters and the world around them than during these years of deep after-glow in Hangchow, when the boundaries between the seen and the unseen universe melted away in paintings which reflected the beauty of the boundless~~ ^{through} ~~with~~ a few strokes of the writing brush? The landscape painting of the South Sung period ~~is so intimately~~ could never have blossomed into such matchless fragrance had it not been for the rich soil and ~~but some of~~ ^{inspiring} atmosphere of old Hangchow.

The oldest and most influential of the ~~above named painters~~ ^{Painters who joined the new Academy was} Li T'ang, also called by his Tzu Hsi Ku. He had been prominent already in ^{after a period of adventures the power in} Pien Liang and became ~~the~~ ^{leading} ~~member of~~ the Hany-chou Academy. ^{He served as director of the institution} ~~and received~~ the golden fiddle. The emperor was very fond of his paintings and used to ^{say that he was as good as} ~~call him~~ "T'ang Li" i.e. the famous Li Shu-hsien of the T'ang period. Li T'ang was however by no means simply a faithful follower of the old masters, he developed a style of his own remarkable for its ease and delicacy. His conceptions are often witty ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~originals~~ ^{originals} with a refreshing tone of humour. Among his ~~most highly prized~~ ^{most highly prized} works ~~are mentioned~~ ^{may be mentioned} the Chien Wen Kung fu tu (the story about Chieh Chieh-t'ui who in the 14th cent. B.C. came back to his country after 19 years of exile and distinguished himself through extraordinary filial piety to the extent that he cut a piece off his thigh to feed his starving mother) and the Ch'ang Hsia Ch'uang Shu tu (the Temple of Eternal Summer at the River) which was provided with writing by emperor Kao Tung. There are no longer known to exist, but a very interesting scroll by Li T'ang, representing a Wedding Procession was reproduced in Hokuo 261 (then belonging to Ho Chen-ya). The bride comes riding on a ^{water} buffalo, escorted by her father on a small donkey and some more or less uncouth peasant boys carrying her dowry. In the continuation of the scroll ~~they~~ ^{they} are received by the bridegroom and ~~various~~ ^{various} members of his family who all look as if they were ~~typical~~ ^{typical} from a burlesque comedy. The painter seems to have enjoyed the ~~humorous~~ ^{humorous} aspect of the whole performance, and ~~he has recorded it with a spontaneity that~~ ^{he has recorded it with a spontaneity that} ~~gives~~ ^{gives} life to the figures and ~~just enough~~ ^{just enough} reality to the ~~landscape~~ ^{landscape} scenery to make it convincing ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~entertaining~~ ^{entertaining} setting.

A similar spirit of ~~lightness and~~ ^{lightness and} ~~combined~~ ^{combined} with a sense of rustic reality characterizes ~~the~~ ^{Li T'ang's} Ch'iao Wai tu in the National Museum in Peking which represents a village doctor ^{Ch'iao Wai tu} in the act of practising his art on ^{the back of an} ~~a~~ ^{an} elderly man. The victim is held in a kneeling position by the united efforts of two assistants, who pull his arms with all their might, while a boy who is evidently much afraid thrusts a ~~wooden~~ ^{clay} pole into his mouth. Behind the doctor, who applies his knife with utmost concentration, stands his servant ^{laughing} ~~unconsciously~~ ^{unconsciously} at the ~~ridiculous~~ ^{ridiculous} performance, like an old practitioner, back figure and the ~~humorous~~ ^{humorous} ~~side~~ ^{side} of the situation ~~is brought~~ ^{is brought} whole

Brought out with an ease and vivacity that make the picture uncommonly entertaining. It reminds us by its motive and the way it is presented of certain well known Dutch or Flemish genre paintings of the XVIIth century, but never did an Ostade or a Teniers ~~and such a scene~~ retain as much of the momentary life and atmosphere of a humorous village scene. Their presentations of similar motives are heavy and theatrical at the side of this playful improvisation ~~and~~ by an exceedingly fine and swift brush. The old willow tree that spreads its soft foliage of the figures adds something to the atmosphere ~~of the scene~~ of fugitive lightness that envelops the whole picture. It is slightly coloured which however does not conceal the swift and spirited brush work.

Li Tang's favorite motive was however water buffaloes and these he painted in the same fashion as Tai Sung; indeed, some of his pictures of them were taken for the works of the Tang master. One or possibly two such pictures by Li Tang may be seen in the Museum in Boston. The one which bears the Chinese inscription: "Returning drunk from a village meeting in the spring" is traditionally accepted as Li Tang's work; the other which represents ~~Two boys herding a water buffalo~~ ~~Two boys herding a water buffalo~~ ~~Two boys herding a water buffalo~~ and calf under willows, ~~was originally ascribed to a later Tang master, Chang Fu, but has in modern times often been associated with the name of Li Tang.~~ ^{stylistic} The connection between the two pictures is undeniable, yet, I do not recognize Li Tang's brush-work in the later and feel thus no longer inclined to consider it as his work. But the drunken grey-beard on the craggy buffalo, which is pulled by a barefooted wretch ^{along} the sandy river bank, is both in conception and execution ^{very close to the master} ~~of Li Tang's style~~. The swift and easy brush work is exactly the same as in the Chao K'ai-t'ing and the above mentioned ~~Widder~~ ^{also} occasion and the slight colouring is utilized in the same way as in ~~those two~~ ^{those two} pictures. All these pictures may serve to ~~illustrate~~ ^{illustrate} the statement of Chang Hsün (the author of *Ching-ho Shu Hsueh Fang*) that Li Tang's brush-work was of the very highest class (miao pin); "Even Ma Yüan and Hsia Kuei could not reach it in their famous paintings. No wonder that he was admired by our predecessors." Li Tang must, indeed, have been not only one of the most skillful painters of the time but also a great personality, a remarkably intellectualized artist. The old critics claim that he started a new kind of landscape painting, and from the scanty remains of his work that still exist, it may at least be seen that he was a very original man, unhampered by tradition. Through these personal qualities and through his position as the head of the new academy he exercised the greatest influence on the younger generation and determined more than any body else the following evolution in Chinese painting.

*) Chinese Paintings in American Collections p. 19.

A less known contemporary of Li T'ang who also became famous for his paintings of water buffaloes besides other landscape compositions was Chiang Ts'an, whose tz'u was Kuan Tao. He came from Chiang^{nan} and was a sickly man who looked very thin and emaciated; his great passion was tea drinking. He learned his brush work from Tung Yüan and Chü Jan but is said to have reached a still greater freedom or spontaneous freshness in the handling of the ink than these masters. According to the Hua Hsi, Chü Jan learned from Tung Yüan the "hump fiber wrinkles" which were made with a short brush and Chiang Ts'an learned from Chü Jan the "wrinkles like nails picked from the mud" (ni li pa ting ts'ui). He lived at Hu-ch'ao (Chekiang) but when emperor Kao Tsung heard about him, he was called to the capital and lodged in the palace. But the strain of this official recognition seems to have been too much for ~~him~~ the languid man: He had an audience with the emperor, and died the same night. "Truly a great fortune" - adds the Hua Hsi.

Among his pictures are ~~not~~ mentioned a series of five sheets representing Bubbling wells among strangely shaped rocks, a River-scenery and the Hundred Bulls, which was provided with writing by Kao Tsung, and a number of poetic inscriptions by later men. ~~The~~ The very free and sensitive impressionistic brush work for which he became so famous may, to some extent, be realized from a small fan painting in the Boston Museum, representing "Mountains and a Ravine in mist" which has a traditional attribution to the painter. Whether this is correct or not, the picture is a very original and striking bit of spontaneous ink painting which holds a place between Chü Jan and Kao K'o-kung (of the Yüan period). More difficult to define as to its period is the long scroll in the Metropolitan Museum in New York which pretends to be Chiang Ts'an's masterpiece: The Hundred Bulls. I have elsewhere described it as follows: A very fine ink painting in the light and fluent manner that became in vogue in the late Sung and Yüan periods. The moist atmosphere over the river valley is successfully rendered with two or three tones of ink, producing a soft harmony with a silvery line. The grazing and frolicking animals are represented with infinite variety; the artist's light and elegant touch triumphs in these figures as well as in the suggestive

*) Chinese Paintings in American Collections. Pl. III.

A more adventurous character was evidently Hsiao Chao who after the fall of Kai-feng took his refuge in the T'ai-hang mountains and lived from highway robbery. According to Tradition, he attacked one day an elderly man who turned out to be the great painter Li T'ang. They made friends and ~~he~~ ^{they} continued together to Hang-chow, where both gradually ~~met official recognition and became~~ ^{gained employment} prominent members of the new academy. Hsiao Chao's impetuosity as a painter is illustrated by the story how he ~~once~~ covered the four walls of a pavilion with pictures in one night, drinking wine as he painted, so that when the work was finished he was completely intoxicated. Other fresco paintings he executed together with Su Han-chien in the Wu Sheng temple near Hang-chow. But his best known works seem to have been a series of twelve pictures illustrating the auspicious omens at the beginning of Kao Tsung's reign. - According to Chang Ch'ou (author of *Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Tang*), his work resembled essentially that of Li T'ang, his teacher, but was executed in a somewhat bolder fashion with thicker ink and a heavier brush in the so-called "shiny style" (Chao fa).

Hsiao Chao's name is attached to various kinds of still existing pictures, landscapes as well as figure scenes, but it seems doubtful whether any of them actually is the the master's work. In the Tokyo exhibition of 1928 there was a landscape scroll (Cat. p. 60. belonging to Mr. Fang ju) with his signature but it looked rather crude for a master of the Sung period. Far more interesting and convincing as works of the Sung period are the four small pictures in the Boston Museum which illustrate the story about Princess Wen-chi's captivity in Mongolia and her return to China. The attribution (which can be followed to the 16th century) to Hsiao Chao is probably not correct, as pointed out Mr. Tomita² who identified the motives of the pictures as illustrations to Wen-chi's popular songs, "Hsiao Chia Shih Pa K'ai", which describe "her capture and trying journey across wind-blown, desolate Mongolia, the coarse food, and the sleepless nights in the tents and the suffering in the severe winters. ~~Then she~~ ^{the} the affliction of her Tartar husband and of her two children, the arrival of messengers with ransom, her parting from her husband and children, her sorrow in being forced to leave the latter behind in Mongolia." Such is, shortly speaking the story which is illustrated with extraordinary intimacy and faithfulness of detail in these four pictures. Cf. *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, June 1928.

The three first acts of the story are staged on the Mongolian plains. We enter the encampments at the foot of bleak ^{wintery} ~~dark~~ hills where yurts are erected within screen walls of hides or ~~rather~~ felt and the summer camp ~~at the foot of a hill~~ with its open ~~sunshade~~ on poles in front of the yurt on a grassy river bank. Horses and camels are here as much in evidence as the soldiers and servants who take care of the animals or prepare the food in huge kettles. But in the last act the stage is laid in the busy streets of a Chinese city before the entrance to Wen-chi's paternal house. The princess with her numerous retinue has reached ^{the old} home; ~~she~~ she is received by the members of her family under the roof of the second gate pavilion, while porters are ^{her} ~~carrying~~ ^{with} her luggage over the courtyard and the horses and guards are resting before the entrance in the street. The event has naturally attracted crowds of people, as such things do in China, where ^{crowds} ~~people~~ always ^{with a surprising speed} ~~emerge~~ when something unexpected takes place. The scene is so naturally depicted that we almost ~~seem to~~ recognize it from our own observations, and the walls, gateways and pavilions are practically the same as those which still ^{may be seen} ~~surround the~~ ^{around the} courtyards of the residential compounds in ^(all Chinese) ~~the~~ cities. ~~The buildings are as usual presented from above~~ ^{We see them from above, as usual in pictorial representations of architectural designs;} those in the foreground are shown completely, while ~~the~~ ^{those} in the background are ~~cut off~~ by the horizon. ^{All these} ~~horizontal~~ lines are ~~leading~~ ^{towards} leading obliquely towards the horizon or rather the upper edge of the picture, which takes the place of the horizon; ^{and by this} ~~there is thus a suggestion of~~ a further extension, ^{a kind of} imaginary depth (without limit) ~~suggested~~.

~~Thus~~ The same method of suggesting space may also be observed in the Camp scenes, though the straight lines of the architectural motives here are changed into open ~~and~~ ^{explains} plains and undulating hills which are cut by the upper edge of the picture.

In these spacious views the figures and animals are scattered in groups, apparently quite casual, ~~which are of course with a certain simplicity and directness~~ as if drawn from ^{directly} ~~life~~ ^{nature}. Yet, it is evident that their ^{simplicity and} ~~expressiveness~~ ^{naive and} ~~convincing~~ characters are by no means the result of an unadulterated naturalism but rather of a very intimate and sensitive stylisation. They are translated into linear patterns without losing any-

thing of their natural vigour and ^{significance} ~~form~~ very much in the same way as ~~the figures in the~~ ^{landscapes in the} paintings ~~of the~~ ^{by the} primitive masters of European art who, though fully capable of rendering naturalistic form, felt the need of ~~modifying~~ ^{transposing nature} in accordance with their sense of style. It is almost surprising how closely some of these groups of horses and men approach ~~such things~~ ^{as for instance} ~~in painting~~ ^{by Sassella} or Giovanni di Paolo; these ~~seem to represent~~ ^{artists} a similar ~~imagina-~~ ^{stage of} tive ~~art~~ ^{art}, though it is evident that the unknown Chinese ~~painter~~ ^{master} is their superior as a draughtsman and in suggesting space. He has the advantage of a fresh stroke which imparts life to the forms quite independently of their colouring or modelling in light and shade.

Beside these ~~very~~ ^{remarkable} small pictures from the first half of the 12th Century to which no definite artist's name can be given, there are quite a ~~number~~ ^{number} of other ~~anonymous~~ ^{anonymous} ~~figures~~ ^{figures} ~~paintings~~ ^{paintings} of the same period scattered in private and public collections. It would take us too far to mention them all; one or two more ~~examples~~ ^{must suffice}. The Boston Museum possesses a fan-shaped picture representing Yang Kuei-fai and his master Emperor Ming Huang on horseback before a summer pavilion. It is executed with ink and colours in a very refined style with a number of exquisitely drawn figures. More vivid and entertaining are the illustrations to T'ao Chien's well known poem Kuei ch'ü lai on a short scroll (cut in two parts) in the Freer Gallery, which once were honoured with the name of Li Sheng-hsin. They are rendered in Sung fashion, ~~done~~ ^{done} by a minor master who ~~however~~ ^{however} knew how to characterise both the ~~landscapes~~ ^{landscapes} and the figures. ~~Some of these scenes~~ ^{Some of these} ~~small~~ ^{small} scenes small of fresh ~~of~~ ^{of} soil; others have the intimacy of the Chinese country home where long hours are passed at the slow meals or in quiet conversation with friends. They are full of meaning, everything is realized and felt, though the execution is not particularly fine.

A third less known example worth mentioning is a small fan-shaped picture in the National Museum in Stockholm representing a group of Mongol soldiers conducting a Chinese carriage with some ladies across the ford of a stream. Maybe that this too is an illustration to ~~the~~ ^{an} episode from the life of Wen-chi, when she is carried away

¹) Chinese Paintings in American Collections pl. 16. Same op. pl. 50-51.

to the Mongolian camp? It seems at least to refer to some adventure of a similar kind. The picture has also had an apparently old signature, but it has baffled all attempts to identify the painter because the second character is destroyed (the first is Yen⁴ and the third Sheng). He may however have been of the North Sung period, because the fourth-shaped seal, which is, partly preserved at the edge of the picture, is said to denote the Ta Kuan era (1107-1110). However this may be, it seems to us that the picture, from a stylistic point of view, is not very far removed from the certain works of Li Tang or his circle. It may be that the brush-work is less ^{swift} quick and spirited than in Li Tang's own creations but it has something of the same clean-cut strength and refinement, and the characterization of the more or less grotesque ~~types of the~~ Mongolian soldiers, the frightened camel and the tenacious ponies is done con amore in the same almost humorous spirit as we noticed in Li Tang's rustic types. The artist was evidently one of the less known men, but his work is nevertheless of a high standard, remarkable for its very suggestive spatial composition as well as for the strength and terseness of the brush strokes.

Among known followers of Li Tang who still may be studied in original creations should be remembered Yen Tz'u-p'ing and Ma Ho-chih. The former was tai chao in the Academy in the Chien tao era (1165-1173) and became famous particularly for his bull paintings. ~~It was~~ It was said that they could be taken for the masters' works, if it ~~was~~ ^{had} not ~~been felt~~ ^{been felt} a certain inferiority in ~~the~~ ^{rather beautiful} execution. This may also be realized from the color reproduction of a picture formerly in the Skimols collection (Hokone w. 200) which represents a family of water buffaloes under some high trees on a river bank. It looks like a somewhat debilitated and enlarged edition ^{work by} of a Li Tang.

Ma Ho-chih was a more versatile painter who treated Buddhist subjects as well as landscapes with figures. He stood in high favor with emperor Kao Tsung and also with his successor Hsiao Tsung (1163-1189) and was appointed vice president of the Board of Works. We are also told that when emperor Kao Tsung wrote classical poems (or comments on the Shu ching) he called in Ma Ho-chih to illustrate these writings, and to judge by the name of his pictures the majority of them must have been illustrations ^{to such poems} of poems. Five different series of such ~~illustrations~~ illustrations are mentioned in Ching-ho Shu Hua Fan, ~~and~~ ^{the} most re-

markable being the Tang Fung Shih erh pien t'u (The Twelve Odes of the Duke of Tang) which evidently formed a section of the Mao Shih (The Odes of Mao). ~~which were 36 in all~~. Emperor Kao Tsung is said to have written out with his own hand all the Odes of Mao Chang's (2d cent. B.C.) and Ma Ho-chih to have provided them with illustrations. Some of scrolls with 10-12 poems each purporting to be the combined works of Kao Tsung and Ma Ho-chih were in the imperial Manchurian family collection until lately ^{at least} and one of them, containing twelve illustrations was published a few years ago in colotype reproduction in Japan. I have never seen the original, and it may be hazardous to judge by reproductions, but it may at least be said that these illustrations have a great deal of charm and life; if they are not Ma Ho-chih's originals, they must be the work of a very subtle and skilful imitator who has appropriated Ma Ho-chih's characteristic brush stroke with remarkable success.

The ~~illustrations~~ ^{interest of the} paintings ~~are interesting~~ ^{depends less on} their reference to the text than on their elements of fresh and spontaneous naturalism. They contain bits of landscape, flowering shrubs, trees, water, birds and pavilions, which serve ~~as~~ to form a setting for the dramatic scenes. Only in two of these scenes are the figures sketched against the neutral background. Among the most effective may be pointed out the illustrations to "The Bustard's Feather", "The Faggot Bundle" and "The Growing Creeper". The first is made up of the long gnarled branches of an old tree stretching out over a foaming stream; two large ^{her} birds are seated in the tree while their male companions are sailing down to them on ~~extended~~ wide-spread wings. The abundant foliage on the wavy branches and the moving birds give it a wonderful air of spaciousness. In the "Growing Creeper" we see a woman seated in a cottage with thatched roof under a shading magnolia; she is waiting and waiting for her ^{beloved} husband who is away in the ^{service of the emperor} ~~unstable~~ duke - winter passes and summer passes, the ^{will} creepers along the ^{cottage are} ~~growing~~ ^{growing} but the husband does not come back - a scene of intimate lyric poetry. "The Faggot Bundle" is a landscape scene with some lightly sketched rocks and shrubs and an old man seated on the hill side tying up a bundle of faggots. The manifold trees and shrubs are indicated by their different types of ~~leaves~~ ^{of delicate} leaves drawn in various shades of ~~ink~~ ^{ink} as lightly as if they were blown there by the wind, ^{while} ~~and~~ ^{resting} the old man ^{looks simply} ~~is sitting~~ ^{as if he were only one} ~~connected with the ground on which he is sitting~~ ^{as another} bump on the hillside.

These illustrations ~~which have all the charm and freshness of~~ ^{more interesting than the larger} ~~drawings~~ ^{to be attributed to the painter} are decidedly ~~more interesting than the larger~~ ^{which I had occasion to see. Most closely} ~~to be attributed to the painter~~ ^{related to them by its manner of} ~~execution~~ ^{of execution} is the ~~first~~ ^{ink painting} in the National Museum in Peking, which represents a man with a stick walking under a tree which is shaken by the autumn storm. The composition is of a more formal and finished type than in the illustrations, but the brush work has the same ease and lightness and the lines the same kind of wavy rhythm as are found in the illustrations. This peculiar floating waviness in the lines may to some extent be explained by Ma Ho-chih's close study of Ma Yao-tzu's brush work, if we may believe the old critics who lay some stress upon this connection; one of them says that it was so evident that Ma sometimes was called "little Ma". But while the brush-strokes in Ma's pictures possessed the strength of the storm wind, the lines in Ma Ho-chih's ink sketches are simply wafting for a gentle breeze. It was above all the transparent lightness which distinguished his works from ~~those of~~ ^{other} painters, and this has also been strikingly expressed for inst. by Chang Ch'ou (Chinghsu Shue Hua fang, vol. 10. l. 10) who writes about Ma's Feng Ya pa tu as follows:

"Although the pictures are small and the brush-manner rather lax and careless, ~~they have~~ ^{are} significance and beauty without limit. Chen Chung-chun considered these pictures most wonderful and fully equal to Luo Chung-shu's finest things. They had an immaterial quality as a man who takes no cooked food and formal, so to say, another school of painting."— In 1614 Chang Ch'ou obtained this picture from the great grandson of the minister Wu Guan-po, but it was no longer in good preservation: "It is a pity that its owner was not versed in the old poetry and thus mixed the order of the poems when remounting the scroll. I dare not have such old paintings remounted again; the beholder must try to grasp the excellent spirit of it (as it stands). I was ^{very} happy that such a wonderful work came into my possession. It may be estimated equal to Li Kung-hsi's "Nine songs". I could not sleep (for joy) during a whole night ~~but~~ ^{and} sat up and wrote a colophon on it (under the lamp shade)." "

This copy has sometimes been identified with a picture now in the National Museum in Stockholm which is provided with ^{date (1541)} ~~the~~ Chin Ying's signature and a colophon by Wang Wen-chü (1730-1802) who vouches for it as Chin Ying's work after Chao Po-chü, but the execution in a ^{dull and} ~~rather~~ stiff miniature style points to a later date. It is however interesting from a historical point of view as it ~~represents a very~~ ^{transmits a very} ~~offers a very~~ famous composition and ~~thus~~ gives some idea about the meticulous refinement of Chao Po-chü's historical paintings. Chang Ch'ao says about the original that it was on a very small scale but exceedingly elegant and graceful. It had no "tsun fa" (wrinkles on the mountains and water), and some people considered it to be an imitation after a painting by Li Shun-hsin.

Chao Po-chü did also a famous picture of Su Tung p'o seated in contemplation at the side of a stream (Tung-p'o lüeh shui tu), which had two poetic colophons ^{referring to} ~~the~~ Tung-p'o's great delight in water, ~~was beautifully expressed~~. We are told that only a truly wise man can understand the superiority of the sound of water and the song of nature to all worldly noise. — Most of Chao Po-chü's ~~of his~~ ^{to his} ~~to have~~ ~~from~~ landscapes seem to have been animated by some motives of legend or poetry. He painted "The Fairies of the Lilaes", "The Song of Immortality", "The Visit to the Tai mountain", "The Boats coming out of the Gorges" etc. but none of them remain even in copies. The best example ^{known to us} of the type of decorative landscape in "Ching ts' pai" style which Chao Po-chü cultivated more than any other painter is a large picture in the Boston Museum representing fantastically shaped mountains, interspersed with trees and lofty pavilions rising at the sides of a stream which is spanned by high bridges. Its cold blue and green colouring increases the impression of artificiality, the mountains are almost like ice-bergs and the buildings are so light and lofty that they seem to be more fit for fairies than for human beings. The execution of this picture is probably not earlier than Ming but the design may well have been Chao Po-chü's.

A small album leaf in the National Museum in Stockholm, representing a pavilion among the mountains, may possibly be an original by Chao Po-chü. Such ^{was} ~~is~~ at least the opinion of the well known expert of the Yuan period Yü Chi (tzu Po Sheng, hao Tao yüan) who has written a

certificate to this picture, in which he says that the picture was executed by Chao Chien-li after an earlier work by Li Tung-nien. Yü Chi seems to have been a great admirer of Chao Po-chün, as he wrote colophons also to other works by the master. The picture is a very unpretentious small ink study of high mountain ridges separated by deep crevices which are filled with mist. The composition is characteristic of the period and the rather firm brush work by which even the finest details of the leafage and the buildings are defined indicates a master of high class. In spite of its small size, it carries the suggestion of infinite space and a great harmony, which hardly would be possible, if it were not done spontaneously by ~~a great master of the Imperial~~ ^{the master who composed it}.

Lin Tung-nien, also known as Lin Ch'ing-po mên, after the Ching-po gate in Hangchow, where he had his quarters, or as Lin An mên, Lin of the Dark Gate (or of "the Dark School", as translated by Giles). He was a pupil of Chao Tun-li, a less prominent ^{painter} whom he soon surpassed, but followed in his larger works rather closely in the footsteps of Chao Po-chün. He became tai chao in the Academy about 1194 and received also the Golden Girdle from Emperor Ning Tsung (1194-1225) under ^{whose} patronage ~~he~~ ^{Lin} reached the zenith of his career. To judge by the works, which pass under Lin Tung-nien's name, he was ~~less of~~ ^{original and refined} ~~an artist than Ma Ho-chün and Chao Po-chün~~ ^{but a very able} ~~worked according to the best classic tradition often with bright colours~~ ^{painter & his work, who of his school and his style is known to us} ~~in a very decorative manner. His larger and very famous compositions are~~ ^{known to us} only through copies, as for instance the T'ing ch'in t'u (Listening to the ch'in [lute]) ~~of which~~ ^{Mr} Chien Pao-chien in Peking possessed a good version, and Lin Tung ping ch'a (Lin Tung drawing tea) which seems to be reproduced in a large picture now in the possession of Mr S. Okada in Tokyo and lately published by W. Spenser as a free version of a composition by Yen yü-pen. Another variation of the landscape with ch'in players may be seen in the Four Gallery; here the man with the lute is standing saluting a friend who comes to visit him in the mountain pavilion, while two servants are waiting with ~~the~~ ^{his} horse ~~for him~~ ^{longer than}.

*) According to tradition, transmitted by the Hua Shu Hui Yao (1631) and other books Lin Tung-nien would have painted for emperor Ning Tsung a set of pictures illustrating Weaving and Agriculture, and it has been supposed that these were the originals for the famous set of stone engravings executed by order of emperor Kang Hsi, but Prof Pelliot has shown that the pictures were probably not by the master. Cf. Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale I. 96. (1913)

down on the pathway that leads up to the pavilion. Leafy trees are spreading their branches over the tiled roof and a broad stream is whirling amidst the rocks towards the opposite side - all traditional elements of classical landscape. This may also be said of the ~~precipitous mountains~~ ^{precipitous mountains} which fill the background, but they are uncommonly lofty and give so to say an undertone of grandeur ^{and} majestic repose to the picture. The composition may well be by the master, as traditionally ascribed, even though the execution is later. - Most of his pictures seem to have been figure compositions with historical subjects, for instance: Kao-tze riding on a bull out of the Han-kuan Pass, The Meeting on the Lien Bridge, The Nine Old men on the Hsiang Mountain etc. and though they ^{all} contained landscape scenery, the figures were of comparatively large size. To this class may also be counted two of the ~~two~~ scrolls ~~ascribed~~ catalogued as the works of Lin Sung-nien in the National Museum in Peking, one representing Barbarian Chieftains ~~presenting~~ ^{presenting} tribute to the Chinese Court (possibly inspired by Yen Hsiang-an) and the other The Eighteen Immortals assembled at the Jade Hall on the Isles of the Blessed (Yu Tang chü Ying T'u), but in spite of all the signatures, seals and certificates with which these pictures are provided, they seemed to us much more like later copies than like originals of the Sung period. The crude colouring and dead brush work gave us reason to suppose that copies have been substituted for ^{the} originals, perhaps some hundred years ago. The same applies also to the landscape scroll in Wan Ho Sung Fung t'u (Ten thousand Ravines and Wind-swept Pines) executed in ~~the~~ a rather exaggerated "ching k'ü pai" fashion.

More enjoyable than these pretentious copies are the small monochrome landscapes in fan-shape, attributed to Lin Sung-nien, of which two excellent examples may be seen in the Boston Museum. They are different variations on the classical motive: Rocky shores with trees in the foreground, wide expanse of water with some fishing boats dissolving in a misty atmosphere. The reproductions give more than any description in words; the beauty depends on the fine gradations of the ink tones and on the spontaneous energy of the brush strokes by which the leafy trees and the craggy rocks are characterised. They may serve to convince us that Lin Sung-nien also could be a poet and a painter of high class when he worked untrammelled by traditions for his heart's delight.

The important place ^{allotted to} ~~held~~ by flower- and bird painting at Hui Tsung's academy in K'ai-feng was discussed in a previous chapter, and it was pointed out that this, no doubt, was connected with the emperor's own proficiency in this kind of painting. The traditions were faithfully continued at the Hany-chou academy, to begin with by painters who had worked in the same field in K'ai-feng and followed the court in the flight "across the river". Most prominent among them was Li An-chung, whose excellent bird paintings already were described, and Li Ti, a somewhat younger man who also had been a member of the old academy. His main activity belonged however to the South Sung period; he won his Golden Girdle in the time of Kao Tsung and was still active in 1187. Some of his small flower paintings are ~~still preserved~~ ^{preserved} in Japanese collections and have ^{often} been beautifully reproduced, for inst. the Branch of an Apple Tree in Co. S. Tono-ryu's collection (Kokka, 144) and the ~~two~~ Hibiscus flowers, for ex. in Utsunomiya Fukuoka's collection (Kokka, 95. 134). These two pictures which are signed and dated 1137 are with good reason counted among the finest and most authentic remains of Sung flower painting ~~now existing~~ ^{still existing}.

The compositions are of the simplest possible kind: a branch of Hibiscus ^{with two} flowers, in the one case ~~only~~, in the other white, a few leaves ^{in various shades of green against the light brownish yellow} of ~~dark green~~ ^{the background} and ~~the background~~ ^{the background} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~expressive of all the rich and opulent feminine beauty~~ ^{expressive of all the rich and opulent feminine beauty} ~~of these flowers~~ ^{of these flowers} ~~which to the Chinese are emblem of grace~~ ^{sometimes stand as an emblem}.

Li Ti was ~~not solely a great~~ ^{not solely a great} flower painter; ~~he treated also other subjects~~ ^{he treated also other subjects} ~~such as birds, bamboos, dogs and bulls~~ ^{such as birds, bamboos, dogs and bulls} ~~and a little picture in Mr Henry Oppenheim's collection, showing a white swan alighting among rushes bears his name.~~ ^{and a little picture in Mr Henry Oppenheim's collection, showing a white swan alighting among rushes bears his name.} The design is charming, the movement of the sailing bird ^{and the thin rushes, bending in the wind}, is beautifully rendered but they seem to have been subjected to some retouching. ^{The picture may well be a somewhat worn} ~~work~~ ^{work} ~~but~~ ^{but} ~~it is~~ ^{it is} ~~an original work of the Sung period, though the signature~~ ^{an original work of the Sung period, though the signature} ~~hardly is more than an expression for the opinion of a later man who~~ ^{hardly is more than an expression for the opinion of a later man who} ~~considered it a work by Li Ti.~~ ^{considered it a work by Li Ti.}

Li Ti's best known bull-paintings are two album leaves in the collection of Baron Masuda representing hunters who return ~~from~~ ^{from} snow covered fields (Kokka 71. 100). They carry their catch, ^{a hare and} ~~a~~ pheasant, on long poles, and one in one case the man is seated on the bull, in the other he is walking ahead of it. Some bare snow-taken trees give relief

to the cold and desolate landscape sceneries, the harmony is simply grey and white against ^{background of the} brownish silk. The painter has again intensified the aesthetic significance of his works by a remarkable economy of means. Closely related to these is a fan-shaped ink painting in the Boston Museum which represents a herd boy in the act of mounting a large bull by grasping its horns and climbing up over the head, and a tuft of bamboo growing in the rocky at the side. The picture has neither signature or seal but its style and motive are so closely allied to the art of Li Ti that it ~~may~~ ^{may be} ~~chosen~~ as an example of his manner. It has the advantage of being an excellently preserved genuine Sung painting.

Mao Sung and Mao T were also well known painters of flowers, ~~birds~~ birds and animals; the older Mao seems to have specialized in monkeys (Cf. Rokko, 340) while ~~his~~ his son, Mao T, became famous for his paintings of cats and dogs. He was a prominent member of the Academy and became a Tai chao in the Ch'ien Tao era (1165-1173). Several paintings of dogs and birds ascribed to him exist in Japanese collections (Cf. Rokko, 26, 69, 91.) and elsewhere (Cf. Waley, 21, 26) and he is said to have exercised ^{a special} influence on ^{some} Japanese painters like Tosa Mitsunoki. The popularity of his art rests, no doubt, largely with the motives - the long haired Pekingese puppies - which are characterized with ^{humour} ~~humour~~ and intimacy, but the artistic significance is rather a matter of tone and spacing! The dogs are usually represented resting or playing at the side of some garden rockeries, through which the depth and balance of the compositions ^{are} accentuated. - Simpler than these ~~puppy~~ pictures by Mao T though hardly inferior as a work of art is the painting of a walking dog in the Boston Museum which used to be ascribed to the painter. Okakura has expressed his opinion about it (in the manuscript catalogue) as follows: "The certificates of Gasumoku and Yoboku attribute it to Mao T, the celebrated painter of animals in the Sung dynasty. The style is that of the Southern Sung and like Mao T, or rather his father Mao Sung; but the technique and style make it as a Yuan work. Very important." From a stylistic point of view it may thus be considered as a representative of the art of the Mao family. In spite of its utter simplicity, it ^{possesses} ~~has~~ character and an atmosphere of pictorial intimacy. ~~It is beyond of a good example of dog painting.~~

who represented the fourth generation of the Ma painters, while the fifth and last generation was represented by Ma Yuan's son Ma Lin.

The two brothers must have been closely associated as painters; they were both born about the middle of the 12th century and continued their activity ^{until} about 1224. Ma Kuei was the older but the less gifted of the two; the paintings which are ascribed to him have mostly the appearance of ~~mere~~ diluted editions of the brother's works, ~~stand~~ ^{they} possess thus only a secondary historical interest. They are all landscapes with figures, though we are informed by Chinese historians that Ma Kuei reached his greatest fame as a birds painter. The best known specimens are all in Japanese collections (like those of Ma Yuan) brought over already in the 15th century when this type of landscape painting was far ~~more~~ more appreciated in Japan than in China. Thus there are two tall ~~rock~~ compositions with pine trees on rocks in Count Tokugawa's collection (Kokka 196), ~~and~~ one in Baron Iwasaki's collection, representing Lin Hsi-ching admiring the plum blossoms on a mountain terrace (Toyo. VII) and one in the Chishakuin at Daitokaji in Kyoto (Kokka 256). ^{which however looks like a later creation in the manner of Hsia Kuei} ~~and~~ ^{all} ~~the~~ most intimate and suggestive of the pictures ascribed to Ma Kuei is the fan shaped painting belonging to Mr. Nagasaki Kyosai in ~~Ky~~ Tokyo, which represents two men in a boat on an evening lake ~~when~~ ^{where} the atmosphere grows grey and misty. It is one of those exquisitely simple things where the painter with the greatest economy of means has suggested something beyond definition - ~~a reflection~~ ^{a reflection} of infinity, an echo of the ~~deep~~ ^{deep} harmony between man and nature which only true poetry, in words as tonal values, may convey. There is little to be described or analyzed in a picture like this - a projecting stone, a few reeds, a boat with two men and the faint silhouette of mountain tops in the background - it consists mostly of the empty silk ground, but it is nevertheless full of significance, an unfathomable source of peace and beauty. If Ma Kuei actually painted this, as claimed by tradition, he must have been a poet of the stuff as his more famous brother Ma Yuan.

Neither of them is however counted in Chinese art history among the greatest painters of their epoch because their manner did not comply with the requirements of the Wen jen hua (the scholars' or literary men's painting) which was based on the tradition of the "Southern School" and hailed by the ablest critics. Their style was too free, too spontaneously natural and unfinished to be accepted by the ~~leading~~

learned critics of later times and thus the interest in their art and their personal careers has never been particularly great in China. Yet, we know that Ma Yüan stood in favour at Emperor Ning Tsung's (1195-1224) court and that the emperor's sister in law was particularly fond of his paintings on which she wrote many poems. But otherwise very little of anecdotal or historical interest has been ~~passed~~^{transmitted} about Ma Yüan.

In the Ho Ku Yao lun Ma Yüan's art is characterized as follows:

Ma Yüan learned from Li Tang. His brush stroke was firm and regular. He used black burned ink (*chiao mo*) for painting trees and cliffs. The leaves he painted with double strokes (*chia pi*); the rocks and stones he made angular and firm with wrinkles like the scars of a big ax (*ta pi fu t'uan*) using flowing ink. The motives of his small pictures were not completely represented, either the tops of the steep mountains were cut off or the foot of the sheer cliffs invisible. He painted trees seen closely so that they reached the sky or mountains seen at a distance quite low, or a lonely boat with a single man under the full moon. Such were the most prominent motives of his compositions.

The best known among his landscapes was the Sung Chüan t'u (Pine trees at a spring) which is described by several writers. ^{According to} Chang Ch'ou, it was composed of two strange looking old trees among which a scholar was walking hastily, followed by a boy who carried his instrument. The atmosphere was misty and all the details, such as the spring, the stones etc. were dotted in with a few touches and brought into a perfect harmony so that the picture looked strangely wonderful. Even a despiser of Ma Yüan's art, the minister Tung Hsüan-tsai, expressed not only respect but unstinted admiration for this picture because of its strength and expressiveness.

Hardly less famous was the aiu Tsang Chü Chin t'u (Birds gathering in the willows at a pool) which had a more intimate character, "the birds coming quite close as if to make friends with men"; to quote from one of the colophons on this picture. A third picture by Ma Yüan which is mentioned with commendation by Chang Ch'ou is the Hsiao Ching t'u (Classics of Filial Piety) which, to judge by the title must have been more of a figure painting than a landscape in the traditional sense. Ma Yüan was, as a matter of fact by no means an exclusive landscape painter; he introduced often figures which so to say gave the key note to the whole conception.

None of these historically documented pictures by Ma Yüan have, to our knowledge, survived, but there are several important paintings in Japanese collections besides a few very intimate minor things (fans or album leaves) in the Boston Museum which are considered by the majority of specialists as his works. To these pictures which form about a dozen, may be added one or two ^{large} ~~paintings~~ paintings with Ma Yüan's signature in the museums in Peking and possibly some of the pictures ascribed to him in private collections in China though the line between an early copy and an original is sometimes very difficult to define. In regard to the pictures in Japan, where all have become known through excellent reproductions, ~~but are mostly~~ ^{the attributions} are based ~~on~~ ^{on} historical traditions which in most cases ~~may be followed~~ ^{may be followed} for four or five hundred years ~~and~~ and by little criteria, whereas the attributions of ~~of~~ ^{of} two of the pictures in Boston are supported by apparently genuine signatures. And whatever importance that may be attached to such circumstantial evidence, it must at least be admitted that all these pictures are excellent specimens of Southern Sung landscape art and that they bear the imprint of an individual style which always has been considered characteristic of Ma Yüan.

One of the very finest is the large landscape in Baron Swazaki's collection composed of towering mountains in the background and a cluster of leafy trees on a cliff in the one corner of the foreground. A storm is approaching; the wind is shaking the trees which bend out over the water, a man with a large umbrella is hastening along the mountain path towards the houses which lie half hidden in the mist at the foot of the precipice. The main part of the composition is concentrated at the one side of the picture, while the other is left empty, suggesting space; the depth dimension has an oblique direction and the loftiness of the scenery is enhanced by the steep mountain silhouettes which rise above the mist, reaching almost the upper edge of the picture.

This type of compositional arrangement returns in good many of the ^{large} pictures by Ma Yüan or his immediate followers; they are usually one sided in the sense that the main elements of the composition are built up along one side, rising to an extraordinary height from a terrace or ~~at~~ ^{platform} at the ~~for~~ lower edge of the picture. The rest of the picture is empty space - the toned silk ground - ~~often~~ ^{often}, however

divided or articulated (as it were) by the branch of a tree stretching across the picture and offering a point d'appui for the eye that seeks to measure the depth. The artist's fondness for such one sided compositions with out-reaching spirits in the form of a tree, a branch or a cliff brought him also the rather humorous nick-name of "the one-cornered Ma". There are few pictures by him which do not more or less support it. Among the most prominent examples should be remembered the great composition in Count Tanaka's collection, representing a philosopher seated at a stone table under a huge pine (growing along one side and sending out a long branch across the picture) ^(Toyo VII. pl. 43) and the still more famous picture in Marquis Kuroda's collection, known as A Moon Night, ⁱⁿ which the composition is made up of an overhanging cliff, rising along the left side, from which a gnarled pine ^{reaches} ~~springs~~ out like a giant arm ~~under the moon~~ ^{under the moon} ~~to~~ ^(Toyo VII. pl. 44) The old man who sits on the terrace below turns slightly ~~to~~ towards the background gazing ~~at~~ as the moon, a small circular orb, which rather accentuates than relieves the great emptiness. He is here, as in most of Ma Yüan's pictures, the epitome of the whole motive, representing as it were the mind of the painter in which the vision was crystallized before it was written down with the brush. By the introduction of the figure that seems to reflect in its soul the mood of the scenery the introspective character of this kind of landscape painting becomes obvious; we realize that ~~it has~~ the significance of such pictures goes far beyond the decorative design or the tonal values and that the limitless space is not emptiness but a symbol of a spiritual reality. The painter utilizes the material forms with a view of enhancing the immaterial and by ~~the~~ ^{the} succession of monochrome tones ~~he~~ suggests an ~~ideal perspective~~ ^{atmosphere} which is more forceful and eloquent than any tangible shapes. It is the same kind of subjective transformation of nature, the same way of representing infinity as reflected in the soul of man that we will find in the works of the Ch'an monks, though with stronger emphasis on the decorative design of trees and cliffs.

Several minor variations of the same motive could be mentioned among the pictures ascribed to Ma Yüan, ^{as} for instance the ~~picture~~ ^{album leaf} belonging to Mr. Makoshi Kyōhei, which represents a man standing on a mountain terrace under a large pine ~~at~~ ^{with} ~~its~~ ^{zag-zag} branches which

wind Touching the tops of the willows - otherwise no movement, no sound. The light of the day is still hesitating. No attempt to describe Ma Yuan will do justice to their beauty. ~~But Ma Yuan's pictures cannot be described.~~ They are too subtle for words. They live with the breath of the wind and the changing light; they reflect a poetry that overflows beyond the forms and dissolves in to ^{space} ~~infinity~~. There may have been greater painters in China but hardly any ~~one~~ who transformed more completely by a few strokes of the brush ~~forms~~ ^{shapes} of nature into symbols of ~~typical~~ ^{universal} reality.

It seems hardly necessary to dwell on the other pictures which have survived under Ma Yuan's name. Some of them may be reasonably accepted as his works as for instance the ~~four~~ landscapes representing the four seasons belonging to Count Sakai in Tokyo or the Bamboos with Swallows in the collection of Marquis Amano at Hiroshima, ^(Kobka 397) because they do not offer any essential new element for the characterization of the painter. Other well known pictures traditionally ascribed to Ma Yuan, though less convincing as his originals are the landscapes with Shyama (Ch'an) Priest ~~one~~ formerly in the Akaboshi collection, the other belonging to the Tenryu-ji temple in Kyoto (Kobka 123), or the landscape with a man in a boat belonging to Marquis Kuroda, or another minor landscape in the possession of the Ryukoin temple in Kyoto etc. There are not a few landscapes of the type described above which pass under his name in Japanese collections, because few names of Chinese painters have acquired a greater lustre in Japan. The pictures ascribed to him in China are more varied; there ~~is~~ ^{was} thus a large snow landscape (on paper), slightly coloured, exhibited under his name in the Palace Museum in Peking which startled me by its bold and strong brush work more than it convinced as a work by the traditional Ma Yuan, and another remarkable picture in the National Museum in Peking representing a "hsien jen" (a Taoist) seated under an over-hanging cliff looking at a very large moon. This too is painted in a rather bold fashion with a broad brush on paper, but to me it revealed ^(even in the signature) more skill and dash of brushmanship than something of the spiritual refinement which pervades the ~~but~~ Ma Yuan pictures in Japan and Boston. I should think it more likely to be a later imitation by a very clever man - but surprises are ^{of course} ~~always~~ possible particularly in regard to artists who are ~~very~~ ^{little} known ~~only in a~~ certain face of their activity.



It is evident that Ma Yüan's very effective mode of composition and his strong ~~and~~ his dense brush ~~work~~ ^{stroke} induced many later painters not only of his own time but also of the Yüan and Ming periods to close imitations. Most remarkable and important among such works is the long scroll in the Freer Gallery which formerly was considered ^{one of Ma's greatest} ~~his greatest~~ but now is classified with more reason as a work of the Ming period. The composition of high mountains and tall pines along a river is grand and poetic in the master's vein, but the decorative effect is almost too obvious; the poetry that belongs to the conception is destroyed by stilted phraseology - a fault that spoils too many of the so called Ma Yüans which were created in the 15th and 16th centuries.

More artistic interest is attached to the paintings by Ma Yüan's son Ma Lin, minor modest things, which however sometimes approached those of his father so closely that they were confused with them and even provided with the signature of the older Ma. Very successful in this respect is the album leaf in Boston which bears Ma Lin's signature and represents a rocky beach with some trees that are bending low down and dropping their leaves over the water. The design is not far removed from some of Ma Yüan's compositions but it is rather more detailed and less concentrated. Ma Lin was not a creative genius like his father ~~but a true poet and a painter of great refinement~~ ^{yet, a true poet and a painter of great refinement} as may be seen ~~in the wonderfully harmonious and evocative evening landscape belonging to Mr. Yagu in the Freer collection~~ ^{in the wonderfully harmonious and evocative evening landscape belonging to Mr. Yagu in the Freer collection}. ~~To two~~ ^(signed and dated 1254) ~~he represents~~ ^{he represents} his signature and the date 1254. In other pictures he ~~represents~~ ^{represents} architectural motives ~~which are represented~~ with great insistence on detail, a ~~balance of miniature-like exactness~~ ^{balance of miniature-like exactness} as may be seen in the fragment of a scroll in the Musée Guimet, representing the Terrace of the Immortals, which even if it is not an original, ~~possesses~~ ^{possesses} a great interest as an illustration of his art. In addition to the small landscapes, studies of flowering trees and architectural motives there are also Buddhist figures attributed to Ma Lin (Cf. Toys VII, p. 47) which, if the attributions are correct, seem to indicate that he reverted to the earliest artistic traditions of the Ma family.

² Cf. Ma Yüan's Landscapes Roll in the Freer Collection by Laurence Binyon. New York 1916 (privately printed).

Hsia Kuei, Tzu Yü Yü, was a native of Ch'ien T'ang in Chekiang and active at the Academy in Hangchow, where he received the degree of t'ai chao. He is usually mentioned together with Ma Yüan, his colleague at the Academy, as the foremost representatives of Southern Sung landscape painting. The two masters had evidently much in common yet, their artistic individualities are rather different; Ma Yüan was, no doubt, the greater poet, though Hsia Kuei may have been his equal or even his superior as a pure painter, a man of the brush. In this respect he stands in the foremost rank of Chinese painters, and he may still be enjoyed as such through a number of ^{important} original works which have been preserved in ~~both in~~ Chinese and Japanese collections. Like Ma Yüan he was classified by the great critics of the Ming dynasty as a representative of the "Northern School" and consequently not esteemed according to his individual merits (which also caused ~~that to a large~~ ^{the exportation of his works to Japan}) yet, some of the earlier historians ~~offer rather enthusiastic characterizations of~~ ^{offer rather enthusiastic characterizations of} his art as for instance the following in Ho Ku Yao Lun:

"Hsia Kuei was a ~~great painter of~~ ^{great painter of} landscapes ~~painter~~. His compositions and "wrinkles" were like those of Ma Yüan but his conceptions were more old fashioned, plain and simple. He preferred to use the stumped brush, but the leaves of the trees he painted with double strokes and the buildings ^{he did with a fine hand the use of} without any ruler or foot measure. His works ~~are~~ ^{were} bold and resolute, workmanlike and mysterious with great spiritual ~~has~~ ^{has} ~~many~~ ^{many} (chi yü). Chang Ch'ou, the author of Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Yang, who quotes the above, mentions particularly the following paintings by Hsia Kuei: Ch'ien Yen Wan Ho tu (the picture of Immense Peaks and Gorges) and Hsi Shan Ku Chin tu (the picture of Endless Streams and Mountains) which was 40 feet long, "a pure and bright work of brilliant style." He also quotes the opinions of two earlier critics, An Tao and Wang Lü, according to ~~whom~~ ^{whom} Ma's and Hsia's landscapes "were coarse but not ~~coarse~~ ^{vulgar}, delicate without falling into seductive charm. Their peaceful solitude was quite out of the ~~ordinary~~ ^{ordinary}; they reflected a great harmony undisturbed by the troubles of ^{common} the world."

The characterization applies perfectly to a ~~great~~ number of Hsia Kuei's still preserved works, though not to all, because they may be divided into landscapes of peaceful solitude and scenes of sudden storms.

The masterpiece among the latter is the tall picture in the Kawasaka Collection in Kobe (Toyo. VIII. pl. 55) in which a violent rain storm is expressed by a few decisive strokes of the brush which seem to reflect the vehemence and the fury of the weather. The trees are pressed down by the wind over the tiled roof of the pavilion in the mountain gorge, their branches are torn and their leaves are shattered as snow flakes in the wind. A man with a large umbrella is struggling against the storm on the pole-bridge that leads over the stream; another is crouching in the pavilion. The background is mist except for the ridge of a high mountain on which some small trees are wafting as tall feathers in the storm. And all this seems to be painted almost with the ~~same~~ ^{speed} and strength of the hurricane.

A minor variation on a similar motive is the fan-shaped picture in the Boston Museum which represents a wind-swept tree on a rocky ledge and a returning boat on the water; mountain silhouettes in the distance. Although somewhat worn, the picture is alive in every brush stroke and very effective by the modulations of the ink-tones. The trees and rocks seem to be wet with rain; the atmosphere seems saturated with moisture. Hsia Kuei possessed in a high degree the faculty of transforming monochrome ink into a coloristic medium; most of his paintings (where all are pure monochromes) have a tonal quality which depends on the ~~contrast between the~~ ^{contrast between the} masses of rich and deep ink and the open spaces of gleaming light mist.

Several of his minor paintings represent leafy trees on rocky ledges or promontories which abut into a colourless sea while sharp mountain silhouettes appear above the mist in the background, as may be seen in the famous examples in Baron Iwasaki's and Haruyei's 'Kuroda's' collections (Toyo VIII. pl. 56, 57) and the same motive returns also frequently in his scroll compositions, of which important fragments may be seen in Marquis Asano's collection, ~~and~~ in the possession of Mr. Gejo Masao in Tokyo (Toyo VIII. pl. 60) and particularly in the National Museum in Peking, where Hsia Kuei's landscape scroll holds a place of honor. It is one of the few first class originals ~~among~~ ^{in this universe among} a mass of more or less obvious imitations attributed under great names.

The picture is 87.6 cm long by 46 cm high (on paper), a continuous diorama of a river-scenery where the changing motives merge into another.

Most ~~prominent~~^{important} among the latter is the signed picture in the Kawasaki collection in Kobe representing a mountain gorge with a pavilion

as do the various phrases of a musical composition. The atmosphere is like the ocean of tone from which the waves of the melody arise to sink again harmoniously resolved: Rocky shores, mountains with pine forests, overhanging trees, small huts shaded by shrubs, bamboo bridges connecting some promontories and water sometimes narrowing into straits, ~~forming~~ ^{or forming} deep bays, sometimes broadening out into a shoreless sea where some distant sails are lost in the mist. All is rendered in tones of black ink which glows in the deep shadows and becomes almost transparent in the light parts. The ~~fine~~ brush strokes ^{are sometimes} ~~reflect~~ like short cuts, sometimes like dashes of ink, modified according to the motives but always reflecting the firm hand and the inspired mind. The result is an astonishingly rich and expressive symphony of black and white, where the motives appear and disappear again, suggesting the immeasurable expanse and the ceaseless change of nature. The particular advantages of the horizontal scroll composition have here been fully utilized, and the picture may in this respect be remembered as one of the most perfect examples of Chinese painting.

It should also be noticed that in most of Hsia Kuei's pictures the horizontal line is lower than in pictures by earlier landscape painters, and by this modification they become more like European landscapes. In fact there are bits in some pictures by Hsia Kuei which may remind one of drawings by Rembrandt. Yet, they have no consistently maintained point of sight, no perspective construction. Like all the other Chinese landscapes which we have studied, they are made up of impressionistically conceived parts which are blended by atmospheric tone into a unity. The rocks and trees of the foreground form one motive, and the faintly indicated silhouettes of the mountains in the background ~~form~~ ^{form} another, between them the mist spreads its thick veil concealing all that might serve as a measure of distance. The sense of infinity is the dominant quality also in his works, even though the artist more than his predecessors dwells upon the visual beauty of objects in the foreground. - From a purely pictorial point of view Hsia Kuei's works (of which only a few examples have mentioned above) may be counted among the very best ~~the~~ Chinese paintings that have been transmitted to our time though the relative monotony of ~~the~~ ^{the} motives and ideas is perhaps more apparent in his case than in regard to some of the other great landscape painters.

The great art of Ma Yüan and Hsia Kuei was reflected in the works of several contemporary or slightly younger artists whose names are less well known but who nevertheless have left us some pure and noble paintings. Two or three of them ~~should~~^{may} be recorded with a few words which also may serve to give some idea of the general level of landscape painting in Hang-chow. In the Free Gallery there is a very beautiful mountain landscape with a scholar's abode at the water's edge in the foreground. It is signed by Hsia Shih-ch'ang, a painter who is scantily recorded for his flower and bird-paintings in the Chinese chronicles. The landscape shows him as a very successful painter in the Ma-Hsia style, more important than for instance Ma Lin. The design is not so concentrated and perfectly unified as in the great works of Ma Yüan or Hsia Kuei, but it is well balanced and contains elements of great beauty. And, as I have said elsewhere, there are few landscapes which give a clearer and more convincing impression of the actual brush work of ^{great} painters of the Southern Sung period than this remarkably well preserved picture.

The National Museum in Stockholm has a tall mountain landscape (possibly cut down at the sides) which bears the signature of Lou Kuan. The signature may be a later addition but the picture is evidently of the Southern Sung period and very likely by Lou Kuan whose art is also known through some small landscapes in Japanese collections. The rocks and cravices are piled up in a towering mass, almost like ^{the} gnarled ~~trunk~~ trunk of giant tree out of which some fresh shoots are bursting forth. Every detail stands out very firm and definite, the foliage of the various trees is rendered with different kinds of brush strokes. The execution is remarkable for its desecion and strength; the design is ^{boldly} imaginative as in the works of Xi Ch'eng and his contemporaries. Lou Kuan who was active towards the very end of the Southern Sung period, must have been a rather conservative artist, though he is traditionally mentioned as a rival of Ma Yüan.

Another academican who reached considerable fame during the first half of the XIIIth century was Li Sung, born Chien Tsang. He was originally a carpenter's boy but was adopted by the painter Li Tsung-hsün and became famous for his "boundary paintings" as well as for pictures of Taoist and Buddhist subjects.¹⁾ He seems however also to have been a good scholar. Li Sung is often mentioned as the master of a series of pictures (in one or two scrolls) illustrating agriculture: Fu Tien Tu. The notice is found already in one of Chang Ch'ou's works (beginning of 17th cent.) and Ferguson (op. cit. p. 134) claims to have seen three of these pictures by Li Sung. According to Prof. Belliot, the so called Fu Tien Tu would have been a series of copies after ~~the~~ some of the compositions included in Kang Chih Tu and no original works by Li Sung. Cf. Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale, P. Belliot, A Propos du Kang Tche T'ou. Paris 1913

painter of seascapes; he produced a famous picture called Watching the Tidal Wave (Kuan Chao t'u) which, according to Fergusson (op.cit. p.133) belongs to the Palace Collection in Peking. I have however only seen a minor but very interesting sea picture ^{with} Li Sung's signature (in the collection of Mr. Hayasaki Denkichi in Tokyo) which represents a small boat or "sampan" ^{with four men} tossed about on the rolling waves as it is trying to make its way out of a rocky beach. Most effective in this picture is the treatment of the ~~tossing~~ surging waves in long spiralling filaments suggesting ^{the} incessant ~~and~~ movement of the ^{endless} watery plain. The Ch'an-pai ^{is} the last word of Southern Sung landscape painting was however not ^{inspired} moulded by any of the aforementioned academicians but by painters who lived as monks in one or two of the Ch'an temples in the hills above the Western Lake. Here flourished in the 13th century a school of landscape painting inspired by meditative Buddhism which attained extraordinary significance in expressive fleeting visions of nature. Without being religious in the traditional and formal meaning of the word, it was the expression for a special form of religious practice and if its adherents were not all ordained priests or monks they were at least inspired by the same religious tenets. Thus it seems doubtful whether Liang K'ai actually became a monk like Mu Chi, ^{Jiang Yü-chien} and others of these Ch'an-painters but it is evident that he split with the Academy ^{in his later years} and chose the company of these carefree nature worshippers instead of that of the official circles. We are told that when he received the insignia of the Golden Girdle, he hung them in the courtyard of the Academy and some times afterward retired to ~~the~~ Lin-tung ssu, the temple where Mu Chi lived and painted. His eccentric nature and fondness of wine were proverbial and brought him the nickname of TA-

Fung-tzu (Crazy fellow). Yet, a great number of his works are recorded by Chinese historians, because he had started as an academician and reached the degree of tai chao (about 1202-04). Mu-ch'i (or, Hsi), the work painter, who after all ~~must~~ ^{very} have been the greater genius, and whose influence reached ~~far~~ ^{very} both in China and in Japan, is almost forgotten in his own country. The only historical information available about him is that he came from the country of Shu (Szechuan) to ~~Ching-chang~~ ^{Chengkang} where he lived first in the Ching-shan temple and later in Liao-tung ssu, a temple near Hang-chou which he reformed and which became the main centre of the Mu-ch'i school. His real name was Fa-ch'ang and he must have been born ^{in the early part} ~~close to the beginning~~ of the XIIIth century, because one of his maturest pictures is dated 1269; and he is said to have been a pupil of Wu-chun (d. 1249). He painted "dragons, tigers, apes, cranes, wild geese in the rushes, landscapes and figures as the brush moved and the ink flowed. His conceptions were quite simple and natural; he used no ornamental elaboration but painted in a coarse and repellent fashion not in accordance with the ancient rules and really not for refined enjoyment" (Hua Shih Hui Yao).⁴⁾

The traditional Chinese attitude towards Mu-ch'i's art is characteristically expressed in the above quotation; his ^{artistic} ability as a painter could not be denied but his ~~very~~ manner of painting was strongly criticised. And the attitude was quite similar towards Liang Kai: "When the painters of the Academy saw Liang Kai's really mysterious works, they could not help respecting him; but those paintings of his which have been preserved are all of a coarse kind executed in an abbreviated style - manner." - Other ~~opinions~~ depreciations of a similar kind could be quoted but it seems hardly necessary as they are much less valuable for the appreciation of the painters than as characterisations of their narrow minded critics.

⁴⁾ Cf. Pai Wen Chai Shu Hua Pu vol. . The historical data re. Mu-ch'i have been made available for Westerners by Waley in Zen Buddhism in its relation to Art. London 1922 and by O. Kimmell in his article on the painter in Helgenhaus Lex. d. Bild. Künstler, Band 25 (1931) which also contains an exhaustive list of Mu-ch'i's works in Japanese collections. The Chinese opinions about Liang Kai are found in Nan Sung Guan Hua Lu. O. Kimmell has collected the biographical data about the painter and a list of his work in an article in Oriental Zeitschrift 1929, p. 206. Cf. also Waley's Zen Buddhism, as above.

which is white. But although the difference between the ^{dark and the light} ~~light and the dark~~
~~is~~ ^{is} considerable, the dominated colouristic effect is ^a soft gray

To the painters themselves this disapproval on the part of the official, ^{high} representatives of good taste and traditional art was ~~no~~ certainly a matter of complete indifference. They did not paint in order to produce beautiful pictures but to express a state of consciousness which to them was the greatest happiness and the highest form of reality. Art was to them "delving down into the Buddha that each of us unknowingly carries within him"; to quote some words of Waley, "Unless says the Ch'an aesthete, the artist's work is imbued with this vision of the subjective non-phenomenal aspect of life, his productions will be mere toys." This formulation of the fundamental tenet of Ch'an Buddhism in reference to art, which, according to this, ~~must be~~ ^{should} express ~~the~~ the reality that may be reflected in the spiritual self of man, seems excellent, but when the same author goes on to say that "Zen (Ch'an) aims at the annihilation of consciousness, whereas art is produced by an interaction of conscious and unconscious faculties," he seems to take ~~the~~ consciousness in a rather too narrow and purely intellectual sense. A Japanese writer on Zen ^{active} gives a different explanation of the doctrine regarding the ~~the~~ development of the individual consciousness: "To know self we must expand, contact the universal life, universal spirit --- We must awaken the our inmost vision, pure and divine, the mind of Buddha or Bodhi." This expansion of the individual consciousness ~~is~~ ^{becomes} possible

Waley, Zen Buddhism in its Relation to Art, p. 22

When man realizes that his innermost nature is essentially the same as the spiritual reality which is ~~at~~ the root of everything else in the universe. He then becomes a conscious part of the great universal life, "he is not merely surrounded by it on all sides but it permeates his whole existence. But he can never be enlightened unless he awakens it within himself by means of meditation. To drink water is to drink universal water; to awaken Buddha-nature is to be conscious of Universal Spirit." This the final aim of all the Ch'an practices - mental and physical, the way to freedom and happiness. When it has been attained, the consciousness of man is illumined by a light that can never be extinguished by doubt or fear, just as sunlight cannot be destroyed by mist or clouds.

This way of Ch'an was by no means new or unknown to the Chinese; it was very closely akin to Tao, and it had been taught more or less definitely ever since the introduction of Buddhism by those schools which ~~lay~~ ^{lay} the main stress on the development of man's inner nature through meditation. But the means and methods of Ch'an were often quite extraordinary. Intellectual studies and definitions were shunned as mental limitations. The training was of a more practical and direct kind, intended to arouse the ~~inner~~ ^{whole} nature of the student, his self-activity. The instruction of the teachers was by example or communicated in riddles and parables to stimulate the intuition; instead of explanations by words the students sometimes received a slap in the face or were met with a roar or with absolute silence. Certain methods of meditation (derived from Indian Yoga) were strictly applied; the student was to become a master of his body with all its passions and of his mind with all its arising thoughts. He should ~~reach a state~~ ^{become} able to free himself at will from all the distracting influences of the mental and material life so that his consciousness could reflect, as the quiet mirror of the mountain lake, glimpses of a reality that no outwards senses and no intellectual reasoning can convey. It would hardly be correct to call the Ch'an students ascetics, they did not emancipate their bodies, but they became indifferent to much that seems essential to the ~~people's~~ ^{material} life and comfort of ordinary people, and they appeared often rough and reckless ^{with} their lack of intellectual refinement and their disdain of ~~bookish~~ learning. But their love and comprehension of nature was intense, ~~the only~~ ^{because} ~~there they found~~ ^{here they found} reflections

of that same Buddha-nature that they tried to develop in themselves. The falling leaves and blooming flowers nay, even so called inanimate things like stones and mountains "revealed to them the holy law of Buddha. The greatest book was to them "the so called sutra which is written in characters of Heaven and man, of beasts and asuras, of hundreds of grass and thousand of trees". Truly, a book for painters who sought to represent the essentials of all that is.

This the importance of Ch'an to the artists did not lie simply in the fact that it carried them so very close to the heart of nature, that it made them look at every form, be it stone, tree, bird or beast and listen to every sound of wind or waves as a manifestation of a great consciousness that they also sought within themselves, it ~~did~~ ^{meant} more than this: It gave wings to their imagination and ~~freed~~ ^{awakened} in their hearts a feeling of unity or one-ness with all that lives which went far beyond that of any other pantheistic romanticism. They gained to some extent the power of projecting their own consciousness into that of the trees and the birds or the figures that they painted; all these things were not simply represented as phenomena of a more or less individual character as in the works of the ~~previous~~ ^{previous} Sung painters, but as part or reflections of themselves, symbolic perhaps, though not in the ordinary intellectual sense but spiritually, because they reflected a glimpse of reality, ~~an~~ actual experiences from the painter's soul. This was more than romantic poetry, it was vision, life and truth.

The recording of such fleeting glimpses from a world beyond that of ~~the~~ sensual observations demanded of course the greatest dexterity, a supreme mastery of the technical ^{methods} ~~means~~ and an utmost reduction of the material ^{labour} ~~means~~. They had to be written down as swiftly and easily as the wind blows and the waves roll. It was the last perfection of the "splash ink" (po mo) technique; it had been developed already by earlier painters of Ch'an inspiration like Shih Ho and Wang Hsia but none of them had been able to give as much as Mu Chi or Chiang Kai in a few ^{decisive} ~~decisive~~ strokes or dissolved as freely as these painters form hints splashes of ink. It is evident that pictures produced in this way must become supremely irrational (the Chinese critics call them coarse, ^{unrefined} ~~unrefined~~ or abbreviated) and that they hardly can be analysed or described in words ~~in the same way~~.

as pictures which are composed in a more formal sense. Their motives are often of the simplest kind: a few flowers or fruits, two birds on a bamboo branch, a single figure, some mountains and trees in the mist or ^{distant} sails on ^{mighty waters} ~~a distant sea~~, but they convey glimpses from a world that has no limits, embracing infinity of space and eternity of time ^(like) the enlightened mind of the Ch'an ^{student} ~~philosopher~~.

Yet, it is evident that these painters chose the motives for their most important pictures from the historical or didactic circle of ~~the Shyama~~ ^{Buddhism} teachings. Mu-ch'i did a number of pictures which also by their ~~historical or didactic~~ motives are illustrations or expositions of ~~the Ch'an~~ ^{Buddhism}, as for instance: Kuan-yin, Monkeys and Crane, the famous ^{Triptych} ~~triple picture~~ in ^{Daio-kuji} ~~Daio-kuji~~ (Toyo IX, pl. 84-86); The Dragon and the Tiger, likewise in ^{Daio-kuji} ~~Daio-kuji~~ (Toyo IX, pl. 90-91); Arhat in meditation, ^{in the collection of} ~~belonging to~~ Baron Iwasaki (Toyo IX, pl. 87-88); Lao-tse, belonging to Mr Suenobu ^{Sogen-ueigashira} ~~Daio-kuji~~ (pl. 28); Bodhidharma in the Kawasaki collection ^{Sogen-ueigashira} ~~Daio-kuji~~ (pl. 29); The Priest Chien-tzu playing with crabs, belonging to Baron Masuda (Toyo IX, pl. 87); Dragon appearing in Clouds, one belonging to Vicount Aki-moto (Kokka 209), another to Mr Nezu, Tokyo; Monkeys, as symbols of human folly, one belonging to Count Matsudaira, another to Count Sakai (Sel. Rel. XI). To the same class of pictures ^{with a religious or} ~~and a symbolic~~ significance may also be counted the picture representing An Old Pine tree and a Bull-headed Shrike in ^{Daio-kuji} ~~Daio-kuji~~ (Toyo IX, pl. 92) and the Bull-headed Shrike in the collection of Baron Matsudaira (Toyo IX, pl. 93), whereas Mu-ch'i's pictures of Swallows and Lotus and of Doves and Bamboos in the Matsudaira collection, and Sparrows and Bamboos in the Nezu collection and Rose-Mallows in Kain in ^{Daio-kuji} ~~Daio-kuji~~, hardly are more symbolic than ^{the} various fragments of his ^{two famous} landscape scrolls, representing the Eight Views of the Hsiao and Hsiao Rivers (Ch. Toyo IX, pl. 94, ^{Sogen-ueigashira} ~~Daio-kuji~~, pl. 34, 35). These are pure nature views transposed into visions of subjective infinity.

It may be added that the attributions of the above mentioned and a few more pictures to Mu-ch'i ^{(with two exceptions, either} ~~in Japanese collections)~~ are based ^{on tradition} ~~on tradition~~ (which may in some instances be followed to the 18th century) ^{or on} ~~on~~ seals, ~~and not on the artist's signature~~ and that the proof of Mu-ch'i's seals is complicated by the records of a Japanese painter, Mokuan or Mo-an, O.G. Kimmels Article on Mokuan in Allg. Zeits. d. Bild. Künste, Band 25

who was active during the first half of the 14th century in some of the Ch'an temples in the neighborhood of Hang-chou and Su-chou. He is said to have imitated Mu Ch'i so successfully that ~~he was called by~~ ^{called him} the abbot of Lin-tung ~~as a~~ ^{presented him} reincarnation of Mu Ch'i ~~and was~~ ⁱⁿ recognition of his artistic activity, two of Mu Ch'i's seals which had been preserved in the temple. The possibility has thus near at hand that some of the pictures marked with Mu Ch'i's seal are painted by this "second Mu Ch'i" (as the Japanese called him), though nobody has as yet been able to detect such differences of style that would justify ~~a~~ ^a division of the above mentioned works on two different personalities. They may thus well serve as examples of Mu Ch'i's style individual.

The works preserved under Liang Kai's name in Japanese collections are mostly signed ~~and~~ ^{and} may also, like those of Mu Ch'i, be divided into ~~illustrations~~ ^{illustrations} of fables or personalities connected with Shyans & Buddhism and nature studies, mostly landscapes, but beside these he treated some historical subjects. The most carefully executed of all his works is the great picture representing Shakyamuni standing in meditation among the mountains (on his way to the Bodhi tree), belonging to Count Sakai (Toyo IX. pl. 71-72). It ~~is~~ ^{must have been a} comparatively early work as it, according to inscription, was painted in the presence of the emperor, and may have been accompanied by two snow landscapes (in the Sakai and the former Akaboshi collections. Toyo IX. pl. 73-74). Further developed in pure Ch'an style are ~~the~~ ^{two} pictures of the Sixth Patriarch, Hui-neng, chopping a bamboo pole ~~belonging to Count Sakai~~ and tearing a written scroll into pieces, ~~the former~~ ^{belonging to Count Sakai}, the latter to Count Matsudaira (Toyo IX. pl. 67, 68). ~~Of still finer design~~ ^{is} executed in the broadest poems fashion are the pictures of Han Shan and Shide in the Matsudaira collection ^(Kokka 114) and in the collection of Mr. Itozai Sheizo, Tokyo (Toyo IX. pl. 65) and the representations of the Dancing Pu-tai in the Mierayama collection ^(Sogei) ~~(Sogei)~~ ^{queigushu} (pl. 24) and Pu-tai watching fighting cocks in the collection of Count Sakai. There are still other pictures ascribed to Liang Kai which represent exhilarated Taoists or ~~other~~ ^{other} priests, but none of them can compare in artistic significance with the imaginative portrait of Li Tai-po, standing upright, reciting a poem which is one of the supreme masterpieces of Chinese painting. (Count Matsudaira collection). Related to this picture

as pictures which are intellectually composed. Their motives are often of the simplest kind: a few flowers or fruits, two birds on a branch of bamboo, a single figure, some mountains and trees in the mist or returning boats on a distant sea, but they convey glimpses of a life that is universal, embracing infinity of space and eternity of time as the consciousness of the Ch'an philosophers.

Yet, it may be noted that the motives of these painters often have a direct historical or doctrinal relation to ^{the} Dziana teachings.

by its ~~main~~ ^{motion} and by the masterly characterization of the main figure, though quite different in design, is the short scroll (ca 2 feet) which represents Wang Hsi-chik writing on the fan of an old woman (formerly in the Tupper-Menehin Collection in Peking). The fan is reverently supported by its owner before the great master who stands slightly stooping, ~~with the brush in~~ concentrating all his attention on the brush while a servant stands behind him with the ink-stone. A big trunk of a willow completes the composition. To judge by the literary records (exhaustively quoted in *Nan Sun, Gwan Hua Lu*) this must have been Liang K'ao's most famous picture, but beside it at least 24 other paintings by the master are mentioned, a number of landscapes with birds, ~~fisher~~ men or travellers, several with Buddhist motives, others with legendary subjects. It seems superfluous to enumerate the titles as long as the ^(possibly with the exception of the sixteen others can) pictures ~~have~~ ^{are} not been identified, but it may be worth ^{recording} ~~saying~~ that the finest of them, according to some critics, was a picture representing Tao Yuan-ming, the popular ^{ideal} among the early Chinese writers, walking with a flower in his hand under a pine tree, ~~a representation which may not have been quite unlike the~~ ^{unsurprisingly} ~~most recent~~ ^{above mentioned} ~~to~~ ^{Li Tai-po} study of it.

The relatively well authenticated and numerous pictures by Liang K'ai Hui preserved seem to reveal an artistic evolution in which the painter's contact with Ch'an Buddhism must have been of decisive importance. He was once a prominent academician, though of a rather intemperate kind, and his great ideal in art was Wu Tzu-Fu. He painted then traditional Buddhist subjects (besides landscapes) and executed "the figures with great care even to the minutest hair, but the trees and stones he ~~sketched~~ ^{brushed} in with strong ^{brush strokes} which ~~served to accentuate the imposing spirit of the carefully and overworked~~ ^{indeed} ~~to increase also the boldness of the finely drawn figures."~~ This characterization fits perfectly the above mentioned picture of Shakyamuni walking out of the mountains where the figure is very carefully drawn and modelled and covered in a drapery which swirls à la Wu Tzu-Fu, while the ~~background~~ ^{surrounding} mountains and dry trees are painted in broader fashion with a strong brush. The expressiveness of the figure is extraordinary and it is accentuated by the majestic scenery. Without the ~~the~~ surrounding landscape the figure would not mean so much.

This becomes most evident if we ~~look at~~ ^{accept} the scroll representing

and as an object of admiration ;

In the picture of Li Tai-po the artist has renounced all exterior arrangements or additions but nevertheless created a very definite atmosphere—he has actually done with half a dozen touches of the brush one of the most convincing representations of an inspired poet known to us. The material means are reduced to a minimum, the form is simplified to the utmost yet, it is quite sufficient to serve as an ~~vehicle~~ ^{inspiration} for the inspiration which radiates from this picture as it does from the poems of Li Tai-po. It is as if the artist had felt a reverberation of Li-po's immortal rhythms in his soul, as if the poet had lived again in his consciousness from where he was, projected like an inspiring flame on the paper.

Liang Kai painted also a great number of landscapes, mostly with birds, as appears from the titles enumerated in Nan Sung Yuan Hua Lu, but also with fishermen and peasants. An example of this type is the small and probably early landscape belonging to Mr. Hayasaki Vankichi showing a fisherman who returns with his net on the shoulder along the rocky shore, framed by an old tree. Other characteristic landscapes by Liang Kai still preserved in Japan are the two large snow scenes in the Count Sakai and in the former Akaboshi collection (Toyo B. N. 73. 74) ^{with a} ~~developed~~ very soft hazy atmosphere over snow-covered hills and stumpy trees in the foreground, furthermore the round, fan-shaped picture in the Count Date collection representing a pair of herons alighting on rocks, in which the strongly painted ^(and the big bird outlines) rocks serve as a most effective accentuation of the empty space (Toyo B. pl. 75). ^{Closely akin to this} ~~More traditional in design~~ is the album leaf representing flying geese at a shore with reed, which belongs to Prince Tokugawa (Tokyo exhib. 1928. cat. no. 79). More traditional in design ^{are} the landscapes with a man sitting on a cliff under a pine tree, belonging to Mr. Magoshi Kyohai (Toyo B. pl. 69) and ^{with a} ~~the~~ man reaching under a pine tree where also a buffalo is grazing, belonging to Marquis Kuroda (Toyo B. pl. 74) but they are executed in a softer tone than any of the earlier landscapes, like visions ^{rather} ~~more~~ than like renderings of actual scenery. They are Ch'an pictures just as well as the figure scenes mentioned above, reflexions from a consciousness for which the commonest scene may embrace the immensity of the universe.

The pictures which ~~had~~ are preserved in Japanese collections under Mu Chi's name were enumerated above and we have also dwelt on the philosophical or aesthetic background of his artistic activity but it may still be necessary to consider a little closer some characteristics of his art. Unlike Liang Kai's works which were mostly legendary (illustrative) or landscapes with figures, Mu Chi's most important paintings were evidently done with a didactic purpose, to be used in the Ch'an temples. They ~~are~~ ^{were} executed on a large scale and carefully finished, though in pure Ch'an fashion with less insistence on illustrative details than on the general tonality and atmosphere of the motive. The best examples are still in the possession of a Ch'an temple though not in China, I mean the pictures belonging to Daikokuji in Kyoto (nowadays deposited in the museum in the same City) i.e. the triptych representing Kuan Yin, a crane and a she monkey with her baby and the diptych representing the Dragon and the Tiger. The motives are evidently symbolic; the triptych may refer to the enlightenment ~~that~~ ^{that} can be reached through a meditation in contrast to the desire for long material life and empty intellectual speculations (sometimes symbolised by 'monkeys'); the diptych is evidently a representation of the ^{divine} ~~higher~~ and ^{mundane} ~~lower~~, the spiritual and ^{the} ~~bestial~~ forces which pervade all nature.

According to the notes which I took down before the originals some ten years ago, they are painted on a very thin and rather loosely woven silk with an exceedingly light, soft brush and watery ink which has soaked in so completely that it, in some spots, hardly can be distinguished from the ground. The designs are balanced not only by certain well emphasized leading lines (observable also in the reproductions) but also by the darker and lighter tones, the former being mostly placed towards the sides or in the corners so that the central portion of the picture stands out light and transparent. This disposition of the tones is particularly effective in the central piece, the white robed Kuan Yin seated on a cliff ~~between~~ ^{at the} side of a bamboo sprout and under some over hanging herbs, but it may also be noticed in the pictures of the white crane and of the monkey though with certain modifications: the monkey which balances on the dry diagonal branch in the centre of the picture is black with the exception of its most important part, the round moon face,

which is white. But in spite of the marked contrasts between the darks and the lights, the pictorial effect is dominated by the soft grayish hue, in which the forms are enveloped or rather, steeped with an almost imperceptible gradation of tones. This, produced mainly by the bare silk ~~which~~ slightly toned, at least by age.

The brush strokes are more floating and continuous than mostly in Liang Kai's paintings. They become particularly effective in the ~~the~~ mantle of the meditating Bodhisattva which is designed with long softly curving lines ^{suggesting} ~~reflecting~~ a complete repose, the same harmonious quietness that is reflected by the water at his feet. The decorative design has ~~here, to an~~ unusual degree, become the vehicle ^{for} of the spiritual import of the ~~the~~ motive.

Related to this Kuanyin picture by its general design and the treatment of the main figure is the painting in Baron Terasaki's collection which represents ~~a~~ a Chan monk seated in meditation on a mountain terrace surrounded by a large snake which opens its poisonous jaws in his lap. The firm ~~into~~ imperturbability of the man in this dangerous situation ^{reflects} ~~shows~~ an intense spiritual concentration, a ^{will power by which} ~~condition~~ ^{which} completely controls the situation. Though in complete repose, it may well be called dynamic; it is drawn with tightly curving lines which form a symbol of massive strength; it is white like a luminous body against the setting of dark rocks and trees, far from beautiful in the ordinary sense of the word, but impressive and great as a personification of some elemental power. The atmosphere of this picture seems replete with spiritual significance ^{transposed} ~~manifested~~ in qualities of line and tone.

The Dragon and the Tiger in Butokujō may be no less remarkable from a purely pictorial point of view, because here too one may admire the artist's strong and sweeping brush work, his faculty of imparting life by every touch, but they lack the human element and also the harmonious balance which ^{characterizes} ~~makes~~ the Kuanyin triptych. The pictures have also suffered more by exposition and careless handling; they are darkened and probably cut down at the sides which makes the enormous beasts look somewhat cramped within the narrow spaces. Yet, they are expressive of the elemental forces symbolized by these animals; the dragon ~~is~~ with flashing eyes and shimmering scaly body is issuing as a lightning from the clouds, while the tiger sits erect with tense sinews ready to spring at its prey with the swiftness of the storm wind that shakes the bamboos in the background.

The landscapes which are considered as Mu-ch'i's works are all sections out of two scrolls which both represented the Eight famous views of the Hsiao and Hsiao Rivers. Of the smaller ^{only} ~~one~~ ^{three} fragments exist: The Autumn Moon (Prince Tokugawa collect.), The Night Rain (~~Baron~~ ^{Selected Relics of} Masuda collect.) and The Evening Bell (Count Matsudaira collect.), one of the larger scroll five sections still exist: Returning Sails off a distant coast (Count Matsudaira collect. Toyo IX. p. 94), The Evening Bell (Marquis Tokugawa collect.), Sunset over a Fishing Village (Mr. Negu's collect. Sogen Meigunshu, p.), Wild geese alighting (ex. Count Matsudaira collect.) and Evening Snow on the Hills (ex. Marquis Tokugawa collect.). Few motives have been more consistently treated by Chinese landscape painters than the Eight views of Hsiao Hsiao and yet, few have yielded a richer variety of poetry and pictorial beauty. They formed simply a set of suggestive names or formulae for continuous compositions of water, mountains, wooded shores and sandy beaches, sometimes enlivened by boats and fishermen or alighting birds, represented at different seasons or hours of the day. They were useful as labels or keys to the ideas traditionally associated with the motives, and which could be interpreted according to the creative imagination of each artist quite independent of any local colour or description. It was the symbolic suggestiveness rather than a ~~an~~ actual scenery which lent artistic importance to pictures of the Autumn Moon over the Tung-t'ing Lake (where the rivers meet), The Night Rain over Hsiao and Hsiao, The Evening Bell from a distant temple etc.

Mu-ch'i has certainly realised this better than anybody; he paints landscapes which are simply fragments of the universe, formulae for his visionary ideas of limitless space and soundless harmony. The objective motives seem to sink into the recesses of his consciousness and reissue replete with a ~~limer~~ ^{limer} life that is suggested by ~~the~~ ^{gradations of tone} and quick decisive brush strokes. What he paints or rather suggests by suppressing as much as possible the material definitions, is ^{above all} ~~the~~ the atmosphere; it is the life breath of his landscapes, the mirror in which infinity is reflected. The forms are indicated only in so far as they may serve to enhance this element of indefinable space. Most characteristic as an example is the picture representing Returning Sails off a distant coast. Only at the one end

of the composition is the foreground shore accentuated by some dark trees and the background by mountains which grow fainter as they dissolve into the gray mist. The rest of the picture is ~~an~~ ^{free} expanse; there is no foreground, no background, simply open space. The only support that the eye can find here are two small sailing boats which are more felt than seen - ~~it is the movement~~ ^{it is the movement} ~~of the boats~~ ^{rather than the forms which is perceived}. But one ~~cannot~~ ^{cannot} help feeling the chilly evening breeze which sweeps the fog into long wisps and makes the soft tree tops wave like silky plumes. It is less a visual impression than a vibrating reflection from the artist's consciousness which forms the motive - an echo of a distant music, a breath of wind, a movement in the air - all that gives wings to his imagination and makes him see something more than simply a few boats in the fog.

The limitless space or atmosphere into which Munch's landscapes are steeped, and by which they receive this mysterious life and ~~being~~ ^{significance} ~~transcendent landscape~~, is also to be found in his pictures of birds and flowers, though it is here produced by the design rather than by the use of misty tones. The small birds such as the sparrows (picture in Mr. Nezu's collection) or the dove (picture in Count Matoussin's collection) are placed on some very thin and tall branch which projects far into the ^{otherwise} empty picture where the birds form the centre. They balance on these quivering supports as lightly as only such airy beings can do, around them is emptiness or rather, the all containing space - a reflection of the artist's consciousness, in which they live as thoughts or visions.

More important are the larger pictures of the Hakacho bird (Bull-headed shrike) of which the best is in Count Matoussin's collection. The bird is standing on an old trunk towards the one side of the picture, the rest of it is empty ground, only at the very top enters a slender twig of a pine branch, offering a support for the eye which thus realizes more definitely the extraordinary height and spaciousness of the picture. Into this rises the large black bird almost as a human being, standing on its tall legs with the head sunk into the chest - a picture of ^{introspective} ~~and~~ ^{thought} ~~and~~ ^{quietness} like the sanabhi of the Ch'an philosophers. The artistic meaning of the whole picture depends on the perfect balance between the ~~strongly accentuated~~ ^{strongly accentuated} jet-black bird and the transparent space broken by nothing else than the tender twigs at the top.

In spite of its highly subjective character, Mu-ch'i's art exercised a far reaching influence. This was most immediately felt by the painters who lived as Ch'an monks in the temples near Hang-chou towards the end of the Sung and during the early part of the Yuan period, but it may also be traced in the works of more worldly painters and, as an undercurrent, in the general modification of style effectuated in the Yuan period, not to speak of the all absorbing interest in Ch'an painting which became manifest in Japan at the beginning of the Ashikaga period, when most of Mu-ch'i's works were secured for the Ashikaga Shogun's collection. The main reason for this influence was evidently that Mu-ch'i's art represented not simply a new manner of handling the brush and ^{the} ink but the result of a new spiritual impulse by which the artistic activity as such was modified. Wherever the influence of the Ch'an philosophy was felt the painter was brought into a more intimate spiritual relation to his work, he was no longer the observer or designer ^{outward} of objects or scenery, but the ^{transmitter of things as they really are.} ~~the exponent of subjective ideas~~. His main endeavour was to become ^{-in his consciousness-} so perfectly united with or fused into the ~~relative~~ ^{outward} that he could re-embodiment its spiritual significance in a pictorial symbol.

It would require too much space to enumerate all the pictures (particularly in Japanese collections) in which this Ch'an principle of creation may be traced; some of them are by anonymous masters, others by monks whose names ~~we~~ have been recorded but whose lives are practically unknown. Most remarkable among these pictures is the Mountain Village in Mist by Ying Yü-chien in Count Matsudaira's collection (Togo, B, pt. 38). The motive is here dissolved into broad splashes of ink indicating some roofs amongst trees on a ^{around a bay} rising ground, mountains ^{farther away} and a bridge in the foreground, but there are hardly any actual forms, simply a succession of ^{beats} tones which dissolve in the mist. Yet, the whole thing is deliberately done with marvellous concentration, convincing, as far as it goes, and suggestive of ~~of~~ ^(also called fo-fen) atmospheric, or coloristic beauty. Ying Yü-chien ^{was} ~~was~~ secretary of the Ching-tze temple ~~at~~ ^{at} the Western Lake in Hang-chou and is said to have followed in the footsteps of the ~~great~~ famous priest-painter Hui-chuang but his artistic relationship with Mu-ch'i (his somewhat younger contemporary, seems undeniable. Other landscapes attributed to Ying Yü-chien, such as the short scroll in Prince Tokugawa's collection and the large mountain scenery belonging to Mr Maruyama in Osaka (Soyan Meiguan-shu, pt. 46) represent him under a somewhat more traditional aspect painting the rounded hills and plummy trees as shadows in the mist.

Two priest-painters, unrecorded in Chinese sources but mentioned by Soami in Kumailkwan, are Lo-ch'uang and Tse Wang.¹⁾ The former lived at Lin-tung ssu, the temple of Wu-chi near Hang-chow and is considered to be the master of a picture in the Asabuki collection representing a Goose alighting among Lotus leaves, executed in Wu-chi's manner though rather inferior in strength (Toyo IX. pl. 96); the latter is known through a picture of ~~Li Tse~~ ^{Li Tse}, represented in laced garment and carrying a staff with a hatchet on the shoulder (formerly Kanaboki collect. Kokka III.)

Of the same kind as this ~~as~~ ^{as} Li Ch'ieh's pictures in Myoshinji in Kyoto representing Bodhi Dharm and Feng-k'an (Kokka 289). ~~These~~ ^{The} influence from Liang Kai seems here most evident. ~~His style and manner are to be seen in the work of Liang Kai.~~

The tradition of Ch'an painting was carried on by many highly gifted artists in the temples at Hang-chow, and elsewhere in the South, long after the end of the Sung dynasty, and as it forms a rather definite and homogeneous current in which the art of the 13th century, it may be best to mention here some of its later representatives. A very productive and characteristic painter was the monk of the ~~at~~ Tien-chu temple whose name is written in modern Chinese Yin-to-lo but who is better known under his Japanese appellation: Tudara. He must have been active during the second half of the century because some of his pictures are provided with inscriptions by men who are of this time and better known than the painter.²⁾ There are at least seven pictures attributed to him in Japanese collections (Cf. Kokka, 35, 110, 173, 201, 223, 310, 392) and two of them, Bodhi Dharm in Marquis Asano's collect. and Vimalakirti in Mr Murayama's collect., are signed with the painter's name. The motives for his pictures are all borrowed from Ch'an or Taoist legends; ~~as for instance~~ ^{as for instance} ~~the two mentioned above are representations of~~ ^{the two mentioned above are representations of} Fan-hsia burning the image of Shikha and Yao-shun talking to a visitor, Han-shan and Shih-ta, ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~Feng-k'an with two companions, Bodhi Dharm and~~ ^{two companions, Bodhi Dharm and} ~~so on. All these pictures exhibit great skill of brushmanship and are highly~~ ^{so on. All these pictures exhibit great skill of brushmanship and are highly} ~~are executed with a certain mastery and are highly~~ ^{are executed with a certain mastery and are highly} ~~and suggestive as illustrations, particularly~~ ^{and suggestive as illustrations, particularly} ~~the characterization of the~~ ^{the characterization of the} ~~figures, often~~ ^{figures, often} ~~but they are not~~ ^{but they are not} ~~of a different~~ ^{of a different} ~~as Wu-chi's creations, they lack~~ ^{as Wu-chi's creations, they lack} ~~of necessity of conviction in the rendering of form~~ ^{of necessity of conviction in the rendering of form} ~~The weakest among these~~ ^{The weakest among these} ~~pictures~~ ^{pictures} ~~make us realize how easily this mode of impressionistic~~ ^{make us realize how easily this mode of impressionistic} ~~into painting could become a clever and empty play with the brush~~ ^{into painting could become a clever and empty play with the brush} ~~when not~~ ^{when not} ~~directed~~ ^{directed} ~~by a strong creative will or spiritual inspiration.~~ ^{by a strong creative will or spiritual inspiration.}

¹⁾ Cf. Oriental. Zeitschrift I. p. 199. 203. ²⁾ Cf. O. Kimmels article, Tudara, in Allgem. d. bild. Künste. Band XVIII. 1925.

Two priest-painters ^{mentioned} ~~known only~~ only in the Kundekwan, are do

(as we have seen) something more than simply a

adding thus a note of contemplative stillness to the pastoral scene. The main parts are laid in with a strong brush in dark ink and stand in a perfect relation to the large stretches of empty ground so that the picture as a whole becomes a convincing and great work of art.

The Dragon-paintings

One of the most significant motives of Chinese painting which also to some extent was cultivated by the Ch'an painters was the dragon, a ~~symbol of the great spiritual force in nature~~, the mystic fantastic and awe-inspiring being, swift as a lightning, strong as a storm wind, which appears among clouds and mist, visible only to those whose enlightened minds are open to the great spiritual forces of nature. We have already mentioned that Shu-ch'i made several representations of this supreme symbol of supernatural power, but there were other artists who specialized in dragon painting and carried it to the highest degree of perfection. Their mode of ~~creation~~ ^{creation} corresponded evidently very closely to that of the Ch'an painters, as the visionary motive demanded the highest degree of concentration and immediate transmission of the flashing image, even though they may not have lived in temples or been formal adherents of Ch'an practices.

We have already had occasion to observe that there were great dragon painters in China during various dynasties; at the head of them all stands Chang Seng-yu, the great master of the 6th century whose dragons became famous through so many legends, and as a good second should be remembered Tang Yü, who executed some of his most terrifying for Emperor Sung Tsai Tsung (876-997). The paintings of these old masters ~~no longer exist~~ ^{exist}, but a discussion of Dragon Paintings by Tang Yü has been transmitted under the title Hua Lung Chi ¹⁾ and has a certain general interest by its definitions of the motive from the painter's point of view. A part of it may here be quoted as an introduction to the study of the dragon paintings by Ch'en Jung whose evidently were inspired by the same ideas as those of his great predecessors. Tang Yü writes:

"Dragon-paintings should possess the secret (Tao) of Spirit and Life. The Spirit is like the mother and the life (or vitality) is like the child. ~~Which~~ ^{Which} ~~summons~~ ^{summons} life as the mother ~~summons~~ ^{summons} to the baby, how would it dare not to come? Therefore the dragons should rise towards the sky through dense mist and layers of clouds or immerse into the bottomless depths of the ~~great waters~~ ^{turbulent waters} where no human eye can reach them.

1) Cf. Mei Shu Tsung Shu. II. vol. 9. chap. 9.

Ancient as well as modern painters have found it difficult to pursue their forms and shapes. The dragon's form may be divided into three sections and nine similarities: the first is from the head to the neck, the second from the neck to the belly, the third from the belly to the tail; these are the three sections. - The nine similarities are: the head like that of a bull, the muzzle like a donkey's, the eyes like shrimps, the horns like those of a deer, the ears like an elephant's, the scales like those of fishes, the beard like a man's, the body like a serpent's, the feet like the Feng-bird's. Such are the similarities.

There is a difference between the male and the female dragon: The male has horns and his body is moving in high waves. He has deep set eyes, wide open nostrils, pointed beard and thick scales, the body is strong towards the head and diminishing towards the tail. He is red as fire, grand and beautiful. - The female dragon has no horns, and her body forms quite flat waves. The eyes are standing out, the ~~mouth~~ ^{muzzle} is out straight, the mane is curly, the scales thin, and the tail is stronger than the body.

Dragons with open mouth are easy to represent, but those with closed mouth are difficult. If you want to make them with the sweeping brush and flowing ink bring out the life of the muscles and bones, but in order to express perfectly the essence and spirit of the dragon you must give him awe-inspiring bloody eyes, impetuously ~~staring~~ moving red beard, mist-hoarding scales, bristling mane, hair on the knees, claws and teeth. Make him spit and hide in the rain and the mist-dew, make him skip and gambol as he soars through space - then, when the eyes are past in, he will fly away like the dragons of Chang Sheng-yu and master Yeh.th

*) A dragon painter who probably was active during the former Han dynasty.
by G. Giles. p. 3.

(often called by his hao, Ch'ien So-wang)

Ch'ien Jung, the great dragon painter of the South Sung period, was evidently no less of an eccentric character than his predecessors in the same field, though at the same time capable of serving as a government official, i.e. first as a magistrate in Shansi, then in Kiangsi and finally as governor of Pu-tien in Fukien, his native province. He passed his chin shih degree in 1235 and reached also fame as a poet in the strong and heroic style, particularly in the Pao-yu period (1253-59). His fame with posterity rests however entirely on his paintings of dragons of which ~~at least~~ half a dozen (horizontal scrolls or parts of such) have been preserved, all belonging to the highest class of Chinese painting known to us.

According to the ~~biography~~ ^{biographical information about Ch'ien Jung} transmitted in the Min Hua Ch'ü, ~~he~~ ^{he} painted "the clouds among which the dragons were soaring in the splashy ^{ink} fashion (po-mo) and the mist as if spitting ^{out} water. When he was drunk, he shouted aloud, took off his cap, dipped it into the ink and then smeared and rubbed ~~the paper~~ ^{with it} making a rough picture which he afterwards completed with the brush. Sometimes the whole body of the dragon was shown, sometimes only a leg or a head. ~~After dimly defined shapes were beyond description almost inconceivable in their shapes thrown out apparently without intention. But it was~~ yet truly divine and mysterious. He also painted pine trees and bamboo --- Towards the end of his life his brush manner became more and more simplified, concentrated and wonderful. ~~His pictures~~ ^{His pictures} were executed in deep colours ~~and~~ ^{were} equal to Tung Yü's work."

The works of Ch'ien Jung which have been preserved may well serve to support the high esteem in which he was held by contemporary and somewhat later critics, though they are ~~presented~~ ^{executed} with more care and deliberation than the above remarks might make us expect. They represent all dragons soaring through clouds, mist and water, quite detached from any earthly surroundings, only in one of them ^(belonging to Baron Yokoyama, Tokyo, IX, p. 79) has he added a rocky shore with some trees before the mist-enveloped mountain cave of the dragons, an element which however hardly increases the artistic importance of the picture. The two dragons in ~~the~~ ^{vaporous clouds} belonging to Count Sakai (Tokyo IX, p. 80-81) are certainly superior as works of art and more suggestive illustrations of this supreme symbol of seething vitality. But these too are evidently only fragments of a longer scroll.

~~The most complete and~~

*) Quoted in Pai Wen chai Shu Hua p. 4.

The most complete and important examples of his art are nowadays in the museum in Boston: one of them is a metre long section of a scroll, representing Four Dragons and Gushing Water among Cavernous Rocks, the other is a complete scroll, eleven metres long, in which Nine Dragons appear through Clouds and Waves. In the minor ^{composition} ~~the~~ pictorial effect depends more on the gushing water that leaps out in cascades from the split and shattered cliffs and the wreaths of mist that circle about the caverns, than on the dragons themselves (which are largely hid), but in the larger scroll the design is completely dominated by the glorious animals which unfold themselves through the clouds and waves. To describe this picture in detail seems as impossible as to reflect in words the ^{gushing} storm that lashes the waves into foam and scatters the clouds into vapour, nor can small bits out of this long continuous composition give any idea of its dramatic beauty, the rhythmic movements of the design. From the inscriptions referring to various legends about dragons and dragon paintings which the painter has added to his work it becomes evident that his main idea was to ~~make~~ express through the symbols of the nine dragons the operation of Tao, the supreme principle of all manifested life. He has given this in a picture of cosmic sweep, unrolling before our eyes with brush-strokes, that have the speed and strength of the storm wind, the spiritual force of the universe ~~as it~~ ^{as it} penetrates ~~the~~ or vitalizes the furious battle of the elements.

The picture is also one of the great historical documents of Chinese painting; it is provided with more than fifty writings and seals (fifteen on the picture itself, the rest as colophons) by emperors, scholars, priests and poets among which the poems by Chi'en Lung are most in evidence (the picture was once one of the great treasures of Chi'en Lung's collection). The artist himself has added two inscriptions, a lengthy one in verse referring to the Taoist dragon legends, as mentioned above and a short one, containing the date 1244 (when the picture was made) and the following remark about its fate: "Again this roll has come into the possession of my nephew. Does not the divinely inspired thing find its allotted place - a Taoist's abode?"

* Cf. Mr. John B. Dodge article about this scroll the Boston Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin. Dec. 1917.

Another branch of painting which also drew new life from the Ch'an philosophy and its ~~unending~~ individualizing pantheism was flower painting. We know what a part role it had played since the beginning of the Sung period; it was indeed, a favourite branch of art in Hui Tsung's academy, but there it was cultivated rather as a sweet ornament to the courtly life than as a means of expressing the enlivening forces of nature. Through the activity of the Ch'an painters it received a broader significance; indeed, it appears from the writings of some of these monk painters that flowers too could be interpreted as symbols of the great spiritual forces that pervade all nature.

The flowers which now became most eagerly represented were the plum blossoms;—there were several prominent artists who devoted themselves entirely to this flower speciality— but beside the plum blossoms narcissus^{es} and crocuses were also in favour, and there was at least one monk who specialized in paintings of grape vine. More gorgeous flowers such as rose mallows and tree pionies ~~do~~ do not seem to have been in favour among these painters of the late Sung and Yuan period.

The monk who painted nothing but grape vine was Tzu-wen, better known under his hao, Jih-kuang. The records about him are very scanty; we are simply informed that he came from Hua-ting in Kiangsu and lived in the ~~Ma~~ Ma-nao monastery at Hang-chow (presumably about the middle of the 13th century). He enjoyed in wine and in a life free from all conventional restraints, as most of these monk painters, and appeared usually in short garb ~~as~~ even in the market places. His mastery in painting the winding stems of grapes was supplemented by his skill in writing grass characters, in fact, the compositions of ~~his~~ his paintings would be incomplete without the running calligraphy among or above the ~~vine~~ tendrils of vine. And as he painted the ~~leaves and branches~~ ^{grapes and} in the same fluent and flashy manner as the grass characters, it was later on said with some reason that his grape vines resembled tattered priestly garments. He became known as "Wen pu tao" (Wen of the grapes) which may apply to his fondness for their juice as well as to his speciality in painting.

At least three of his signed works are now in Japan i.e. a horizontal scroll in Tenriji in Kyoto, A Branch of Vine, ~~in the~~ formerly in the Inouye collection (Kobun 230) and a somewhat richer composition

* Cf. Sung Yuan Li-lai Hua-jen Hsing Shih Lu and Chung-kuo fan ming ta tzu-tien

of grapes in Mr. Negu's collection. The artistic beauty of all these pictures is preëminently a matter of the free and strong brush strokes by which the stems are rendered with all their characteristic jerkiness and elasticity, and the very sensitive variation of tone in the painting of the ragged leaves and clusters of grapes. ^{His pictures} ~~They~~ have a distinctly colouristic quality, an atmospheric beauty in spite of the fact that they seem to be written down ^{like} improvisations in the running hand style.

The painters of plum blossoms, narcissuses and orchids were quite numerous but very little of their abundant production ^{has been preserved} ~~is known today~~. They ^{became} ~~are~~ prominent among them should however be remembered ^{because} ~~as they~~ they were the originators of the ^{first type} ~~first type~~ of plum-blossom-painting, which ^{became} ~~is~~ most popular in the Yüan and Ming periods, ^{as evidenced by many excellent examples and also} ~~as evidenced by many excellent examples and also~~ ^{some of them} ~~because they~~ have left ^{written records} ~~written records~~ ^{which are highly characteristic} ~~which are highly characteristic~~ ^{and offer the key to the proper} ~~and offer the key to the proper~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ point of view, ^{the} ~~the~~ appreciation of ^{the} ~~the~~ whole branch of painting. The earliest was probably Chung-fen or Hua Kuang, though we have no definite dates for his activity. He ^{was a Chinese} ~~was a Chinese~~ came from ~~the~~ K'ai-chi in Chukang but lived as a Ch'an monk ⁱⁿ ~~at~~ the Hua Kuang Shan monastery at Heng-chou in Hunan, presumably during the ^{first half} ~~first half~~ of the 13th century. We are told that he planted as his temple retreat a great number of plum trees, and when they blossomed he ^{removed} ~~placed~~ his ^{couch} ~~bed~~ under ^{the trees and lay} ~~them~~ ^{there chanting} ~~the poems~~ the whole day. ^{And} ~~And~~ when the moon was bright, he ^{could} ~~could~~ not sleep, ^{looking at the play of the} ~~looking at the play of the~~ happy and lovable shadows on the window, imitating their shapes with the brush. When morning dawned, his pictures were filled with the thoughts of moonlight - exquisitely beautiful. ^{They became} ~~They became~~ appreciated everywhere. When Shan-ku saw the pictures, he said: 'They give me the impression of ^{walking} ~~walking~~ a cool and ^{away along some} ~~away along some~~ peaceful footpaths; only the odour is missing.' - Many scholars and officials asked him in vain for ^{such} ~~some~~ pictures, but on the other hand, those ~~who~~ did not ask received them easily.

Whenever Hua-Kuang painted, he burned incense, entered into the happiness of perfect Ch'an (meditation) and then completed the whole thing with one sweep of the brush. --- The older ~~the~~ ^{he} grew the more he inclined to ~~the~~ brush and ink and reached an ever higher ^{level in his} ~~level in his~~ art. Famous scholars and officials composed ^{thousands of poems} ~~thousands of poems~~ in admiration of his ^{works} ~~paintings~~. ^{he did} ~~he did~~ During his whole life ^{more than} ~~more than~~ 1200 pictures, and when he passed ^{he} ~~he~~ left to Shan-ku only his cap, his girdle, his table and ^{stool} ~~chair~~ and the ^{brush} ~~brush~~ work.

Shu-Kuang's Mei-pi (Notes on Plum Blossoms) is divided into two parts i.e. the K'ou Chieh, the Charm or Magic of the flowers and the Chiu Hsing, the Meaning of their shapes, which is a highly philosophical discussion of the symbolism of the various parts of the plum trees. The first part reflects most of the natural beauty and poetry of the motive; it says:¹⁾

"The charm and characteristics of the plum blossoms can be expressed only with a firm brush stroke without the least changes or hesitation. The flowing ink should be used both thick and thin but must not be forming waves. Start the brush and then let it go with ease. Some strokes should ~~come~~ ^{come} forward, drooping and bending, others should rise as if looking up towards the autumn moon, some should be curved as a drawn bow, some bent as an elbow, others straight as an arrow.

The old (branches) are like dragon's horns, the young one like angling rods; make them with force as you break a nail. The twigs are straight as bow strings; ~~avoid to make them~~ ^{young twigs} like willow branches; the older ~~branches~~ ^{twigs} resemble whips, the bending ~~twigs~~ ^{twigs are like} deer's horns.

Do not use too many strokes; the branches must not be crossing each other. The flowers should be made out like large coins. They may be bushing in some places yet, without confusion; in other places they should be arranged in order yet, without too much regularity. The old ones and the young ones ~~must be distinguished~~ ^{must be distinguished according to} their fashion; the new ones and the former ones ~~are~~ ^{are} divided by a year.

The waist branches have no flowers; on the strong branches the flowers point towards the sky. The decaying flowers are like old eyes. One thorn may form a connection between two (flowers). The decaying twigs have many thorns and the black twigs likewise. The twigs which are like iron spears have no perfect flowers. Some flowers are doubled by growing together. The branches ~~should be divided on the front and the rear~~ ^{should be divided on the front and the rear}, the flowers are divided like ~~the holes in cash money~~ ^{the holes in cash money}.

The stamens are like the beard of tigers; ~~perfect in number?~~ ^{perfect in number?} The flowers ~~may be~~ ^{are} weeping dew or holding the mist in their ~~cup~~ ^{cup} as if they were wailing ~~and lamenting~~ ^{and lamenting}. They can stand the snow and the freezing cold. Some open big, some small; some stand straight upright, ~~some~~ ^{others} lean more or less towards the side. The announce the very beginning of the spring. Blushingly they turn away ~~their shape~~ ^{their shape} and smiling faces from the sun. They spread wide open and then begin to fade. ~~the inner petals open wide their opening faces, but soon after they begin to~~

¹⁾ Mei Shu T'ung Shu, vol II, chap. 5. sec. 3.

- They are the very first of early spring.

151

When the calyx turns away, it shows five points; when standing upright, it forms a circle. It smiles in the spring to the sun. The buds make strings of pearls, they are protected on all sides against the cold and the biting wind, well preserved until spring makes them open. Then ^{come} the birds, bees, and bees, ~~and~~ after them, the ~~spreading~~ wind that shakes the stalks. Thus the life ^{cycle} of the flower is completed. But from the time the open until they fade away they express their love most brilliantly. --- Try to represent these flowers in their endless variety and to grasp their real essence. The rules for doing it are by no means easy to apply."

In the following section of his treatise Hua-Kuang goes on to explain how the plum trees express the fundamental ~~forces~~ of the universe. He tells us that the flowers pertain to the Yang principles and are symbols of heaven, while the wooden parts of the tree pertain to the Yin principle and are symbols of the earth. Consequently the different parts of the flowers, such as the petals, stamens, seed-case and pistil, follow odd numbers, but the wooden parts, branches and twigs, spread in the four directions and divide in even numbers. The further symbolic correspondences which according to Hua-Kuang exists between various parts of the plum trees and such cosmic manifestations as the *T'ai chi* (primordial ^{nature} ~~force~~), the *San Ts'ai* (the three great forces), the five elements, the "seven regulators", the *pa king* etc. are rather abstruse and have ~~no~~ ^{except possibly} interest for the art-historian ~~as~~ ^{as} indications of the curious ~~ideas~~ ^{blending} of cosmological ideas and ~~poetic inspiration~~ ^{poetic inspiration} in the poetry which lay at the root of this kind of flower painting.

An artist of somewhat earlier date who also reached a great fame as painter of plum blossoms and narcissuses (beside bamboos, pines and figures) was Yang Pu-chih or Yang Wu-chai. He was honored with an official charge by emperor Kao Tsung but did not pay any heed to the summons to appear at court; he may have preferred to delve into the mysteries of Ch'an practices, as is indicated by his *nom de plume*: Tao Ch'an, and he characterized himself by the appellation: Pure Old Stranger (Ching I Ch'ang ch'o). As a figure painter he is said to have followed the manner of Li Po-shih, but his finest things were the flower-paintings executed in a ~~particularly pure and delicate~~ ^{most natural and easy fashion} with exquisite purity and refinement of brush work. But none of these have been transmitted to posterity, as far as I know, nor have I seen any reprint of ~~the~~ the *Hua Mei pen*, which Yang Pu-chih is said to have written.*)

*) Cf. *Sung yüan i-lai Hua-jen Hsing Shih Lu*

More abundant are the painted and written records of Chao Meng-chien, Tzu-tzu-ku, hao, I-chai, who specialized in narcissus flowers, though also painting plum blossoms, ^{He was related to the famous family, and the} orchids and bamboos. ~~His~~ early part of his life was divided between official duties and romantic enjoyments of a rather original kind but towards the end of his life he sought his refuge in solitary meditations among the flowers following the example of Tao Chiang (Hua-chuang). Tzu-ku passed his chin shih degree in 1226 and was considered one of the most cultured men of his time, comparable to Mi Fei, as he was prominent in calligraphy and ~~poetry~~ ^{poetry} as well as in painting. In 1260 he became a member of the Han-lin academy ^{and served then as a governor of Yen-chow} but when the Sung dynasty finally succumbed to the Mongols (1279) his role in official life was ended. He retired to Hsiao-chou (Chekiang) and lived here ~~in peace~~ ^{to the age} of 97 years.

Chao Meng-chien's greatest pleasure in life was to travel about in a house boat in the company of some artist friends. Time was passed in discussing fine specimens of writing and painting which they brought along or Tzu-ku was chanting poems to his heart's desire completely forgetful of both food and sleep. "Sometimes he took off his cap filling it like a tumbler with wine and sat down in squatting position singing the li sao, quite unmindful of everybody around him. When night was approaching and the sun was setting ~~behind the~~ ^{the boat was rowed to the shore and moored} ~~on the clear water at a solitary mountain, he rowed his boat among the~~ trees. Pointing to the darkest spot of the forest at the foot of the mountain, he ~~exclaimed aloud:~~ ^{exclaimed aloud:} "This is what Shung Ku-tzu (Ching hao) and Tung Pi-yuan liked to paint, and ~~his companions in the~~ ^{the people in the neighbouring} boats were all startled by the truth of ~~these images~~ ^{these images} from the banished ~~poet~~ ^{sage}. - He specialized in painting with light ink in the pai miao style narcissus, plum blossoms, orchids, shan-fan trees, bamboo and stones, and he also left to the world a Mei-p'u (Treatise on plum)."⁴⁵

The treatise which is written in rhythmic style does not contain any fresh ideas of particular interest. It opens with references to the Ch'ian master Hua-chuang, "who reached the clear beauty and harmonious proportions" of the flowers, and to his successor Chien-an, "who reached the light and easy manner of composition," and it winds up with some observations about different aspects under which the blossoming branches may be represented, as for instance: surrounded by swarms of bees, covered by melting snow,

⁴ The famous poem of Chi'i Yün, the banished minister of the U'u state, who when he did not succeed in winning the ear of his sovereign drowned himself in the Mi-to river in 295 B.C. - a song evidently most fitting for the watery excursions of Tzu-ku.

⁴⁵ From Hua Shih. Kuei Yao, quoted in Shu Hua P'u.

floating above the waves or in the dim light of the rising moon, but the general advice for the ^{use of} ~~painting~~ the ink and the brush in painting the plum trees are less systematic and exhaustive than those of Hsu-Kuang. Chao Meng-chien does not bring the references to Taoist philosophy, but his attitude towards the subject is characterized by the same poetic feeling ^{as that of his predecessors} as may be realized from the following verse at the end of his treatise: "The flowers should make one feel the approach of spring or ~~as if~~ walking in a heavy rain".

Chao Meng-chien is still considered by his countrymen as one of ~~the greatest~~ greatest masters of the past, an appreciation which, no doubt, in this as in so many other cases is based on the tradition about his accomplishments as a scholar and calligraphist as much as on his painted works. The paintings of his which have been preserved represent ^{well} all narcissuses or what the Chinese call Water Fairy flowers (Shui Hsien hua), executed in a very neat and pure style with a fine brush and light ink ~~on~~ on grayish paper. They reveal ~~in~~ a remarkable intimacy in the characterization of the flowers and great technical skill, a wonderful purity of line, but they can hardly be called very important as works of pictorial art. They impress us like very simply lyrical poems in which the same symbols and metaphors return almost ad infinitum. The long scrolls of ~~his~~ ^{one of} narcissus flowers of which ~~one is~~ preserved in Wen Hua tien of the National Museum in Peking (measuring 2 1/2 p. 6') and another belonged to the imperial Manchu Household collection (publ. in photographs in Peking) become rather monotonous by the continuous repetition of the same motive: tufts of narcissuses with long bending and ~~turning~~ ^{curving} leaves and white flowers that turn in different directions but always retain their somewhat empty appearance. In the minor pictures, where the motive is represented in a more concentrated fashion, he shows himself more to his advantage, as the refinement and purity of the brush work is not weakened by repetition. Here one may feel with An du-tsun "the pure breath of the flowers and a brush work light as a play."*) The poem which Chao Meng-chien himself had written on the picture mentioned by An du-tsun gives ~~the~~ in all its simplicity the best idea of his inspiration: "The summer month at Heng-chou ^{was} hot and steaming, the lonely flowers spread their fragrant odors, refreshing man with their pure breath; I brought along some plants to Chikiang. One year has passed - and now two stalks are blooming."

*) Mo Yüan Hsi Kuan

**) Heng Hsiang = Heng-chou in Hunan.

Another painter recorded in Shu Hua P'u, whose works may have been somewhat similar to those of Chao Meng-chien, was Cheng Shu-hsiao, Tzu, So-nan, also called Hsiao-nan or San-wei Yeh-jen. He painted orchids with their roots in a fine ink style. After the fall of the Sung dynasty he lived in retirement in a village in Kiangsu and continued his work as a painter. He too was of the old proud scholar type, as may judge by the answer that he gave an official who had him arrested in order to obtain some specimen of his painting: "You may have my head, but you shall not have my orchids."

The type of plum blossom paintings described in the above quotations from Hua-kuan and Chao Meng-chien is well illustrated by ~~two~~ ^{scrolls} ~~pictures~~ recently acquired by the Freer Gallery in Washington. The older of the two pictures represent ^{horizontal} a section of an old plum tree with far spreading branches dotted with fresh flowers. It is executed in ink on silk in a very careful and refined, ~~though somewhat dry manner, not very~~ ^{unlike a last of Chao Meng-chien's} vigorous painting, but it is signed by a less ~~well~~ ^{known} painter. (Wang Hsien-sou, who also was active ^{towards} the end of the Sung dynasty. Like so many others of these artists he used to watch the shadows of the flowers on the window ^{in the moonlight (as appears from some poetic comments to one of his} ~~in the moonlight (as appears from some poetic comments to one of his~~ ^{pictures in Shu Hua Hui Kuo) and he drew them so perfectly} ~~that not the least difference could be observed between the paintings~~ ^{and the shadows. Thus the natural charm and life aspect of the flowers} were retained in the pictures.

The other scroll is one of the great masterpieces of Chinese painting, a famous work by Tsou Fu-lai, a master of the Yuan dynasty who however followed very closely in the footsteps of Hua-kuan and consequently may be mentioned at this place. The picture which bears the title Chün Hsiao Hsi (The Breath or Inspiration of Spring) represents a long branch of a plum tree sparkling with fresh flowering twigs and ending in a long thin sprig that shoots out like the trace of a sky rocket over a third part of the whole scroll. In the description of this picture in Mo Yan Hsi Kuan it is said that ~~the~~ the flowers are touched in like pearls and from the main branch projects a twig, more than 2 f. 8" long, which is painted with one single stroke. It is beautiful and gleamingly fresh, vigorous and strong, as most wonderful and unsurpassed thing. ~~I~~ And these words contain no exaggeration, because it would be difficult to point out any Chinese picture, which exhibits a greater mastery of ~~the brush~~ ^{execution}, a more impetuous, firm and life-inspiring

brush stroke. Tsou Fu-lai is not recorded as one of the very greatest masters of Chinese art-history but ~~this~~ work of his must, indeed, be regarded as the last perfection of a type of painting which had developed during the South Sump period and which in spite of the relatively simple motives expressed in the most convincing manner the essential aesthetic qualities of Chinese ink painting. If Tsou Fu-lai could learn such mastery from the work of the old monk Chung-jen (Hua-kuan) he too must have been a painter of rare excellence.

Tsou Fu-lai's picture is provided with a great number of collectors' seals ^{among} of which emperors Chia Ch'ing's and Chien Lung's are most in evidence; the latter has also stained it with a poem that poorly balances that of the artist himself at the other end of the painting, in which he gives the following text to the music of picture:

"I stay in the straw covered hut awaiting the spring's return,
calling the cold moon to make a match ^{for} the old plum -
A thread of smoke ~~melts away~~ ^{disappears} - and the empty room gets cold.
Some traces of ink as a record of the shadows on the window."

Written in the autumn of the year 1360. - In the following year his friend Yang T'ieh-ya wrote a colophon on the picture in large grass characters and several others ^{were added} ~~following~~ later.

The gradual conquest of Northern China during the early part of the 13th century by the Mongols must have had a diverting influence on the artistic activity in this part of the country, and as it progressed southward, something of the same restraint became, no doubt, felt over wider areas, even though the South never suffered as much from the Mongol conquest as the North. Painting in particular was ~~less~~ ^{indeed} as we have seen, ~~more~~ ^{old} more firmly rooted in Hang-chow than in Peking, and ~~the~~ ^{the current} was never completely ~~destroyed~~ ^{checked} or dried up ^{in this part of the country}, though it became thinner for a while. The Mongol influence was mainly centered in the North; it was here that the new conquerors destroyed most and also made their greatest efforts of reconstruction.

The early part of their activity in China was entirely destructive. When they conquered Yen-ching (^{in 1215} Peking) the great capital of the Chin ^{Emperors} the city was completely sacked and destroyed, and it took almost a generation before they started to make a still finer ^{capital at} the same ^{site} ~~place~~. The Chin emperor had shortly before moved his court to Kien-liang (Kai-feng) the old Sung capital in Honan, and started to strengthen the defence of the country with a hope of checking the ruthless ~~and~~ invaders. And it seemed, indeed, for some time as if the further progress of the Mongols were frustrated, ~~but~~ ^{but} at a critical juncture the Chinese played off their ^{former} ~~old~~ enemies the Chin and opened the way for the Mongols right into the heart of their old country. The immediate result of this ^{became} ~~was~~ the fall of Kien-liang (1233) and a few months later the complete extermination of the Chin domination in China.

The rejoicing of the Chinese over the defeat of their ~~old~~ ^{old} enemy ~~was~~ ^{was} great, but of short duration. The Mongols were by no means satisfied with the portion of the country that they had obtained but continued their march towards the South pushing their former allies before them. As they progressed, it became a struggle for life for the shrinking Sung empire. Many ^{successful} ~~glorious~~ battles were fought by valiant generals; the resistance was stronger than the Mongols had expected but intrigues and personal ^{among} ~~of the~~ ^{of the} officials spoiled the defence, and gradually the military resources of the country gave out. Another important reason for the comparatively long delay in the conquest of Southern China was the fact that the Mongol ~~war~~ ^{war} rulers were diverted from it during several years.

productivity, but the creative power, the spiritual initiative which had manifested in China during the previous centuries was no more to be regained.

The Mongol rulers would however gladly have seen more of the old Chinese ~~traditions~~ ^{civilization} with its glances of creative thought and art revived in so far as it ~~could be~~ ^{was} compatible with their system of government. They were all more or less interested in the religious and philosophical traditions of the country; the later among them became more and more Chinese in their mode of thinking and living. Kublai Khan was personally ~~not attracted by~~ ^{attracted by} the Lamaistic form of Buddhism and kept up close communications with some of the high lamas of Tibet, but he gave practically every religion then existing in China a free chance, which was most notably felt among the Christians who ^{now} increased in large numbers. His successors manifested all, with the exception of the last and ^{the} most incapable ~~except of the~~ ^{of the} ~~finest~~ ^{great} ~~generations~~ ^{generations} a ~~partial~~ ^{great} veneration for the Confucian doctrines and ceremonies; they issued edicts commending the Sage to the Mongols as well as to the Chinese; they ordered the Classics to be translated into ^{the} Mongolian tongue; they conferred honors on the families of Confucius and Mencius; and one ~~two~~ of them showed in ~~their~~ ^{his} own life ~~many~~ ^{many} memorable examples of filial piety. Their respect or even admiration for the ~~old~~ learning and civilization ^{of the Chinese} was sincere, but the political safety of the state was at least with most of them the primary consideration. This is clearly illustrated by the fate of Wen Tien-hsiang, one of the foremost of the old Sung scholars who also ~~was considered~~ ^{was considered} ~~as one of the best~~ ^{as one of the best} calligraphists of the time. Kublai Khan had a great admiration for the man irrespective of his rebellious activities and wanted nothing higher than to show him ~~great~~ ^{grace and} honor if he only would swear allegiance to the new dynasty, but when Wen Tien-hsiang was brought before the emperor and urged to submit, he answered: "By the grace of the Sung emperor I became a minister; I cannot serve two masters; I only ask to die." It is said that Kublai Khan hesitated, but for reasons of state, ~~he had~~ Wang Tien-hsiang was sacrificed, ~~to~~ the immense sorrow of the Chinese, who counted him as ~~the~~ ^{the} greatest surviving scholar and patriot.

Kublai Khan knew only too well that the foundation of his empire

was the military power and organization, and consequently, as explained by Marco Polo, "having no confidence in the natives, he put all authority into the hands of Tartars, Saracenes or Christians who were attached to his household and devoted to his service", and were foreigners in Cathay." Messrs Marco who himself was in the service of the Khan ~~knows~~ speaks no doubt the plain truth when he says: "And you should know, that all the Cathayans detested the Great Khan's rule, because he set over them governors who were Tartars, or still more frequently Saracenes, and these they could not endure, for they were treated by them just like slaves". This system of government held together only as long as there was a man of commanding power and justice at the head of it but when the supreme rulers began to weaken or to neglect the government, their unscrupulous assistants got a free hand to oppress the people and to cause an ever growing irritation which prepared the ground for the final downfall of the dynasty ~~by the~~ ^{through} popular revolt organized by the ex-mist Ch'ü Yüan-chang who in 1368 became the first emperor of the Ming dynasty.

A matter of particular interest in the development of the cultural conditions in China during the Yuan dynasty was the increasing intercourse between the Far East and ~~the~~ Europe. It had many kinds of supporters, Chinese traders and Mongol envoys to Western countries, but those who have become best known are some of the Christian monks, who came to the Mongol empire as envoys of the popes or otherwise and who have left to posterity written records of their travels. The earliest was Giovanni da Pian Carpine who started in 1245 and after a short and unsuccessful visit ^{into} the Mongol camp in Karakorum came back to Rome in 1247. William de Rubruck followed in 1254 but he too returned after a short stay. The work of the Christian Church was not seriously organized in China until the arrival of Giovanni da Monte Corvino in Khanbaliq in 1293 (the year before the death of Kublai Khan). He remained here for 35 years and became the first archbishop ~~in~~ ^{of} China. With the assistance of four suffragan bishops he built up a large Christian community with churches decorated by Chinese painters and became widely known as a "man of God", beloved by both Christians and pagans. But it is a remarkable fact that with the fall of the Mongol power (1368) the Christian community in China shrank again almost to nothingness.

The most important source for our knowledge about conditions and customs in China during the Great Khan's rule is, however, Marco Polo's well known account in which he ~~relates~~ ^{relates} not only his own but also his father's and uncle's adventures and observations during many years of travel across Asia and in the Far East. The older Polos, Niccolò and Maffeo, made two journeys to the East (in 1260 and 1271) and on the latter they were accompanied by the young, ~~by the young~~ Marco. He won the confidence of the Great Khan and was entrusted with official missions which took him all over the country and gave him excellent opportunities of studying ~~the people of~~ conditions in general. He lived in China for over twenty years and when he later on, through ⁽¹²⁹⁸⁾ fortunes of war, sat in a Genoese prison and told his recollections to a fellow prisoner (who wrote them down), he lived again in imagination through all those long years of travel and service under the greatest ruler in the world. His story became thus a ~~rich~~ richly ornamented tissue of historical ~~and geographical~~ facts interwoven with the colours of his imagination which still make ~~make~~ it one of the most fascinating books ~~and still lasting~~ that ever ~~was~~ ^{were} written about the wonders of old Cathay.

But unfortunately Marco has nothing to tell about the painters and artists of the period; if he met any of them, they evidently did not impress him particularly. ^{He was neither a scholar nor a painter, he could not read Chinese, and if some of the pictures} ~~He could not read Chinese, and if some of the pictures~~ executed in ink or ~~slight~~ water colours came under his observation, they seemed probably too strange, too slight perhaps to a man who had grown up among the gold shimmering mosaics of Venice. In spite of his intelligence and keen observation, he was as yet the representative of an inferior culture, lacking in the intellectual and artistic refinement of the Chinese and hardly able to understand the spiritual sources in the life of the people. And it may also be remembered that the painters of this period did no longer ~~hold~~ ^{hold} the prominent positions at court or in the social life of the capital as ^{had been the privilege} ~~often~~ ^{as the Tang dynasty;} ~~it is true that~~ there were exceptions like Chao Meng-fu and Kao K'o-kung who ~~were high officials~~ and a few more, who served in the provincial governments, but their artistic ^{occupations were} ~~ability was no longer the~~ reason for official promotion as in earlier times but simply a ~~passime or a~~ ^{passime or a} ~~hobby~~ ^{pre-occupation}, and those who loved not more than official recognition, retired into seclusion far from the haunts of the turbulent world.

In the South, where painting had flourished ^{under} the Southern Sung government so much more abundantly than in the North, it lived on very much as before; the change of government did not affect it, except in so far as it was dependent on official support. Religious art, in particular, which was centered at certain important temples ~~and~~ ^{or} monasteries, continued along the same lines as during the Sung. We had occasion to point out this in reference to Ch'ian painting the Mu-ch'i school and in general which we followed right into the Yüan period, and also in regard to the more formal ^{school of} Buddhist painting which was centered at certain monasteries in Ning-po. Most of the painters who carried on this kind of art may have been monks but others like Lu Hsin-chung, were professional men, and they painted their *lo-hans* in accordance with the characteristically Chinese types which had been introduced by Li Kung-mien. Lu Hsin-chung's pictures of the Ten Kings of Hell of which four are in the Boston Museum (*Chinese Paint. in Amer. Coll.* pl. 101-104) and the rest in Daitokuji in Kyoto are of a more didactic or purely illustrative character and decorative by their rich coloring. The production of this kind of religious painting was evidently continued all through the 14th century at Ning-po or there about, but it thinned out gradually as the demand for such things decreased. ~~One of the~~ very good series of *lo-hans*, executed probably at the very end of the 13th century may be seen in Ryukoin at Daitokuji. ~~The pictures are all provided with inscriptions by the monk Issan (1247-1317) who came to Japan in 1294 and presumably brought the pictures with him (Nokko. 286). The figures are here still in of the traditional Sung type but the compositions are more varied, sometimes including several figures, than in the earlier series.~~ ^{The pictures are all provided with inscriptions by the monk Issan (1247-1317) who came to Japan in 1294 and presumably brought the pictures with him (Nokko. 286). The figures are here still in of the traditional Sung type but the compositions are more varied, sometimes including several figures, than in the earlier ^{lo-han} series.}

A reaction against this tradition became however manifest at the beginning of the Yüan period in the works of artists who were not connected with the Ning-po centres. A leading man like Chao Meng-fu, who worked mainly in the North, painted the *lo-hans* with foreign types in accordance to models of the Tang period. ~~His~~ scroll representing the 16 *lo-hans* is no longer preserved but according to his own inscription which is quoted in *Ching ho Shu Hua Fang*, he followed Ma Tao-tzu's pupil Ku Leng-chieh and represented the *lo-hans* not as Chinese monks but like people of the Western countries whom he had met and befriended while he was serving

as an official in the capital. The only Lohan pictures known to us which possibly may be quoted as examples of the Indian or Central Asiatic type re-introduced by Chao Meng-fu are those of the Tokaiian Collection in Kyoto which, even if they are not originals, reproduce ~~very~~ carefully compositions of the Yuan period (Kokka, 311). They represent types absolutely foreign to Chinese ideals, the figures stand isolated without any scenery, curiously stiff and wooden.

Somewhat akin to these in type, though more important as works of art are the Lohans which in Japan are ascribed to Yen Hui, an artist who is mechanically forgotten in China but whose name is resplendent with fame in Japan. The Chinese sources tell us simply that Yen Hui, whose ~~teu~~ was Chi'iu-yüeh, came from Chiang-shan in Chekiang and that he was a good painter of Taoist and Buddhist subjects; he painted also devils very cleverly, making them quite life-like. There are no signed pictures by him but according to tradition he would have painted the 16 Lohans formerly in the Hoshakuin temple at Yamagaki and now in Mr. Murayama's collection in Osaka. ^(Kokka, 279) The pictures are altogether of a bolder kind than those of earlier Sung tradition; the figures which ~~mostly~~ are placed on rocky ledges or in ^{—like those of Hsü Hsien—} grottoes are very large in proportion to the space and their types are distinctly Western. They are painted with strong leading lines and an effective use of colour ^{and gold} in the garments and accessories. Their connection with the Si Tung-nien school (sometimes claimed by Japanese critics) is indeed very superficial; they seem to us expressive of an entirely different spirit, more realistic and less refined. Their fame in Japan is also illustrated by the fact that they have been copied (with slight variations) by Japanese artists of the Kamakura period as may be seen in the series of Lohans in Kenninji in Kyoto which are ascribed to Kyōgen Kō; and it may be added that the same types recur also in two Lohan pictures in the Boston Museum which sometimes have been called Japanese, sometimes Chinese of the Ming period.

The most interesting example of the Yuan period Lohans is however the picture reproduced in Kokka ⁽¹³⁴¹⁻⁶⁷⁾ which according to inscription was executed in the Chih-cheng era. It shows a further development of the same strongly realistic ~~characterisation~~ characterisation as we noticed in Yen Hui's Lohans, an intensification of the dramatic expressiveness. The

hoary old man with white hair and bushy eyebrows is seated in a contracted position in a large chair of tree roots; his enormous hands are lifted and folded as if he were praying or putting some invisible presence, and his shrunken face is illuminated by the glow of a ~~great~~ ^{deep and revealing} spirit. Compared with the Lohans of Kuan Hsin, he looks almost like a suffering human being but at the side of the Chinese ~~peaceful~~ monks who represented the Lohans of the Sung period, he is like giant consumed by a holy fire. - Another Lohan who possibly may have belonged to the same series belongs to the Museum in Boston (12-884). He is a somewhat younger man but also of foreign race, and he sits in a similar chair of tree roots, holding in his hands a reliquary ~~in~~ in the shape of an Indian Tupa, while a Chinese official is kneeling at his feet.

Yen Hui's name is traditionally attached to several other pictures in Japanese collections of somewhat varying style and execution. The two impressively large and powerful Taoist hermits, Han-shan and T'ieh-k'ai, belonging to Chionin, but usually preserved in the Museum in Kyoto, are executed in the same fashion as the Lohans with strong brush lines and a sparing ^(Toyo. B. 1146, 117) use of colour. Their extraordinary fame may to no small extent have been caused by the fact that they have served as models for several painters of the Hans school who were particularly attracted by the bold and sweeping mannerism of such paintings. The praise bestowed on them for instance by Omura could hardly be carried further: "The brush is handled in a mighty and forceful manner and the work evinces abundant life, while the almost supernatural spirit makes us feel as if we were about to be attacked by some uncanny spirit; they are truly good enough to be called the greatest works of hundreds of generations. Whenever those great artists Cho Sansu, Motonobu, Tanifu et al. of our country depicted these two hermits, they always took their models from these pictures." Unfortunately the said masters were ^{sometimes} too prone to substitute boldness of brush work, size and effect for artistic significance.

Distinctly superior as works of art are the pictures executed in a floating ink style, akin to that of the Ch'ian painters, which also are attributed to Yen Hui, for instance the Taoist Immortals Han-shan and Shih-te, formerly in the Kawasaki collection in Kobe (Toyo. B. 108-109) and the meditating ~~Ch'ian~~ monk in the Boston Museum. They

*) Cf. Toyo, i.e. Masterpieces selected from the Fine Arts etc. IX. Fasc. p. 55.

exhibit a fresh work of unusual ~~strength~~^{energy} and a more spontaneous expressiveness than the large pictures in Kyoto, though the addition of some white and reddish tones in the Kawasaki pictures reveals a striving for outward effect that hardly ~~stands in~~^{blends in} harmony with the traditions of the Chan painting. The meditating monk in Boston is a less, ~~intentional~~^{intentional} and also less well preserved, painting. The thin washes of ink and colour have completely sunk into the loose texture of the silk, so that the figure has got an almost shadowy appearance. But it is nevertheless powerful and of remarkable concentration in execution as well as in the characterisation of the man.

It seems also that not a few of the important Buddhist pictures executed in the Yuan period were free repetitions or imitations of famous originals by Tang masters whose names ~~also~~^{are} often are attached to these pictures. Best known among them is the monumental trinity ^{representing} of Shakyamuni, Manjusri and Samatasadhara in Todokujiki in Kyoto and the ~~the~~ white robed Avalokitesvara in Daitokujiki, which all were mentioned in the chapter on Wu Tiao-tzu, because they are supposed to reproduce ~~designs~~^{works} of the great Tang master. They belong to the foremost class of Buddhist paintings still preserved not only because of their splendid designs but also ~~by~~^{by} their masterly brushmanship. In this respect they may well stand a comparison with Yen Hui's work. Another rather important picture, though of Taoist rather than Buddhist import, is the Chung Kuei in Marquis Inouye's collection, which also is said to be after Wu Tiao-tzu's design, ~~and~~^{and} executed in the Yuan period.¹⁾ The same tradition is attached to ~~the~~^{these} interesting pictures in the Boston Museum which represent Taoist Deities of Heaven, of Earth and of Water. They are most unusual and forceful compositions, which well may have been inspired by some mural paintings by Wu Tiao-tzu, but executed in a somewhat dry fashion with more insistence on the ornamental quality of the lines than on ~~the~~^{their} life movement or rhythmic expression. This kind of work was evidently produced quite abundantly in the Yuan period and possibly also at the end of Sung.

The number of religious pictures reproducing earlier designs but executed in the Yuan period could easily be manifolded; the Museum in Boston possesses both Buddhist and Taoist works which seem to fit the case, but their artistic merits are generally not very great. Some of them are closely akin to Japanese works of the Kamakura period.²⁾

Beside this there were made in the Yuan period Buddhist pictures of a more baroque type in which the Mongol-Tibetan influence became apparent. It should be remembered that Kublai Khan called ~~for~~ⁱⁿ one of the high Tibetan lamas to serve as a head of the official religion in the capital and encouraged the erection of lama temples with all their paraphernalia of ritual objects and paintings. A special inspector was also appointed to control the execution of such ~~ritual~~^{Indian} paintings, as they were called by the Chinese, which now

¹⁾ Reproduced in colour in Watake

²⁾ Cf. Chinese Paintings in Amer. Coll. Pl. 98, 158, 179, 186.

were made in great quantities. Few of the early ones have been preserved but their designs and types have ~~been~~ become well known through masses of later repetitions. As this kind of religious painting enjoyed imperial support & recognition it is ~~as~~ natural that it also exercised a certain influence on the artistic activities of the Chinese. The results became sometimes quite successful; some of the hieratic Buddhist pictures of this class ~~are~~ distinguished by unusual decorative beauty and ornamental refinement without being individual ^{works} of art in a stricter sense. Excellent examples may be seen in the museum in Boston to wit. Buddha seated on a chariot, drawn by a bullock among stars and constellations and Buddha expounding the law, surrounded by the Great Bodhisattvas and Devas. They are executed in colours with rich ornamentation of gold which seems to reflect the abstract beauty of the celestial spheres. ~~and they~~ It is an art far removed from the world of material illusion, but impressive as the festival hymns chanted by the monks in honor of the cosmic deities.

The foremost official representative of painting and calligraphy in the reign of Kublai Khan and of ~~the~~ his three successors was Chao Meng-fu, often called by his zhi: Tzu-an, or by his hao, Sung Hsiieh Tao-jin (^{the} Sage ^{the} of Times and Snow). He made a brilliant official career and his fame became of the highest class, consequently his life and work have been abundantly recorded by the Chinese historians, but ~~as~~ space does not permit ^{us} to include here more than a few relevant points from the Chinese sources.

Chao Meng-fu was born in 1254 ~~at~~ in Hu-chou (Chekiang) ^{as the member of} a noble ~~scholar~~ family descending from the first Sung emperor. He received his education in the imperial college in Hangchow and retired into private life on the fall of the Sung dynasty. But a few years ⁽¹²⁸⁶⁾ later he, like a score of other scholars, accepted an invitation to appear at the Mongol court, and he was soon found to be a most able administrator besides a great painter and calligraphist. Consequently he was appointed Secretary in the Board of War and later on ~~in~~ (1316) he was honored with a high post in the Han-lin college. After his death in 1322 he received the posthumous title: ~~off~~ Duke of Wei. ~~As a character~~ As a character he seems to have been a true model of Confucian virtues, conscientious and dignified, "never indulging in foolish talk or laughing" and as a scholar prominent through his extraordinary memory (he ~~recited~~ ^{recited freely} poems which he read but once) ^{and by} this learning and ~~his~~ close adherence to the time honored models of style and ~~beauty~~ beauty. He was evidently in every respect a link with the past and a most able representative of the somewhat archeological current in Chinese art which from now onwards often became a substitute for new inspiring ideals. And the models which were revived were those of the Tang and Five dynasties rather than of the ~~ending~~ ^{ending} Sung period.

Chao Meng-fu wrote himself in late years on one of his early paintings: "Since my youth I loved to paint. Whenever I obtained a bit of silk or paper, I could not resist grasping the brush and make a drawing. The present picture was made in my early years; it does not reveal great strength of the brush yet, it has something of the spirit of antiquity. Now my hair and beard have grown white and my manner of painting has evolved, but I have also become indifferent to multifarious matters. My former way I can no longer obtain. Yü-chieh wanted me to write a colophon and thus I ~~have~~ made this record. Meng-fu."

In a colophon on another picture Chao Meng-fu gives still stronger expression to his admiration for the classic models and his adherence to the "spirit of the ancients" (ku i).

"The most important quality in a painting is the spirit of antiquity. If this is not present, the work is not worth much, even though it is skillfully executed. Men of today who know how to paint with a fine brush in a delicate manner and to lay on strong and brilliant colours, consider themselves able painters. They are extremely ignorant, because if the spirit of antiquity is wanting, the works are faulty all through and not worth looking at. My pictures seem to be quite simply and carelessly done, but true connoisseurs will realize that they are very close to the old models and may therefore be considered good. This I tell for the ~~the~~ real connoisseurs and not for the ignorant (dated 1299) Chao Meng-fu."

Chao Meng-fu's principal model among the old masters seems to have been Wang Wei and his ideals among the calligraphists ~~the~~ Wang Hsi-ch'ih and his son. In fact, he copied several of Wang Wei's pictures, and such compositions of his as the Chiao and Hua Mountains in Autumn and the Village by the Water, which were executed in colour, are said to have been based directly on the T'ang master. But he was also a specialist of horse painting and followed in this respect very closely Han Han ^{Li Lung-shien} and ~~the latter~~.

~~He writes~~ In fact, he ^{considered himself} ~~had a high estimate of his own ability in this respect.~~ ^{fully equal to the latter.}

"From my early days I liked to paint horses, and I thought that I knew completely their character. My friend Hsu Yu-ch'ih once presented me with a poem, in which he said: 'People always make comparisons between you and Li Lung-shien; they do not realize that you have surpassed Han Han and Tsao Pa'. Now, this way of talking about Tsao and Han is exaggerated, but as to the comparison with Li Lung-shien, I have no objection and may well be equal to him."

It seems furthermore that the Chao Meng-fu did not paint horses simply as naturalistic motives but also represented them in a symbolic sense. Such is the interpretation given of his famous picture Pasturing Horses under Old Trees (executed in 1301) by a writer who is quoted by Chang Ch'ou: "His ~~was~~ intention was to illustrate by the picture the life of officials when they are free from ^{the} harassing toil and resting ~~themselves~~ ^{their minds} like horses without bits, bridles and harness --- When to

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ad this picture, we may realize that there is a proper time for everything. How can we be like unto them?"

The horse paintings attributed to Chao Meng-fu are legion, and there can be little doubt that most of them are copies. Of those which have come under my observation I should particularly like to point out the fragment of a scroll in W. Stoulet's collection in Brussels which represents two horses, one light and one dark coloured, on the point of entering into low water. It is provided with the artist's signature and the date 1301, which however may be a later addition. The horses are characteristic ~~for~~ by their strong bodies and short legs, (like large Mongolian ponies), and they are drawn in a fashion which is more like that of the Tang painters than resembling the manner of Li Lung-mien or his immediate followers. — The other picture in the same collection attributed to Chao Meng-fu, which represents a rider of Tartar type, is probably somewhat later in execution, though it may well reproduce a design by the master. Another variation on the same design — a Mongol hunter on a trotting pony — was in the collection Doucet in Paris and is reproduced in colour as an original work by Chao Meng-fu in Art Asiatique, I. pl. XX.

The Palace Museum in Peking possesses a small picture of man leading three unsaddled horses, which is signed and dated 1310. I know it only by the reproduction in Xu Kun, vol. IX. but it may well be an original. Less convincing as a personal creation by the master is the small picture in the Metropolitan Museum, which bears the title Ch'in Chia Yin Ma-t'u (Watering Horses in the Autumn Fields) which is (possibly?) signed and dated 1312. It reproduces an earlier composition by the Tang painter Pei Kuan and is executed in colour.⁷⁹

In the Forer Gallery are several pictures with Chao Meng-fu's signature. Most interesting as a composition is the short scroll executed in the pai miao manner, which represents ^{unsaddled} fifteen horses, ~~some~~ ^{three} of them with grooms on the back, crossing a river. The picture has passed through famous collections such as Chiang Mo-liu's, Ch'ien lung's Chia Ching's etc. in which it was accepted as an original, but it is now classified as probably of the early Ming period. The execution is, perhaps a little mechanical and does not quite support the verdict of the ^{master's} seal and signature but if not an original it must be an early and very faithful copy.

⁷⁹ Cf. Fergusson, op. cit. p. 140.

Another short scroll in the same museum representing Eight Horses, one of them with a rider, the other playing about without harness or saddle is officially catalogued as a work of the Yuan period, "of great interest and technical proficiency," but it is now in a somewhat darkened and worn condition that makes it difficult to reach a more definite opinion about its origin (Chin. Paint. in Amer. Coll. pl. 126-127).

A more unusual picture and very likely an original by the master is the short scroll in (also in the Four Gallery) which represents a goat and a sheep. It has also passed through the collections of Chiang Mo-tin and Ch'ien Lung and the latter has provided it not only with seals but also with a poetic inscription. The other inscription on the picture is signed by Chao Meng-fu himself and runs as follows: "I often paint horses and very seldom sheep. When Chung-hsin asked me to paint, I amused myself in making a picture from life, and though I could not equal the men of old, it contains real spirit harmony (chi yin). - Tzu-an." This may possibly be true in regard to the grazing goat, which is a very intimate study from nature and truly alive. The sheep is a more extraordinary creature resembling a barrel on four legs, but such fat woolly sheep were, no doubt, cultivated and admired as perfections of their kind. The picture may be called original in every sense of word and we have no reason to doubt that it was painted by the master.

Another rather extraordinary animal picture by Chao Meng-fu, known in two or more repetitions (Jel Brags collect. New York and ex Bing collect. Paris) is The Starved Horse - a gaunt sick animal on exceedingly high and thin legs grazing by the side of a high pine tree. The replica in the Jel Brags collection, which is painted with ink and light colours on paper, is according to inscription, executed by Chao Meng-fu's wife, Kuan Tao-sheng, in 1321 after the original of her husband. The beautifully balanced composition is rendered with great refinement of execution and a very ~~sensitive~~ ^{sensitive} hand. ~~The effect is~~ It seems as if the womanly painter had felt a deep sympathy for poor horse; she has brought out its sickly character of the animal so that it touches the beholder and emphasized in stark, fastidious contrast between the horse and the strong tree. The picture is with all its simplicity a most expressive and definite work of a real master.

The National Museum in Peking possesses at least five pictures with the seals and signatures of Chao Meng-fu, i.e. three horizontal scrolls (chüan), all representing landscapes, one of ~~which~~ ^{which} with grazing horses, and two hanging scrolls (chou), representing respectively ^{King} Tang summoning Yin, and a Bamboo Garden with murmuring water. Only two of the chüan came under my observation but they were both of doubtful authenticity; of the hanging pictures I recall only the large illustration to the history of the Shang (Yin) dynasty which sometimes was on exhibition in Wen Hua Tien. It is dated 1309 and executed ^{with} ~~in~~ ^{in a very careful and somewhat dry} ~~in a very careful and somewhat dry~~ ^{style} more or less like the works of Lin Sung-mien or other academic peintres d'histoire. The picture may well be a work by Chao Meng-fu but at the same time derived from some earlier original, because it seems that Chao quite often used designs by earlier masters for his ~~large~~ ^{large} ~~figure~~ ^{figure} paintings. A most interesting example of this method is the large picture in the Palace Museum in Peking which represents A Poetical Gathering in the Western Garden which is a free copy after Li Tung-mien's famous representation of the same subject. The description made of the latter by Mr. Fei corresponds in all ^{its main} ~~the~~ ^{points} to Chao Meng-fu's picture, though it is difficult to tell whether Chao actually had seen Li Po-shih's original or simply made his picture after a description of the former. The personages ~~as~~ ^{enumerated in Yü-chi's inscription on the picture} are the same as

at the tables and
 Po-shih's garden assembly and their grouping under the trees seems also to be quite corresponding, but there may be some slight differences in the arrangement of the scenery and the number of attendant figures. Yü-chi points out in his inscriptions that varying copies existed of Li Po-shih's painting (some in ink only, some in colour) but that this was the most refined and admirable rendering of the famous original. It is provided with Chao Meng-fu's seal and signature. (Cf. Ku Kung, II. pl. 11.)

Another example of the transmission of old model ~~is~~^{an} furnishes a picture representing Ambulating Tea Vendors, belonging to Mr Huang Chih and reproduced in the catalogue of the Tokyo Exhibition¹⁹²⁹ p. 141. It is ascribed to Chao Meng-fu but it looks more like a copy after him. He may well have painted such a picture and in doing so, he borrowed the figure group from Yen di-pen. The connection has been pointed out by Dr W. Speiser who reproduces a wood-cut illustration from Li Tai Ming Hua P'u said to be after Yen di-pen¹. The compositions are not identical, but the latter painter's dependence on the former is evident, and it seems very probable that Chao Meng-fu formed a link in this chain.

His profound reverence for the spirit of antiquity and the old masters lead him, no doubt, time and again to reproduce more or less faithfully earlier designs, figures as well as landscapes. We have already referred to his copies after Wang Wei, none of them seems to be preserved in original but the picture in British Museum (dated 1309 and signed Tzu-an) must be a faithful copy after Chao Meng-fu's interpretation of Wang Wei's Wang Chi-nan scroll. It was not through originality of invention or any important new ideas that Chao Meng-fu acquired his great fame as a painter but through his consummate skill and technical proficiency together with an attitude of mind which enabled him to continue the classical tradition and conform with the time-honoured ideals of Chinese painting.

It must also be remembered that Chao Meng-fu's position in the foremost rank of Chinese ~~painters~~^{artists} after the Sung period depends on his prominence as a calligraphist as ~~much~~^{much} as on his painted works. No writer of later times has surpassed him according to traditional Chinese estimate and specimens of his handwriting ~~are~~^{are} today ~~still~~^{still} treasured as highly as his paintings, and many of them have been engraved on stone tablets or otherwise reproduced.

¹Cf. Ostasiat. Zeitschrift. 1931. H. 6.

²Cf. T'oung Pao. 1905. I.

He is said to have ^{been} equally skilled in every kind of ^{calligraphy} ~~writing~~, be it in seal characters, model style or running hand, but his small model style (hsiao k'ai) seems to have aroused the greatest ^{among connoisseurs} admiration; it was delicate, beautiful, ~~perfect~~ ^{says Chang Ch'ou} "well balanced and harmonious" like the character of the ~~man~~ ^{man}. But when the same critic in another connection says that when he saw a calligraphic specimen by Chao Meng-fu "it was like flowers dancing in the breeze or clouds rising before the eyes", he may rather refer to some writing in running hand (grass characters). ~~But~~ In spite of all his versatility as a calligraphist Chao Meng-fu did not ^{however} succeed in imitating perfectly ^{writing} ~~the~~ Li Fei, he tried in vain to fill out some missing lines in a scroll by the great Sung master and ~~ended up by using~~ ^{ended up by using} to take a rubbing of the same ~~lines~~ ^{characters} from an engraved copy in order to fill out the missing ~~parts~~ ^{characters}. The reason was probably that ^{Chao Tzu-an} ~~he~~ lacked something of the spontaneous energy and decision that enlivened the brush-strokes of Li Fei, ~~The best character~~ a defect which ~~might be well defined in the following lines by~~ ^{is well defined in the following lines by} ~~Chang Ch'ou: "Tzu-an's style of writing was very gentle, elegant and harmonious. He was a follower of the real Wang Hsi-chih school. It was, indeed too beautiful, too gentle and seductive, because it~~ ^{because it} lacked the spirit of men who cannot be forced to desert their principles ^{as for instance} ~~like~~ ^{like} Wen T'ien-hsiang, whose style was clear, penetrating, straight and inspiring. ~~The~~ The works of his which are still preserved, such as the Six Sages, arouse more love than respect." The ~~inference~~ ^{inference} to the opposition difference between Chao Meng-fu, who went into the service of the foreign rulers, and Wen T'ien-hsiang ^{the} faithful patriot who preferred death to the honors offered him by Kublai Khan, if he would swear allegiance to the Mongol house, reflects the true Chinese point of view, ~~for a true Chinese~~ ~~of~~ Chao Meng-fu as may have been ever so skilful as a painter and a calligraphist and a most able and upright official, he could never become the ideal of a true Chinese scholar or grow into the heart of the people, because he had submitted to the foreign conquerors and chosen the easier path which lead to fame and success but not to the ^{slim} ~~glorious~~ glory of unyielding patriots.

1. Hsieh Ho 謝赫 Ku Hua Pin Lu 古畫品錄 (ca 500)
Edit. in Chin Tai Pi Shu 津逮祕書 and Wang Shih Hua Yuan 王弼畫苑
2. Yao Tsui 姚最 Hsi Hua Pin 續畫品 (Before 557)
Edit. as no. 1.
3. Li Sui-ch'en 李嗣真 Hsi Hua Pin Lu 續畫品錄 (ca 689)
Edit as no. 1
4. Wang Wei 王維 Shan Shui Chiieh 山水訣
(Probably made up in the North Sung per.) Edit. in Wang Wei, ^(Chao-ch'ang) ~~Ch'ien-ch'ang~~ Chi. edit. by
Chao Tien-ch'ang 1737.
5. Chang Yen-yüan 張彥遠 Li Tai Ming Hua Chi 歷代名畫記
(Finished 847). Edit. Chin Tai Pi Shu and Wang Shih Hui Yuan
6. Yen Ts'ung 彥悰 Hou Hua Lu 後畫錄 (Prefaced 635)
(The original book ~~of the Sui per.~~ was lost, but it was made up again loosely from
quotations) Edit. as 5.
7. Chu Ching-hsüan. 朱景玄 Tang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu 唐朝名畫錄
(end of Tang per.) Edit. in Wang Shih Hua Yuan
8. Huang Hsiao-fu 黃休復 I-chou Ming Hua Lu 益州名畫錄
^(edit. by Li T'ien 1005)
(written second half 10th. cent.) Edit. in Wang Shih Hua Yuan. Modern Reprints
9. Liu Tao-shun 劉道醇 Wu Tai Ming Hua Pi 五代名畫補遺
(first half of 11th cent.) (Edit. as 8. Preface by Chien Hsün-chih dat. 1057)
10. Same Sheng Ch'ao Ming Hua Ping 聖朝名畫評
(written first half of 11th cent.) Edit. as 9.
11. Kuo fo-hsi 郭若虛 T'u Hua Chien Wen Chih 圖畫見聞志
(finished 1074) Edit. in Chin Tai Pi Shu. Modern reprint Shanghai (ca 1920)
12. Ching Hao 荆浩 Shan Shui Shou Pi Fa Chi 筆法記
(Probably made up at the end of the North Sung per.) Edit. in Wang Shih Hua Yuan
13. Li Ch'eng 李成 Shan Shui Chiieh 山水訣
(Probably written by Li Ch'eng-so first part of ca 1248-55) Edit. Wang Shih Hua Yuan
corresponds to Hua Shan Shui Chiieh, which was finished 1221 (Fan Shuo-conclusion)

14. Kuo Hsi 郭熙 Lin Ch'uan Kao Chih 林泉高致
(Compiled and edited by his son Kuo Hsi 郭思 ca 1100) Edit. Wang Shih Hua Yuan
15. Mi Fei (1051-1107) 米芾 Hua Shih 畫史
Edit. Ch'in Tai Pi Shu and Wang Shih Hua Yuan
16. Su Tung-p'o⁽¹⁰³⁶⁻¹¹⁰¹⁾ 蘇東坡 Ch'uan Chi 全集 vol. 70 (Colophons) and also
~~Edit. Wang Shih-p'eng~~ his poems with comments by Wang Shih-p'eng (ca 1130-1175)
17. Han Cho 韓拙 Shan Shui Ch'uan Ch'uan Chi 山水純全集
(~~Written in the Hsiao ho an 1119-1125~~ ^{Prepared at 1121}). Edit. Wang Shih Hua Yuan.
18. Tung Yu 董道 Kuang Ch'uan Hua Po 廣川畫跋
(~~Colophons written in Hsiao ho an~~ ^{This work of Hui Tsung (1101-1125) and edited by Chu I and Yao Ju-hsin}) Edit. Wang Shih Hua Yuan
19. Hsiao-ho Hua P'u 宣和畫譜
(Catalogue compiled by ~~several~~ several officials about 1120) Edit. Ch'in Tai Pi Shu
20. Teng Ch'uan, 鄧椿 Hua Chi 畫記
(Completed 1167) Edit. Ch'in Tai Pi Shu and Wang Shih Hua Yuan
21. Yang Wu-chin 楊無咎 Hua Kuang, Mei P'u 華光, 梅譜
(The treatise is a compilation, made at least in part ^{about} at the middle of the 12th cent. by Yang Wu-chin) Edit. Mei Shu Tsung Shu
22. Tang Hsu 湯壽 Ku Chin Hua Chien 古今畫記
^{Discussions written in 1329 and completed by his friend Chang Yü, of painting Hsiao ho an 1308-10} Edit. Mei Shu Tsung Shu.
23. Huang Kung-wang (1269-1354) 黃公望 Hsieh Shan Shui Chieh 寫山水
Edit. T'u Hui Pao Chien and Hua Hsieh Hsin Yin
24. Hsia Wen-yen 夏文彥 T'u Hui Pao Chien 圖會寶鑑
(~~1365~~ ¹³⁶⁵) ^{largely} Compilation of previous books, contains about 1500 biographies
25. Li K'ang⁽¹²⁴⁵⁻¹³²⁰⁾ 李衍 Chu P'u 竹譜
Edit. Wang Shih Hua Yuan and Mei Shu Tsung Shu

(1577-1643)
Chang Ch'ou 張丑 Ch'ing-ho Shu Hua Fang 清和書畫方
(Completed 1616) (Reprint from the end of 19th cent. 1700)

Same Chen Chi jih lu 真蹟日錄
(About 1640) Reprint from the end of 19th cent.

(1555-1636)
Tung Chi-i-ch'ang 董其昌 Hua Yen 畫眼 (Colophons etc.)
(He was born 1555, d. 1636) Edit. Hua Hsieh Hsin Yin 華夏心印
ed. T. & completed by some later man who has included some writings by others.
Ch'in Tai Pi Shu 津逮補書

Wang Shih Hua Yüan 王氏畫苑

Sun Ch'eng-tai 孫承澤 Kang-tzu Hsiao Hsia Chi 人全
(Notes about pictures in his family collection, ca 1639)

Pien Yung-yü 卞永譽 Shu Hua Hui Kao 書畫彙考
(Chronological dictionary of painters, completed 1682) 江村

Ch'in-ting Pei-wen Chai Shu Hua Pu 欽定四庫全書
(Encyclopedia of calligraphy and painting composed by Imperial order 1708) Reprints 49

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Li 李 南 Sung Yüan Hua lu 南宋以來畫目
(Preface dated 1721) Modern reprints

An Ch'i (An-tsun) 安岐 (蘆村) Mo Yüan Hui Kuan 墨苑集
(Completed 1743; descriptions of famous pictures seen by the author)

At Tien Chun Lin 秘殿珠璣
Shih Ch'ü Pao Chi 石渠寶笈

(Catalogue of similar pictures in Ch'ien Lung's collect. published 1918)

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(Preface dated 1829) Original edition 371 pages 6 copies ...

1780-1870

7500 pages

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7 vols. . . according to . . . ^{with paper} . . . and . . .
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(Author's preface 1856; edited by Yang Han 1878) Collected . . .

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1
Northern
THE SUNG PERIOD

The political
historical events. Confucian State Philosophy. Taoist opposition.
The historical background.

It is generally admitted that the Sung ^{dynasty} ~~period~~ marked a culmination in the development of the pictorial arts in China and that its accomplishments in literature, philosophy and other branches of intellectual and spiritual culture were hardly less important. This very high estimate of the arts, and particularly of painting, of the Sung ^{period} may however be ^{influenced} ~~somewhat ex-~~aggerated, ^{by} ~~owing to~~ the fact that ^{to very few paintings by} ~~scarcely any of the principal works of the~~ great masters of T'ang and earlier times ^{have survived} ~~are lost~~ while many of the ^{great} ~~most pro-~~minent ^{leading artists} ~~painters~~ of the Sung ^{period} ~~dynasty~~ may still be ^{appreciated through their} ~~studied in~~ original crea-
tions. We may still become subject to the spell of their genius and ^{recognize} ~~realize~~ their ^{brush-work} ~~individual style~~ and modes of expression. They ^{stand closer to us in every} ~~are not so far removed~~ ^{respect than the} ~~from us either through material vicissitudes or remoteness of their ideas~~ as the great masters of earlier epochs, ^{where however is no proof that they} ~~but whether they actually were~~ ^{had reached a higher level as creative artists.} ~~maintained their predecessors in a position which can hardly be sur-~~

The historical division of the Sung period in two parts of almost equal length, known as the Northern Sung (960-1126) and the Southern Sung (1127-1279) was by no means only of political importance; it was the retirement of the government from Kai-feng to Hang-chow and the abandonment of Northern China to the Chin Tartars had a far reaching influence also on the cultural and artistic activities and caused a change in the spiritual and ~~at~~ aesthetic ideals that will be noted in the following. In order to understand this it may however be necessary to ^{recall} ~~give a few~~ ^{recall} ~~record~~ with a few words some of the outstanding political events which form the ^{framework} ~~frame-work~~ of history of the Sung dynasty.

After a short initial period of reunification and expansion during the reign of the first emperor, Tai Tsu (960-976), the new

empire became the butt of dangerous attacks by some of the northern border states, and instead of making a stand and fighting the invaders to the last hold, the rulers and leaders of the nation over and over again sought to purchase the peace by offering gold and silk, oxen, horses and royal princesses to the threatening enemies. On every new occasion, the Chinese had to increase their offers. Still more dangerous was the method soon introduced of making alliance with one enemy in order to fight another. It was like opening the sluices for a tributary river while they were trying to fight the flood lower down.

The principal enemies of the Sung empire were the Tungusian and Tangut tribes at its northern and western borders, and, later on, the Mongols. The former were organised first in the Liao kingdom and then in the Chin empire; the latter in the short-lived but very extensive Hsi Hsia state and both were finally wiped out by the Mongol avalanche. The war started already at the end of the 10th century in the reign of the second Sung emperor T'ai Tsung (976-998), and they were continued during the following century with intervals of peace, which however contributed little to the strength of the empire. By the successive treaties in 1004 with the Liao, in 1042 with the Hsi Hsia, and in 1127 with the Chin, the Chinese became obliged to pay ever increasing annual indemnities and to cede certain territories to their victorious neighbours. The last which involved not only large demands of silver and gold and territories but also the delivery of the whole imperial family into captivity, was the final capitulation of the Northern Sung dynasty. "With this sad procession of emperors, nobles and ladies of the royal household (to a number of 3000), led by a savage and victorious army into a strange land, ends the first drama of the great Sung dynasty."^{x/}

The second part, which was enacted in the South, where the Chinese had rallied around the new imperial capital in Hang-chou, might have ended in a less inglorious fashion, if a stronger enemy had not appeared in the field. The Chins had been pacified not only by the large indemnities of land and money but also by an ever increasing cultural influence from the Chinese. They ruled over the northern half of the country down to the Huai and the Han rivers and they showed no intentions of encroaching upon the territory of the Southern Sung empire after the conclusion of the peace treaty of 1141. Their government in Yen-ching (Peking) became, as a matter of fact, almost as Chinese as that of Hang-chou, since they adopted the national customs, traditions and language of the country and employed Chinese offi-

x/Cf. J. Macgowan, Imperial History of China. Shanghai 1906. p. 396

cials. Buddhist art enjoyed a new period of refflorescence under their protection, and Yen-ching, became a city of imperial splendour. But the relatively peaceful conditions which prevailed during the second half of the 12th century were completely upset at the beginning of the next century by the irresistible ~~om~~arch of the Mongols.

The slowly developing political tragedy of the Sung dynasty was to some extent counterbalanced and at certain moments interrupted by the creative forces which ^{became} ~~manifested themselves~~ not only in literature and art but also in philosophy and in political and social ^{reforms} ~~institutions~~. Fresh departures and new ideas ^{applied were applied} ~~and experiments may be observed~~ in all these fields, and though some of them ^{became} ~~were~~ only of temporary importance, others remained in force ^{long} ~~long~~ after the fall of the dynasty and became important factors in the future development of Chinese civilisation.

This ^{is true} ~~may be said~~ for instance ^{in regard to} ~~the~~ civil administration which was introduced by the founder of the dynasty, ~~Hao Tsu~~ who transferred most of the executive power from the military to the civil authorities. China became now and remained until recent times a country where the military authorities had very little influence on the government, which was mainly entrusted to a class of learned officials selected through the state examinations. These examinations, which ever since have formed the backbone of Chinese officialdom, existed since the Han period, but their application had been more or less dependent on the general philosophical and religious tendencies of the rulers. There had been times when Buddhist thought or Taoist mysticism had more influence on the selection of high officials than knowledge of the Confucian classics and skill in literary compositions. But now, at the beginning of the Sung era, they were systematized according to the most rigorous Confucian principles. The government of the state as well as the life of the citizens were regulated in ~~closest~~ adherence to the fundamental moral teachings of the great Sage; the educational system, the principal aim of which

There can however be little doubt that Li Hung-lin also executed larger pictures in colour on silk, though none of them has been preserved. Figure paintings on a large scale from the Sung period are, with the exception of some Buddhist pictures, now a days extremely rare. As an example of this class of painting may be mentioned a portrait of a young lady in white (94 cm high) in the Freer Gallery in Washington. She is standing upright holding a fan in the one hand and a basket in the other, wearing a very stylish long dress, which reaches down over the feet and is kept together at the waist with a long sash. The design is very ~~beautiful~~ ^{beautiful} ~~through its~~ refined simplicity, and the white colouring must have been charming, ~~but~~ ^{but} it is now largely worn off which makes the lines of the folds stand out too strong and hard.

The traditional attribution (on an old label) to Ho Chung, a contemporary of Li Hung-mien may be correct; the picture seems at least to be of the period, and the ~~painter~~ ^{artist} is ~~known~~ recorded in Shu Hwa-p'u as a good portrait painter, though the historical data about him are scanty. He ~~was~~ ^{was} however a heir Tsai and a friend of Su Tung-p'o who when he ~~was painted~~ ^{said as a model} ~~him~~ asked: Why do you make my portrait? To which the artist replied: Because it amuses me to make it!

In the year 1080 he was commissioned to paint a ~~post mortem~~ ^{post mortem} portrait of a prominent old country baron, which ~~was~~ ^{then on the} ~~was~~ ^{was} the days of memorial services, was exhibited in the sacrificial hall. The notice is interesting, because it shows that ancestral portraits were at least in the Sung dynasty done by real artists and classified as works of art just as well as the religious paintings. It was only in later times that these types of pictures lost most of their ~~artistic~~ ^{artistic} significance.

The influence of Li Hung-mien on Buddhist figure painting may however have been still more important. According to a tra-

A less known bamboo painter who may be mentioned in this connection, ~~was~~ because an original work of his is to be seen in Boston, is Li Wei, Tzu Kung-chao from Chien-tang in Cheking. Like Su Tung-p'o he was a dilettante as painter but socially of the highest, son of a prince and married to emperor Jen Tsung's (1023-63) daughter. The story about his first interview with the emperor, at the age of 13, is told in Hsüan-ho Hua P'u and we are also informed about his ^{subsequent high} ~~high~~ ~~titles as a~~ ~~depress as a~~ ^{military} commander and his honorific title after death. Painting was to him a recreation at his leisure hours as well as calligraphy; in the latter art he reached great prominence, though hardly anybody beside the emperor knew about it. His paintings were extremely rare, because he destroyed most of them so that nobody else would see them. It is said that they were done in the same light and somewhat dry "fei pai" manner as the writings.²

The picture in ^{the} Boston museum which is signed ^{by} "the Imperial Son-in-law and ^{High} Nobleman Li Wei" ~~represent~~ ^{and} marked with emperor Kao Tsung's seal, represents a Bamboo Garden with Pavilions and Figures. According to Okakura's notes, it is mentioned in the Hsüan-ho Hua P'u; ~~if so, it would~~ ^{by} only two pictures of Li Wei are included in the catalogue: Reeds and Rushes and Stones at the Lake; the latter may possibly be identical with the picture in Boston, because the pavilions rise at the side of a pond or lake with some stones in the foreground, but the main motive of the picture is the bamboo forest which covers the whole hill-side and surrounds the buildings at the foot of the hill. The picture is as a whole a very delicate thing; the composition is idyllic and quite charming, but the brush work is not of the highest grade and may well be said to reveal the careful dilettante rather than an inspired and highly trained painter. It may also have lost some of its finest tones or atmospheric effects by the darkening of the silk. As it stands it is however an interesting example of the high standard of brushmanship that was reached even by an amateur painter in the hey days of the Sung period. & Fei pai writing is explained in Giles' Dictionary as "characters written as it were with insufficient ink, so as to show the white spots in them."

Another bamboo painter of the dilettante class who may be recorded in this connection as an original work of his is preserved in the Boston Museum.

The best known of all the painters classified under the Chin dynasty is however Li Shan from Ping-yang in Shansi, active at the beginning of the 13th century. He was a high class landscape painter who has become famous particularly through a ^{short horizontal scroll representing} picture of "Vines and Firs in Wind and Snow", which, according to Dr. Fergusson, is now in the collection of Mrs Eugene Mayer jr. The picture is described in Mo Yüan Hui Kuan, and it is said that "the trees, stones and water were painted in a very easy manner yet, there was a definite order in the vertical and horizontal strokes". Several well known connoisseurs wrote colophons on it and extolled it as one of the finest things they had ever seen.

A large and very important landscape attributed to the same artist is in the Freer Gallery in Washington. It bears the painter's signature and "may well be by him", as ^{remarked in the catalogue} ~~said~~ by Mr Dodge. Unfortunately the picture is considerably damaged by mildew and retouches, but it retains nevertheless the atmosphere of a great romantic landscape and the imprint of a real master's brush. It is rich and deep in tone, quite coloristic wherever the original ~~ink~~ ^{ink} is preserved. The silk is of a very fine texture and so brittle that it seems to be peeling off continuously. The ~~large~~ pines in the foreground form a strong contrast of vertical lines against the ceaselessly carving and jostling forms of the ^{projecting} cliffs, ~~but~~ the bare trees on the ~~mountain~~ ^{mountain} terraces are stretching their branches with avidity towards the cold ~~spring~~ ^{winter} sky. It may, indeed, be said of this as of Li Shan's above mentioned picture, that "its effect is very pure and beyond ^{the order} of common things."

1
The abundant flourishing of painting at the Southern Sung capital should not make us forget that there were good artists also in the North which now was under the sway of the Chin, the Golden Tartars, who had made of Yen-ching (as Peking then was called) a beautiful capital with a large imperial ~~capital~~ palace and many fine temples. The most important Chin emperor in the 12th century, Shih Tsung (1161-1190) was a highly cultivated and noble-minded, who because of his wisdom and great moral qualities sometimes was compared to such sages of old as Yao and Shun. He won the love and admiration of his Chinese subjects and did much to revive their old cultural traditions and to support all noble efforts also in the field of art and literature. Many prominent writers and painters were attached to the court or honored with high government charges as appears from the short notes about some fifty painters active under the Chin dynasty which are communicated in the Pai Wen Chao Shu Chen Pu. Their works seem however to have perished with very few exceptions, probably ~~not~~ ^{during} the Mongol invasions which led to the capture and complete destruction of Yen-ching already in 1215 and to the capture of K'ai-feng, the second Chin capital, in 1233.

Several of the artists who worked under the Chin treated preferably subjects which enjoyed much popularity also in the Yuan and early Ming periods, i.e. horses, Tartar riders and hunters, and it seems quite probable that some of the compositions of this type which usually are labelled Chao Meng-fu actually are copies or derivations from Chin paintings and not inventions of the Yuan master who after all had no particular interest in extolling or glorifying the Tartar huntsmen. Well known among such compositions is the one which represents a rider on a briskly trotting horse seen in profile. An early version of this belonged to Sir William van Horne in Montreal. Other variations of the motive with more Chinese looking personages may be seen for instance in M. Stoclet's collection, and I should particularly like to draw attention to the rather worn but very refined picture of a man on horseback followed by a ~~boy~~ page and a porter on foot. It is evidently an original of the 12th or 13th century and as far as the motive goes it may well be associated with the Chin painters, though we have no means of determining its origin more definitely.

Among the most famous horse painters of the Chin dynasty are mentioned Yang Pang-chih and Li Tsao. The former, whose tzu was Tê-mao, came from Hua-yin in Shensi and was active at Yen-ching in the T'ang era (1161-1189). He reached high official positions particularly in the Board of ceremonies and was finally ennobled as a duke. His writings were esteemed equal to his paintings, which are said to have been in old fashioned style, the landscapes reminding of Li Ch'eng, the horse paintings of Han Kan's works. In the colophon on one of his pictures he was called "a second Han Kan, a return Tsao Pa, who painted ten thousand horses; A thousand gold coins did not equal his works. He painted the emperor's much-dear prize bold horse ~~leaping~~ flowing over the paper like a heavenly dragon." Surely an artist like Yang Pang-chih must have exercised a considerable influence within his special domain.

Li Tsao was somewhat younger, active in the Ming-chang era (1190-96); and his ^{figure and} horse paintings are said to have been in the style of Li Hung-mien. This characterization may bring to our mind several horse paintings which show more or less similarity with Li Hung-mien's works, as for instance the album leaf in the museum in Boston, representing a man trying to catch a horse, which is executed in pure ink in the pai-miao style. The picture is provided with an inscription in large characters: "Brush of Hsiao Ch'eng. 1107. Imperial autograph"; but as it hardly can be as early, the inscription is most likely a later addition.^{††} Okakura's remarks to this picture (in the manuscript catalogue in Boston) seem to us well founded: "Very interesting; may be Sung, very possibly later and Yüan; very fine anyway" - and consequently it is reproduced here with other horse paintings of the ^{12th or} 13th centuries. The man and the horse are both represented in fleeting momentary positions; the horse seems afraid of approaching and to take the grass which the man offers in his outstretched hand. The movements are excellently rendered in the dots and light ink technique that the painter may well have learned from Li Hung-mien.

Ferguson (op. cit. p. 136) mentions a picture of a Barbarian Horseman signed by Yang Pang-chih but gives no information about the owner of the picture. He says that "in its intensity of action this picture may be compared to the Horse and Rider by Albert Cuyp in the Munich Gallery," but the said picture by Cuyp represents an Officer on a Horse standing quite still.

^{††} Hsiao Ch'eng, tzü, Chi'ang-yüan from Chü-jung in Kiangsu is mentioned in Hsüan Ho Hua p'u before Li Hung-mien, and in Shu Hua p'u before Kuo Hsi. He seems to have been active in the latter part of the 11th century. He painted portraits, Buddhas and Taoist figures and also horses and he is praised for his good coloring. His pictures in the imperial collection represented stellar divinities, spirits and fairies but also figures with horses and passing horses. The attribution of the above mentioned picture may thus have some reason, though the execution seems later and the imperial autograph hardly can be authentic.

A contemporary painter of a more impetuous temperament who also is named among the pupils of Li T'ang was Hsiao Chao. The encounter between teacher and pupil may not have been entirely agreeable to the former because it happened in the wilderness of the Tai-hang mountains where ~~Chao~~ Hsiao Chao at the time (after the fall of Kai-feng in 1126) lived as a robber - since other means of a livelihood were closed to the poor painter. One day he met there a man whom he robbed, as usual, but on searching the travelling bag, he found in it only brushes and colour powder. His surprise was great as the man revealed his identity as Li T'ang, the great painter of whose fame Hsiao Chao was well aware. They made friends and went together southward. Li T'ang who was an old and well trained master found a ready pupil in the ex-robber and introduced him afterwards to the academy in Hang-chou where Hsiao Chao soon rose to the degree of a tai chao.

He became known particularly for his effective representations of tempestuous landscapes, painted somewhat in the manner of Ting Yüan, though it is said that his "wrinkles" were stronger; he used thicker ink and a heavier brush. His pictures conveyed the impressions of the tumultuous rush of splashing waves, accumulating clouds and whirling winds. The following story is told as an illustration of his manner of working:

A wonderful ~~pool~~ great hall - Ku Shan Liang Tang - had been erected on a mountain above the West Lake. It rose magnificently with walls 30 feet high above grove of plum trees. The Emperor Kao Tsung had announced his visit to the ^{new building} ~~place~~ the next day. The event was discussed by some courtiers, and one of them said: "The high visitor will arrive but the walls are still white!" It was immediately decided that the imperial painter Hsiao Chao should be ~~sent~~ ^{sent} there to paint some landscapes. When Chao received the order, he asked to be bestowed with four gallons of wine. At sunset he went into the Ku hall, ^{and then} at every watch, when the drum was beaten, he drank one gallon, and each time a gallon was emptied one wall was finished. Thus the painting was done, and when it was completed, Hsiao Chao was also finished and drunk. - The emperor arrived, and as he walked around, he looked at the walls with ~~great~~ surprise and admiration; ~~and when~~ ^{and upon that} he was informed that the paintings were by Hsiao, he ordered that the painter should be rewarded with gold and silk. - Hsiao's pictures possessed above all the quality of making the beholder feel as if he actually were on the famous mountains and rivers, and not simply looking at pictures."

Hsiao Chao's name has been attached to various pictures but I do not know any that could be reasonably considered as an authentic work of his. His famous paintings of the Twelve Auspicious Omens at the Beginning of Kao Tsung's reign (in six scrolls) ~~are~~ have disappeared without a trace, and the same seems to be true of the landscape paintings of his which are mentioned in Nan Sung Yüan Hua Lu. In the Tokyo Exhibition of 1928 there was a landscape scroll ^{from the Fang-jui collection} with Hsiao Chao's signature and the date 1134, but it had the somewhat dry appearance of later copy (Cf. the Illustr. Cat. p. 60). The composition was strong and massive particularly in the section of mountain terraces with rushing streams indicating that it must have been invented by a great master. Somewhat in the same vein ^{showing} ~~with~~ similar treatment of the gushing water is a small fan picture in Boston which traditionally was ascribed to Tung Yuan though it now is classified as probably later. It ~~is called~~ ^{is called} ~~is called~~ A Waterfall among Pine-clad Rocks, and as it has no signature ~~a definite~~ attribution is hardly possible. But Hsiao Chao may well have made such a composition as he painted for instance a fan picture of Pines at the Gully in the Clear Shade. The bold curves of the stream that rushes out of the cliff make us think of the descriptions of his impetuous landscapes. The whole design has a wonderful sweep, though executed on a small scale; it is ~~a picture with a great~~ ^{a picture with a great} character and though we have no means of proving that it is Hsiao Chao's work, it may well serve as an example of the bold and grand type of landscape painting that he in particular seem to have represented at the Hangchow academy.

Another well recorded landscape painter who may be mentioned here, as a picture with his signature is preserved in Boston, is Chin jui. He was a native of Hopsi (Chihli) but worked at the academy where he became a tai chao before the end of the Shao hsing period (1131-1162) and was also bestowed with the Golden Girdle. Emperor Ning Tsung's mother is said to have written poems on some of his pictures. Chin jui seems to have retained a preference for the sceneries of the northern provinces from where he came; he painted snow landscapes, hunters in snow, travelling by mule carts, feeding horses in the snow and so on. Tung Chi'ich'ang said about one of his pictures, representing A Visit to the Tai-mountain, that it was so good that even Li T'ang could not dream of making anything equal to it.

Nan Sung Yüan Hua Lu

The picture in Boston represents Bullock Carts Travelling over a Mountain Path. The signature does not seem to be contemporary with the picture but it is evidently of the epoch and answers perfectly to all that we know about the master's art. The large and imposing composition seems to have been cut down at the edges and is no longer in the best state of preservation but what remains is very interesting and convincing also from an illustrative point of view. The big carts drawn jointly by bullocks and mules up the steep mountain road are exactly the same as still may be seen in the northern provinces, and the scene at inn, where the transports are resting, contains vivid reflections of Chinese country life. The mountains may also be suggested by some natural scenery, although freely treated and arranged to suit the steep and narrow design. The execution is old-fashioned and very refined particularly in the trees and the figures, but the mountains are painted with a somewhat softer and broader brush. The worn condition of the painting should not prevent us from recognizing its great artistic qualities.

A still more limited and definite ~~branch~~ speciality which was cultivated by some well known artists was fish-painting. The fishes too had a kind of symbolic significance to the Chinese, particularly the carp which were emblems of vital strength, as they are able to mount the streams, and sometimes were said to change into dragons - a higher ^{more spiritual} form of strength and inspiration. A famous Chinese story, which, no doubt, is alluded to by many of the fish paintings, tells about the carp which swam up the Yellow River, leaped the rapids at Lung Men and on the third day of the third month became a dragon.

The best known fish-painters of the South Sung period were Fan An-jin and Chen Ho-chiu who both became teachers in the painting academy in the Bao-tu period (1253-58).^{*)} The latter is said to have ~~used~~ painted his fishes as well as his trees and flowers with colours, while the former who is known only as fish painter worked in monochrome ink technique. He came from Chien-tang in Chekiang and was ~~known as~~ ^{surnamed} Fan Tze (The Other) probably because he was so familiar with the life in the water, the fishes, the rushes and the sea weed. - There is a very fine specimen of his work in Mr Murayama's collection in Osaka showing a whole family of fishes swimming among algae and a large crab at the bottom of the sea. ^(Sogen meijuan, p. 39-40) A still larger picture (ca 2 m square) in the Boston Museum, representing Two Carps leaping among Waves, may possibly also be ascribed to him. The fishes are painted exactly in the same style as in Mr Murayama's ^{sketches} ~~picture~~ and the picture has the quality and appearance of a late Sung work. It is indeed ^{a most effective} ~~a wonderful~~ design executed on a large scale. The brush work is strong and bold revealing a great master's hand. And here again, as in all the Chinese ~~representation of nature~~ ^{manifestations} creations of nature that meet us in Chinese art, it is the momentous life impression, the ^{sweeping} movement in the fishes and the waves that make the core of the artistic creation.

^{*)} Q. Nan Sung Yuan Hui Lu